

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE
MY VERY GOOD LORD, THE LORD
Burghley, Lord Treasurer of England,
Knight of the honorable order of the
garter, and Master of his Maiesties
Court of Wardes and
Liueries.



T is now, R. Honorable, thirty yeeres since I presented to your L. and the late Earle of Leicester my Lord and Master, the historie of COMYNES rudely translated into our vulgar tong, the which of later times at the request of the late Lord Chauncellor sir Christopher Hatton, I perused anew, and enlarged with such notes & pedegrees as seemed necessarie, as well for explanation as (in some few places) for correction of the historie. Since his death, certaine gentlemen to whose hands the booke happened to come, tooke so great pleasure and delight therein, that they determined to put it to the presse, supposing it a great dishonor to our nation, that so woorthie an historie being extant in all languages almost in Christendome, should be suppressed in ours. Notwithstanding their resolution, they forbare of curtesie to put in execution till their purpose should be made knownen to me. And albeit that I alleged many reasons why in my conceit booke of this nature, treating of Princes secrets were vnfitt to be published to the vulgare sort, the rather because the Author in some places seemeth to be of that opinion himselfe: yet none of my reasons could preuaile, but they continued in their former determination: adding therunto, that others besides my selfe had taken paines in this historie, and though I of peeuishnes would suppress my labors, yet they would not suppress theirs. So that would I nould I to the presse the booke must go, being already warranted by publike authoritie thereunto. I seeing the matter aduaunced thus far, thought it no time to draw back any longer, but in the end tooke the burthen vpon my selfe, doubting if I had done otherwise, both the blemishing of the historie, wherein I may boldly say, that I haue more trauelled than any man that hath entermedled therewith; and also that the worke should

The Epistle Dedicatore.

be presented to some patron that had no interest therein. Wherefore hauing againe examined it, and freed it from some faults that me thought fit to be reformed: I haue presumed to publish it vnder the protection of your Lordships honorable name, to whom of right it appertaineth in many respects. First, because the author therof was a noble man, one of your owne cote, the wicest, and the best acquainted with all matters of state of any man in his time. Whereunto I adde, that he continued a Counsellor successiuely to so many French Kings, that he was reputed one of the ancientest Counsellors in Christendome at his death: wherein your Lordships fortune is not onely correspondent, but hath also surmounted his. Secondarily, your Lordship hath the aise title to it, and lastly the right of suruiuour casteth it vpon you by course of common lawe. Wherefore all these circumstances well considered (my particular duties also not forgotten) I thought it a kinde of sacrilege to suffer your Lordship to be robbed of your right. May it therefore please you to receiue this historie into your honorable protection as your owne, as well in regard of the Author, being a man of such condition as aboue is rehearsed; as also of the worke treating of that subiect wherewith your Lordship at this day is better acquainted than any man living: and lastly in respect of your owne title therunto. Which no whit doubting but that your Lordship wil most willingly vouchsafe to do, beseeching the Almighty long to preferue you to the great stay of this flourishing estate, most humbly I take my leaue this first of Nouember 1596.

*Your L. most humble and
obedient to command*

Thomas Danett.

*The life of Philip de Commines Knight, Lord of Argenton, gathered out of diuers good authors, togither with a
briefe answere on his behalfe to certaine accusations, where-
with IACOBVS MEYERVS a Flemming in his An-
nals of Flaunders, chargeth verie vnjust-
lie both Commines history
and his life.*



HILIP DE COMMINES author of this present history, was borne at Commines a towne in Flaunders, being a gentleman of a very ancient house, and ioined by blood and alliance to the best of that nation. His surname was *Clytus*, his father and uncle had been both of them vnder D. Philip of Burgundie chiefe gouernours of Flaunders, ealled by *Meyer, Summi pratores Flandriae*; and to them he giueth this title: *Domini Ruscurii, Buscurii & Watenenses*: whereby appeareth of how great Nobilitie and goodly reuenewes *Commines* was, not onely in Flaunders, but also in Haynault. In his youth, namely, from the nineteenth yeere of his age, and the yeere of our Lord 1464, till the 27. of his age, and the yeere 1472, he serued *Charles* Duke of Burgundie, and afterward *Lewis* the eleventh of that name King of Fraunce, who employed him in his weightiest and secretest affaires. He was of tall stature, faire complexion, and goodly personage. The French toong he spake perfectly and eloquently, the Italian, Duche, and Spanish reasonably well. He had read ouer verie diligently all histories written in French, especially of the Romaines, and bare them all in memorie. He much acquainted himselfe with strangers, thereby to increase his knowledge. He had great regard to the spending of his time, and abhorred all idlenes. He was of an excellent, yea an incredible memorie: for he often indited at one time to fower Secretaries, seuerall letters of waightie affaires appertaining to the state, with as great facilitie and readines, as if he had but one matter in hand. A vertue so rare that I haue not reade the like of any but of *Julius Caesar* and him. Nothing more greeued him, than that in his youth he was not trained vp in the Latine toong, which his misfortune he often bewailed. After he was entred into the seruice of King *Lewis*, he was highly in his fauour, and during his raigne bare great sway in the realme. The said King also greatly aduaunced him: for he made him first one of his priuie chamber, then of his priuie Counsell, Seneschall of Poictu, and Lord of Argenton. He married being of good yceres a gentlewoman of the house of *Montfaucon* vpon the borders of Aniou, named *Helena*. But after King *Lewis* his death, he fell into great troubles: for because he was a stranger, many enuied his prosperitie, so farre forth that at the length his enimies caused him to be imprisoned in the castle of *Loches* in the Duchie of Berrie, (a place appointed onely for those that are attached of high treason) where he was verie extremely handled, as himselfe in his historie reporteth. Notwithstanding his wife by earnest and continuall sute, in the ende obtained so much fauour, that he was remoued thence and brought to Paris: where when he had remained a certaine space, he was led to the parliament house to be arraigned. He had many enimies & those mighty, and of so great authoritie at that time in Fraunce, that for feare of them no Counsellor durst plead his cause: wherefore necessarie enforcing him to defend him-
selfe,

The Authors life.

selfe, he pleaded there by the space of two howeres, being verie attentively heard by the whole audience, and in the ende so acquit himselfe, that by the Judges sentence he was discharged. Among other things he rehearsed at the barre how sundrie troublesome and dangerous voyages he had sustained for the King and the common wealth. How highly King *Lewis* both had fauoured him, and for his faithfull seruice rewarded him: for his owne part, he said that he neuer had done any thing couetouf-
lie, ambitiously, nor cruelly: and further, that if he had sought onely to aduance and enrich himselfe, he might haue had as goodly possessions as any man in Fraunce. He was prisoner almost three yecres. The next yecre after his deliuerie he had a daughter borne named *Jane*, which married with *Rene* Earle of Pantabria descended of the Dukes of Britaine, by whom among diuers other children she had issue *John* late Duke of Estampes, Lieutenant of Britaine, Knight of the French Kings order, and Lord of diuers goodly Seniories. But to retorne to *Commines*, in prosperitie he gaue for his posic this sentence. *He that will not labour let him not eate*: but in aduersitie this, *I sailed into the deepe of the sea, and a sudden tempest overwhelmed me*. He died the threescore and fourth yecre of his age, the yecre of our Lord 1509. the 17. day of October, in his owne house of Argenton in the countrey of Poictu, from whence his bodie was conueighed to Paris, and there lieth buried in the Augustine Fryers. I was heere purposed to haue staied my pen, and further not to haue spoken either of *Commines* historic or his life, had I not called to minde diuers accusations of *Jacobus Meyerus*, who in sundrie places of his Annales of Flanders inueigheth verie bitterly as well against *Commines* life as his historic, whose accusations I am forced to laie open to the iudgement of the world, to the ende it may appeare whether they be grounded vpon iust prooef. Notwithstanding before I enter into the examination of them, thus much in the commendation of *Commines* historic I cannot passe ouer in silence, that two of the greatest and woorthiest Princes that raigned in Europe these hundred yeres; namely, the Emperour *Charles* the fist, and *Francis* the first King of Fraunce, made to great account of this historic, that the Emperor carried it continually about with him, as *Alexander* did the workes of *Homer*, no lesse esteeming it than he did them, and the King was as much displeased with the printing and publishing thereof, as was the same *Alexander* in times past for the setting foorth of *Aristotles* workes called *Acroamatic*, as rehearseth *Gellius*: so desirous was he to haue referred to himselfe and a few of his owne subiects the great treasures of wisedome hidden in this small volume. But let vs now heare what *Meyer* obiecteth against this historic. In the 17. booke of his Annales of Flaunders writing of the battell fought at Saintron betweene *Charles* Duke of Burgundie and the Liegeois, he hath these words, *Pugna conuicta ceduntur magno numero & profligantur, ad novem millia cecidisse traditum qui interfuit Philippus Cominius. Sed Brabantia scriptor & quidam scriptor Flandria (quibus plus habeo fidei) tria tantum millia occubuisse memorant.* For answere heereunto, if this place be indifferently weighed it shall appeare to be wholy grounded vpon inalice and no colour of reason, much lesse iust prooef: First, becauile *Meyer* preferreth the credit of these obscure Annalistes that write but vpon report, before the credit of him that was an eie witnesse, and that no way could aduantage himselfe by reporting a lye. Secondarily, sir *Oliver de la Marche*, who liued also in that time and was Steward of the Duke of Burgundies house, writeth that a great number of these Liegeois were slaine at this battell, and also at the siege of Saintron, but that their friends and kinsfolkes trussed vp their dead bodies in vessels full of lime; partly to the ende the discomfiture might appeare the lesse, and partly that they might be buried among their auncestors, in the which feate (saith he) the Liegeois shewed a woonderfull audacie and courage: whereby it should

The Authors life.

seeme a great number to haue been thus trussed vp, by meane whereof the dead ap-
peared the fewer, and were reported accordingly, which deceived diuers, and happy-
lie these Annalists of Brabant and Flaunders. The like practice we read of in diuers
authors, & of the like writeth *Meyer* also himselfe. Lastly, the Annales of Burgundie
agree with *Commines*, and report the number as he doth, so that this answere I hope
shall suffice for this point. Againe, in the same booke fol. 364. *Meyer* writeth thus *Lo-
gavitur Cominius de nobili quadam farnina atrebencis ditionis proditrice patriae, cum
edere non vult nomen, falsum in hoc ut in ceteris historiis. Sure if it were an vndoub-
ted truth that a Ladie of Artois could not send the King such aduertisement as *Com-
mines* reporteth that she did: or if *Meyer* were Pythagoras that ipse dixit might
passe for prooef, the credit of *Commines* should happilie hang in ballance: but if you
reade the place in his historic, the very circumstances will induce any indifferent
man to thinke, that which is there written of this Ladie to be no lie. Againe fol. 366.
Meyer hath these words, *Hic est Cominius ille transfaga, gente Flandra, qui multa de
Carolo & Lodouico provinciali lingua bene scripti, sed quidam etiam scripti plane auen-
daciſer, multaque dicenda infideliter reticuit.* This is so generall and uncertaine a
charge that answere in truth it deserueth none: notwithstanding, I refer to the iudg-
ment of those that shall read this historic, whether *Commines* concealeth his Masters
faults therein or not (for that is *Meyers* meaning in this place.) Tric it is that he vt-
tereth them not in such railing barbarous termes as *Meyer* very vnseemely vseth of so
great a Prince as King *Lewis* was, and is offended with *Commines* for not dooing the
like, a thing which becommeth *Meyer* himselfe very ill, and would haue become
Commines much worse. But our author as he concealeth not his masters faulcs, but
layeth them open enough to the understanding of the wise and indifferent Reader: so
deliuere he them, so sparingly, and vnder such termes as truth being vttered, the
Kings honor be no further impeached, than very necessitie doth enforce; a master
very commendable in a gentleman writing of a Prince, a seruant of his Master,
and a subiect of his Soueraigne. Lastly, *Meyer* fol. 365. hath these words, *refert Comi-
nius exercitum Caroli adeo fuisse extenuatum, ut exhibere illum Anglis non auderet, sed
hoc falso sum est.* But you must beleue *Meyer* vpon his word, other disprove of *Com-
mines* reporthe can bring none, neither grounded vpon any circumstance, nor produced
out of any good author that writ of those times. But on the contrary side for the
cōfirmation of that which *Commines* writeth in this place, first *La Marche* reporteth
that the bloodie fluxe entred into the Dukes camp lying before Nuz, which it is
very like consumed many, and impaired the health of many more. With him also
agree the Annales of Burgundie, which report that the Duke lou 1500. men be-
fore Nuz: which being well considered, and this withall, that the siege endured a
whole yecre, and yet in the ende the Duke forced to depart frustrate of his purpose,
whereby his soldiers had not onely their bodies tired, but also their minds dis-
couraged: I suppose no man of sounde iudgement will thinke that the Dukes armie
could be otherwise than in verie poore estate. Now that you haue heard all that
Meyer hath or can obiect against the credit of this historic (which also how substan-
cially he hath prooued I leau to the iudgement of the wise and indifferent reader to
consider:) it is good reason you should also heare what opinion other authors haue
both of *Commines* and of his historic, and how honorable testimonie in their wri-
tings they giue to them both. *Annales Burgundie* lib. 3. pa. 930. speaking of *Commines*
testifieth thus of him. *He was one of the wisiest gentlemen of his time, and the best ac-
quainted with all matters of state, as appeereth by his historie: whereof the Emperour
Charles made so great account, that he neuer slept before he had read certaine chapters
thereof, for the finishing of his daies worke.* Whiche sure this noble and sage Emperour
would*

The Authors life.

would never have done, if *Commines* had been a reporter of lies, especially of the said Emperors owne great grandfather, whose life and death are so amplie in this historie treated of. *Paulus AEmilius* giueth such credit to *Commines*, that al that he writeth in the history of France of the raigne of *Lewis the 11.* is only an abridgement of him, & wholly taken out of his writings. *Ferron* in his supply to *Paulus AEmilius* historie maketh in many places very honorable mention of *Commines*, highly commending him both for his great wisedome and vertue and sinceritie in his historie. *Lodowico Guicciardini* no French man, but an Italian, in his description of the lowe Countries fol. 220. calleth *Commines* a writer woorthie of great commendation. And fol. 310. and 311. thus he writeth. *Of the Noble house of Commines was Philip de Commines Lord of Argenton, who wrote the historie of his owne time verie sincerely, he was a noble personage, of great enterprise, and of him diuers authors make honorable mention.* Heere we haue the true testimonie of sundrie woorthie writers (for to youche all were too tedious) on *Commines* behalfe, which ioineth with the approbation of the Noble Emperor *Charles the fift*, are sufficient, as I suppose, to maintaine his credit against the venemous darpes of *Meyer* scandalous accusations. Now as touching *Commines* life, the onely thing that *Meyer* blameth therein, is his departure from the Duke of Burgundies seruice: for the which he inueightheth no lesse bitterly against his person, than before he did against his historie, for fol. 355. where he maketh mention of the Duke of Burgundies crueltie vsed at the castle of Nesle, which he tooke by assault the yeere 1472. he hath these wordes. *Crudelis hic visus Corolus & animo turbato, crediturque quoddam ex familiaribus parum habuisse fideles, ex quibus haud dubie erat Philippus ille Cominius ortu Flandrus, Dominus Ruscurit, qui hoc anno transfigit ad regem, qui si vir fuisse probus & integer, nequaquam deserto Domino suo, deserta & abiurata patria ad talam transisset tyrannum, aliosque ad idem faciendum solicitasset, quantiscunque muneribus iunitatus.* Againe fol. 366. thus he saith, *Causam cur transfigerit aliusque nonnullis author fuerit idem faciendi non lego, cum autem Cominius in suis scriptis causam sue defectionis reciteat, non dubium puto quin ob faidum aliquod patratus scelus more proditorum a fugerit.* Whereunto somewhat to answere in *Commines* behalfe, I say that what caule moued him to leaue the Duke as we certainly know not, so is it not like that he departed from him for any heinous offence, because he was never charged with any, neither is *Meyer* able to produce any one testimonie (as euen himselfe in this place is forced to confess) that he forsooke the Duke in any treacherous sort, neither is he able to prooue that he sollicited any to leaue the Dukes seruice during the Dukes life, though without all proose most vniustly he charge him therewith. For if *Commines* had departed with the betraying of townes and castles to the enemie as *de Cordes* did; if for attempting to destroie the Dukes person, as *Baldwinc* the Dukes base brother, and the Earle of Estampes his cosin did; if for both, as the Earle of Campobasso did, his offence could no more haue beeene concealed, than the others aboue mentioned was. Wherefore, as *Meyer* reasoneth that because *Commines* no where in his writings, vttereth the cause of his departure, it is like he departed for some hainous offence: so on the other side with much more reason it may be answered, that because neither *Meyer* nor any other Historiographer in their writings vtter the cause of his departure; like it is that he departed for no hainous offence, but only for his owne aduancement or safetie or both, without seeking by traitorous practises to harme the Duke, as the aboue named with diuers others did. But let let vs now examine what by all presumption was the cause of his departure from the Duke: and secondarily, whether his departure from one Master to another being in hostilitie be excusable: which two points being throughly discussed, it shall plainly appeare to the world, whether he be iustly

to

The Authors life.

to be charged with any euill dealing, for leauing the Duke of Burgundie his first Master, and under whose dominion he was borne. As touching the first point, I am of opinion that *Commines* by his departure from the Duke of Burgundie, soughe both his owne aduancement and his safetie, the former whereof he had iust cause to hope for at King *Lewis* his hands, as a thing well deserved, at the Kings being at Peronne, where *Commines* wisedome and great credit with the Duke of Burgundy (as say the Annales of Burgundie) stood the King in so good stead, that by his onely meanes he was restored to his realme, libertie and life, which otherwise had beeene in great danger, as by the course of this historie most plainly doth appeere. Wherefore *Commines* could not but assure himselfe of great aduancement at King *Lewis* his hands, as well bicause of the Kings great liberalitie, as also for his owne desert: neither did his hope faile him, as the sequele well declared. On the other side at the Dukes hands no great aduancement was to be looked for, both bicause the qualitie of his seruice to the Duke and the King was not alike, and so consequently the desert vnlke; and also bicause the Dukes liberalitie was inferior to the Kings, his attempts so impouerishing him, that he had not to be liberall of as the King had. Whereunto I adde, that he made no such account of his seruants as the King did, but attributed all his good successe to his owne braine, whereby their seruice was the lesse esteemed and the worst rewarded, or rather not at all esteemed nor rewarded: for he never vsed any mans counsell but his owne, so that wise men lost but their time with him. Yea *Meyer* himselfe reporteth him to be *Durum, asperum & ingratum, a quom illes muligne admodum stipendia accipiebant, raro blande & liberaliter appellarentur, quanquam multis in locis extremis periculis se obiectarent, plurimumque algortis, inedia & aestus sustinerent.* If then the Duke were of this disposition towards his soldiers, and so euill rewarded them whose helpe he dayly and howerly vsed: what reward could any wise man looke for at his hands, whose aduice he seldom asked and never followed? Further, the Duke was of nature very cholerike and readie to offer his seruants iniurie, as for example, to the Earle of Campobasso he gaue a blowe, which in the end cost him his life, and whether any such outrage offered to our Author caused or furthered his departure we know not: but that aduancement (which was to be looked for at the Kings hands, and not to be hoped for at the Dukes) was one cause, is alreadie, as I suppose, sufficiently prooued. The second cause of *Commines* departure from the Duke in mine opinion was safetie; for the Duke, as *Commines* himselfe reporteth, forced not to venture his seruants into any danger were it never so great, which all men (especially despairing of reward of their seruice) will seeke to auoide: for as our Author himselfe saith in one place of his historie, most men by seruice seeke to aduance themselues, but all men will haue an eie to saue themselues. Further, *Commines* being a very wise man foresaw the Dukes attempts to be such, as would in the ende ouerthowre both himselfe, his subiects, and his dominions, wherefore he thought it best to dislodge in time and to saue one. These in mine opinion were the principall causes of his departure from the Duke, which being honest and reasonable, and his departure likewise voide of all treason and treacherous practises against the Duke: I see no reason why for his departure he should not rather be commended than condemned. The last point that we haue to consider is, whether he being the Dukes subiect might leaue his Master and depart to the King, were the causes of his departure never so reasonable and honest. Whereunto I answer, that *Commines* was not absolutely the Dukes subiect: for Flaunder was held in soueraigntie of the crowne of Fraunce, and both the Earle and all the people sworne to beare no armes against the King of Fraunce, and diuers examples

The Authors life.

examples too long to rehearse, are to be read in the histories of diuers Earles of Flaunders that haue been arrested, imprisoned, and together with their people fined for breach of this oath. Wherefore seeing our author was a Flemming borne, and Flaunders held in Soueraigntie of the King of Fraunce, and the Duke of Burgundie in hostilitie with the King of Fraunce, contrarie to the oth he either tooke or ought to haue taken; and further violating diuers, nay I may say all those points whereto by his allegiance he was bound to the French King: I see no reason why *Comynnes* might not, or rather ought not to leue an inferior rebellious Lord, and cleue to his soueraign Prince and King, to whom he ought a soueraign dutie both by allegiance and oth. And if after his revolt, he gaue any aduice to the furtherance of the Kings affaires, he did therein in mine opinion the duetie of a faithfull servant and true subiect. Thus much I haue beene forced to speake in defence both of *Comynnes* life, and historie, whereof as the former appeereth to haue beene both honest and vertuous as well by the reasons aboue alledged, as also by the notable discourses wherewith he farceth his historie, which breath nothing but vertue and sinceritie: so is the latter confirmed by the consent of diuers good histories, and approoued by the judgement of the noblest Princes that Europe bred these many hundred yeeres, as I trust is sufficiently declared. Wherefore our authors credit standeth vpright, as well for good conuersation of life, as sincere report in historie, both the which Meyer no lesse falsely slandereth, than he doth in other places of his *Annales* the noble races of the Kings of England and Fraunce, which ignorantly or maliciouslie he reporteth to be more vile and base than any honest care can endure to heare. Thus hauing I trust sufficiently defended the credit of this woorthie writer, I will heare abruptly for auoing of tediousnes stay my pen.

A

A Table declaring the contents of all the Chapters contained in this historie.

Chap.	The preface of the Author to the Archbyshop of Vincennes in Fraunce.	page 1
1	The occasion of the wars betwene Lewis the eleuent, and the Earle of Charolois afterward Duke of Burgundie.	2
2	How the Earle of Charolois and divers notable men of Fraunce leuied an army against king Lewis, under colour of the weale publike.	5
3	How the Earle of Charolois encamped were to Montlherry, and of the battell fought there betwene the King of Fraunce and him.	8
4	Of the danger the Earle of Charolois was in, and how he was rescued.	12
5	How the Duke of Berry the kings brother, and the Duke of Britaine joined with the Earle of Charolois against the King.	15
6	How the Earle of Charolois and his confederates with their whole armie, passed the river of Seine upon a bradge of boies, how also the Duke of Calabria joined with them, and how they all encamped before Paris.	19
7	A discourse upon ambitious hunting after offices & estates by the example of the Englyshmen.	24
8	How king Lewis entred into Paris, while the Princes of Fraunce practised with the citizens.	23
9	How the Earle of Charolois artillerie and the Kings artillerie shot the one against the other neare to Charenton, and how the Earle of Charolois caused another bridge to be built upon boies over the river of Seine.	25
10	A discourse upon certaine vices and vertues of King Lewis the 11.	28
11	How the Burgundians lying neare to Paris, and looking for the battell, supposed great shifftes to haue beene launes held vpright.	29
12	How the King and the Earle of Charolois met together to rime of peace.	31
13	How the citie of Roan by practise was put into the Duke of Barboss bands, for the Duke of Berry, and how the treatise of Conflans was fully concluded.	33
14	How the treatise of peace was concluded betwene the King and the Earle of Charolois and his confederates.	35
15	How by the division that hapned betwene the Duke of Britaine and Normandy, the king recovered the said Duchie whiche he had giuen his brother.	36
16	How the new Duke of Normandie returned into Britaine in very poore estate, and verry disengaged, bicause he had failed of his enterprise.	37

The second Booke.

1	Of the wars betwene the Burgundians and Liegeois, and how the towne of Dinand was taken, sacked and rased.	39
2	How the Liegeois brake the peace with the Duke of Burgundie then Earle of Charolois, and how he discomfited them in battell.	41
3	How some of the Citizens of Liege agreeing to yeld their towne and otheres refusing so to do, the Lord of Humbercourt found meanes to enter into it for the Duke of Burgundy.	45
4	How the Duke of Burgundie made his entrie into the Cittie of Liege, and how the Citizens of Gaunt whiche he had beene evill intreated before, bumbled themselves unto him.	48
5	How the King seeing what had hapned to the Liegeois, made war in Britaine upon the Duke of Burgundies confederates, and how they two met and communed together at Peronne.	50
6	A discourse wherein is declared how greatly learning especially in histories profiteth Princes and Noblemen.	53
7	How and for what cause the King was staid and held prisoner in the castle of Peronne by the Duke of Burgundies commandement.	54
8	A discourse wherein is shewed, that an entrie betwene two great Princes for treatise of their affaires, hurteth more than profiteth.	55
9	How the King to deliuer himselfe out of the castle of Peronne, renounced his league with the Liegeois.	58
10	How the King accompanid the Duke of Burgundie, making war upon the Liegeois, who before were his confederates.	60

The Table.

11 How the King arrived in person with the Duke of Burgundie, before the citie of Liege. 62
 12 How the Liegeois made a desperate salse upon the Duke of Burgundies men, where he and the King were in great danger. 64
 13 How the citie of Liege was assualted, taken, and spoiled, and the Churches also. 66
 14 How King Lewis returned into Fraunce with the Duke of Burgundies consent, and how the Duke proceeded in destroying the countries of Liege and Franchemont. 68
 15 How the K. by subtill meanes perswaded the Lord Charles his brother to take the Duchie of Guienne for Brie and Champaigne, to the Duke of Burgundie discontentment. 70

The third Booke.

1 How the King tooke occasion to make war anew upon the Duke of Burgundie, and how he sent a Pursuauant of the Parliament to Gaunt to sommen him to appere at Paris. 72
 2 How the townes of Saint Quintin and Amiens were yeelded to the king: and for what causes the Constable nourished the war betweene the K. and the Duke of Burgundie. 74
 3 How the Duke of Burgundy tooke Piquigni, and afterward found meanes to make truce with the King for ayeere to the Constables great grieve. 76
 4 Of the wars among the Princes of England during these troubles betweene king Lewis and Charles Duke of Burgundy. 79
 5 How by king Lewis his aid, the Earle of Warwicke chased king Edward out of England, to the Duke of Burgundies great grieve, who received him into his countries. 82
 6 How the Earle of Warwicke tooke out of prison king Henry of England. 86
 7 How king Edward returned into England, where he slew in battell first the Earle of Warwicke, and then the Prince of Wales. 88
 8 How the wars renined betweene king Lewis and Charles D. of Burgundy, by the sollicitation of the Dukes of Guienne and Britaine. 90
 9 How the finall peace treated of betweene the Duke of Burgundy and the king brake off by cause of the Duke of Guiennes death, and how these two great Princes sought to deceiue each other. 94
 10 How the Duke of Burgundie seeing that he could not take Beauvais, before the which he had laid his siege, went to Roan. 97
 11 How the king made peace with the Duke of Britaine, and truce with the Duke of Burgundy, and how the Earle of Saint Paule escaped for that time a confiracie that these two Princes made against him. 99
 12 A discourse very fit for this place, of the wisedome of the king and the Constable, with good aduertisements to such as are in credit with Princes. 103

The fourth Booke.

1 How the Duke of Burgundie seazed of the Duchie of Guelders, sought to encroach further upon the Almaineres, and how he laid his siege before Nuz. 105
 2 How the towne of Nuz was succoured by the Emperor and the Almaineres against the Duke of Burgundie, and of other enimies that the king procured the Duke. 108
 3 How the king wan from the Duke of Burgundie the castell of Tronquay, the townes of Montdidier, Roye, and Corbys and how he sought to perswade the Emperor Frederick to seaze upon all that the said Duke held of the Empire. 110
 4 How the Constable began to be had in suspition againe, as well of the king as of the Duke of Burgundie. 112
 5 How the Duke of Burgundie leuied his siege befor Nuz by composition, and how the king of England his confederate sent to desie king Lewis. 113
 6 Of the trouble the Constable was in, and how he sent letters of credit to the king of England and the Duke of Burgundie, which after were in part cause of his death. 116
 7 How the king clothed a poore servant in a cote armor with a scutchin, and sent him to speake with the king of England in his campe, where he received a very good awnse. 118
 8 How truce for nine yeeres was treated of betweene the kings of Fraunce and England, notwithstanding all the lets and impediments that the Constable and the Duke of Burgundie made. 120

The Table.

9 How the king feasted the Englishmen in Amiens, and how there was a place assignd for the enteruiew of the two kings. 123
 10 How the two kings met and swore the treatie before concluded, and how some supposed that the holy Ghost came downe upon the king of Englands pavillion in the likenes of a white pigeon. 126
 11 How the Constable after the truce made with the Englishmen, sought to excuse himselfe to the king: and how truce was also concluded for nine yeeres betweene the king and the Duke of Burgundie. 129
 12 How the Constables deaþ was fully concluded and sworne betweene the King and the Duke of Burgundy, & how he went into the Dukes dominions, wher by his commandement he was staid and delivered to the king, and after put to death. 133
 13 A discourse of the faulfe the Duke of Burgundie committed in deliuering the Constable to the king contrary to his safe conduct, and what ensued thereof. 136

The fift Booke.

1 How the Duke of Burgundie making war upon the Swiflers, was overthowen at the straights of the mountaines neere to Granson. 138
 2 How after the overthow of Granson, the Duke of Milan, king Rene of Sicilie, the Duchesse of Savoy, and others departed from their league with the Duke of Burgundie. 141
 3 How the Swiflers vanquished the D. of Burgundie in battell neere to the towne of Morat. 144
 4 How after the battell of Morat the Duke of Burgundie tooke the Duchesse of Savoy, and how she was deliuered and sent home into hir countrey, by the kings meanes. 146
 5 How the Duke of Burgundie liued as it were solitarie the space of certaine weekes, during the which time the Duke of Lorraine reconquered his towne of Nancy. 148
 6 Of the Earle of Campobaches great treasons, and how he kept the D. of Burgundie from bearing a gentleman that would haue revealed them to him before he was put to death, and how the said D. made no account of the aduertisements the king gave him. 150
 7 How the Duke of Lorraine being accompanied with good force of Almaineres, came to the towne of Saint Nicholas during the siege of Nancy, and how the king of Portugale who was in France, came to see the Duke of Burgundie during the said siege. 153
 8 How the D. of Burgundie refusing the good counsell of divers of his men, was discomfited and slaine in the battell fought betweene him and the D. of Lorraine, neere to Nancy. 155
 9 A discourse vpon certaine vertues of the D. of Burgundie, and of the time his house florisched in prosperitie. 157
 10 How the king was aduertised of the Duke of Burgundies last overthow, and how he governed his affaires after the said Dukes death. 158
 11 How the king after the Duke of Burgundies death seazed into his bands the towne of Abbeville, and of the awnse they of Arras gave him. 160
 12 A discourse not appertaining to the principall matter of the great ioy the king was in to see himselfe deliuered of so many enimies, and of the error he committed touching the reducing of these countries of Burgundy to his obedience. 161
 13 How Han, Bohain, Saint Quintin and Peronne were yeelded to the king, and how he sent Master Oliver his barber to practise with them of Gaunt. 162
 14 How Master Oliver the kings barber failing to execute his enterprise at Gaunt, found meanes to put the kings forces into Tournay. 165
 15 Of the ambassadours the Lady of Burgundy daughter to the late Duke Charles sent to the king, and how by meanes of Monsieur de Cordes the city of Arras, the townes of Hedin and Bollein, and the towne of Arras it selfe, were yeelded to the king. 167
 16 How the citizens of Gaunt having vsurped ambaray ouer their Princessse after hir fathers death, came in ambassage to the king, as from the thre estates of their countrey. 170
 17 How they of Gaunt after their ambassadours returne, put to deaþ the Chancellor Hugonet, & the Lord of Humbercourt against their Princessses will, and how they and other Flemmings were discomfited before Tournay, and their generall the Duke of Gueldres slaine. 172
 18 A discourse vpon this point that wars and diuisions are permitted of God for the chastisement of Princes and euill people, with divers good reasons and examples for the instruction of Princes, which happened in the Authors time. 176

The Table.

The sixt Booke.

- 1 How the Duche of Burgundie was yeelded to the king. 187
- 2 How the King entertained the Englishmen after the death of Charles Duke of Burgundie, so the end they shold not hinder his conquest of the said Dukes dominions. 188
- 3 How the marriage betwene the Lady of Burgundie and Maximilian Duke of Austrich, afterward Emperor, was concluded and accomplished. 191
- 4 How King Lewis by the conduct of Charles of Amboise his lieutenant, recovered diners townes in Burgundie, which the Prince of Orenge had caused to revolt from him. 195
- 5 How Monsieur d' Argenton during these wars of the conquest of Burgundie, was sent to Florence and how he received homage of the Duke of Milan in the kings name for the Duchy of Genua. 198
- 6 Of Monsieur d' Argentons returne out of Italy into Fraunce, and of the battell of Guinegate. 200
- 7 How King Lewis being visited with sicknes, lost his wits, and lay speechlesse, sometime recovering, and at other times falling into his disease againe: and how he behaued himselfe in the castell of Plessis neere to Tours. 202
- 8 How the king caused the holy man of Calabria to come to Tours, thinking that he could heale him: and what strange things the said king did to maintaine his authoritie during his sicknes. 207
- 9 How the marriage betwene the Dauphine and the Lady Margaret of Flaunders was concluded and how she was brought into Fraunce: whereupon Edward king of England died for sorrow. 208
- 10 How the king behaued himselfe towards his neighbors and subiects during the time of his sicknes, and how divers things were sent him from divers places for the recovery of his heale. 211
- 11 How king Lewis the 11. caused Charles the Dauphin his sonne to come to him a litle before his death, and of the commandements and precepts he gaue both him and certaine others. 212
- 12 A comparison betwene the sorrowes and troubles that king Lewis suffered, and those he caused divers others to suffer, with a reuersal of al that he did, & al that was done to him til his death. 214
- 13 A discourse upon the miserie of mans life, by the examples of those Princes that liued in the aucthors time, and first of king Lewis. 218

The conclusion of the Author. 224

A supplie of the historie of Philip de Commines from the death of king Lewis the eleuenth, till the beginning of the wars of Naples, to wit, from 1483. till 1493. of all the which time Commines wroteth nothing. 225

- 1 Of king Charles his comming to the crowne, of the death of Oliver king Lewis his Barber and others, and of the revoking of king Lewis his superfluous gifts. ibid.
- 2 Of the assembly of the states held at Tours, of the Duke of Orleans purſue for the regencie, of the mad war raised by him, and of his departure into Britaine. 226
- 3 Of the troubles that happened in Britaine betwene the Duke and his nobles, and of Peter Landois death. 228
- 4 Of the war the king made in Britaine, and of the Earle of Danois ambassage to the king for peace. 230
- 5 Of the battell of Saint Albin, wherein the Duke of Orleans was taken prisoner, of the treatie of peace betwene the king and the Duke of Britaine, and of the said Duke of Britaines death. 233
- 6 Of the kings marriage with the Lady Anne of Britaine, whereby Britaine was united to the crowne of Fraunce. 236
- 7 Of the troubles in England, and how the king of England passed the sea and besieged Boloine, and of the peace betwene the king and him, and of the surprising of Arras and Saint Omer by the king of Romaines men. 237
- 8 Of the restitution of the countries of Rousillon and Parpignau to the king of Spaine, of the Emperors Fredericks death, of the peace betwene the king of Romaines and the king, and of the Duke of Orleans delinety out of prison. 240

The seventh Booke.

The Prologue of the Author, containing that which he intendeth to treate of in this historie following.

- 1 How Rene D. of Lorraine came into Fraunce to demand the Duche of Bar, & the Earldome of

The Table.

- of Provence which king Charles held, and how he failed to enter into the realme of Naples, whereunto he pretended title as the king did, and what right both of them had thereto. 243
- 2 How the prince of Salerne in the realm of Naples came into Fraunce, and how Lodouic Sforze surnamed the Moore and he, sought to perswade the king to make war upon the king of Naples, and for what cause. 245
- 3 How king Charles the 8. made peace with the king of Romaines and the Archduke of Austrich, restoring to them the Lady Margaret of Flaunders, before he made his voyage to Naples. 249
- 4 How the king sent to the Venetians to practise with them before he enterprised his voyage to Naples, and of the preparation that was made for the said voyage. 251
- 5 How king Charles departed from Vienna in Dauphine to conquer the realme of Naples in person, and what his name upon the sea did under the leading of the D. of Orleans. 253
- 6 How the king remaining yet in Aſt, resolved to passe foorth towards Naples at the earnest suete of Lodouic Sforze. How Philip de Commines was sent ambassador to Venice: of the D. of Milans deare; after whose deceaſe the said Lodouic seized upon the Duche, to the preindice of a ſonne the ſaid D. left behind him. 256
- 7 How Peter of Medices yeelded fower of the Florentines ſtrongeſt places to the king, and how the king reſtored Pisa being one of them to their ancient libertie. 258
- 8 How the king departed from Pisa to Florence, & of the flight & ruin of Peter de Medices. 261
- 9 How the king entered into Florence, and through what other townes he paſſed till he came to Rome. 263
- 10 How the king ſent the Cardinal Petri ad Vincula to Ostie; what the Pope did at Rome in the meane time, and how the king entered into Rome mangre all his enimies. 264
- 11 How king Alfonſe cauſed his ſonne Ferrand to be crowned king, and then fled himſelfe into Sicilie: with a diſcourse of the euill life that his father the old Ferrand and he had lead. 266
- 12 How the yong Ferrand after he was crowned king of Naples, went and encamped at Saint Germaine to reſiſt the kings comming, and of the treatie that king Charles made with the Pope at Rome. 270
- 13 How the King departed from Rome towards Naples, what happened in the meane time in diuers parties of the ſaid realme: and through what places he paſſed till he came to Naples. 271
- 14 How King Charles was crowned King of Naples, of the faults he committed in the defence of the realme, and how an enterprize attempted on his behalfe againſt the Turke was diſcovered by the Venetians. 274
- 15 A diſcourse ſomewhat out of the course of the historie, wherein Philip de Commines Author of this preuent worke, treateth amply of the eſtate and government of the Seniorie of Venice, and of theſe things that he ſaw there, and were done there during the time of his ambassage to the ſaid Seniorie for the King. 276

The eight Booke.

- 1 Of the order and prouision the king left in the realme of Naples at his returne into Fraunce. 285
- 2 How the king departed from Naples, and paſſed againſt through Rome, whereupon the Pope fled to Oruiette: of the communication the king had with Monsieur d' Argenton, at his returne from Venice: how he tooke aduise whether he ſhould reſtore the Florentines places to them or not: and of the ſermons woorthie of memorie of frier Ierom of Florence. 287
- 3 How the king retained in his hands the towne of Pisa, and certaine other of the Florentines places: and how in the meane time the Duke of Orleans entred on the other ſide into Nouarre, a towne of the Duche of Milan. 289
- 4 How king Charles paſſed diuers dangerous ſtraights in the mountaines betwene Pisa and Serzane: how the towne of Pontremo was burned by his Almaines, and how the Duke of Orleans beſtained himſelfe in the meane time at Nouarre. 291
- 5 How the kings great artillery paſſed the mounts Appennines by the Almaines helpe, of the danger the Marshall of Gie was in with his vaward and how the king arrived at Fornone. 294
- 6 Of the battell of Fornone, wherein the enemies of Fraunce were put to flight, and how the Earle of Petillane, who the ſame day brake the kings prison, refiued them together againe. 299
- 7 How the Lord of Argenton went himſelfe alone to parle with the enimies when he ſaw that thofe that were appointed to go with him would not go: and how the king returned ſafe and ſound with his army to the towne of Aſt. 306

The Table.

8 How the king sent shippes to the sea to succour the castles of Naples, & why the said castles could not be succoured.	311
9 Of the great famine and miserie the D. of Orleans & his men were in at Nouare: of the Marchionesse of Montferrats death, and likewise of Monsieur de Vendosmes: and how after long deliberation the king inclined to peace, to save those that were besieged.	313
10 How the D. of Orleans and his company were delivred by composition out of their great miserie in Nouare where they were besieged: and of the Swyffers arrivall that came to succour the king and the said D. of Orleans.	316
11 How the peace was concluded betweene the king and the D. of Orleans on the one side, and the enimies on the other: and of the conditions and articles thereof.	320
12 How the king sent the Lord of Argenton to Venise with certaine condicions of peace which they refused: and of the D. of Milans false dealings.	322
13 How the king after his retурne into Fraunce forgot those that he left behind him in the realme of Naples: and how the Dauphin died, whose death the king and Queen much lamented.	325
14 How the king was aduertised of the losse of the castell of Naples: and how the Florentines places were sold to diuers men: of the treatie of Atelle in Ponille, to the great dammage of the French, and of the death of king Ferrand of Naples.	327
15 How certaine practises entertained by diuers noble men of Italy on the kings behalfe, as well for the conquest of Naples, as of the Duchie of Milan, failed for lacke of sending shirker: and how an other enterprise against Genua sped euill also.	330
16 Of certaine controversies betweene king Charles and Ferrand king of Castile, and of the ambaſſadors that were ſent too and fro to pacifie them.	334
17 A diſcource of the misfortunes that hapned to the house of Castile, in the Lord of Argentons time.	338
18 Of the ſumptuous buildings K. Charles began a little before his death, of the great desire he had to reforme the Church and himſelfe, to diminish his reuenues, and to redrefſe the proceſſes of the law: and how he died ſuddenly in this good minde in his castell of Amboise.	341
19 How the holy man frier Hierom was burned at Florence by the procurement of the Pope, and of diuers Florentines and Venetians his enimies.	343
20 Of the obsequies and funerals of King Charles the 8. and of the coronation of King Lewis the 12. his ſuccellor, with the genealogie of the kings of Fraunce continuing to the ſaid Lewis.	344
The pedigree of Charles D. of Burgundy ſhewing how he was of the house of Lancaster.	347
How Elizabeth wife to king Edward the fourth was neece to the Conſtable of Fraunce.	348
How Brabant, Lambourg, Luxembourge and Namur, &c. came to Charles D. of Burgundy.	349
How Margaret of Flaunders was heire of Flaunders, &c.	350
How Arbois and the county of Burgundy descended to the ſaid Lady Margaret &c.	351
How the King of Portugale was cofin germane to the D. of Burgundy.	352
How the D. of Cleves was the Lady of Burgundies neereſt kinsman by his mother.	353
How King Henry the 7. was right heire of the house of Lancaster.	354
The title the D. of Lorraine had to the realme of Sicilie, &c.	355
Why the Venetians had no right to the realme of Cypriu.	356
The pedigree of the house of Medices.	358
How Lewis D. of Orleans pretended title to the Duchie of Milan.	359
The pedigree of Hercules D. of Ferrara.	360
The pedigree of Francis Marques of Mantua.	362
How Ferdinand King of Arragon had more right to the realme of Naples than the kings of the house of Arragon that poſſeſſed it,	363
	364

F I N I S.

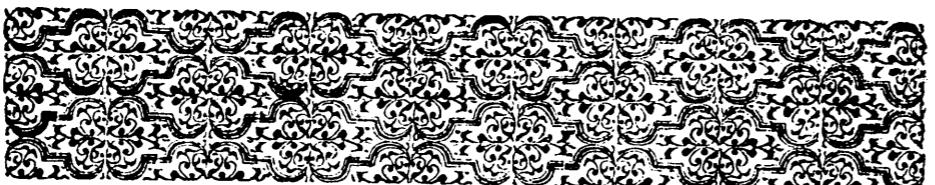
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THE PREFACE OF THE AVTHOR TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF VIENNA in Fraunce.



O ſatisfie your request (right reuerend) ſo often mooued vnto me, I ſende you heere a memoriall as agreeable to truth, as I can poſſiblē call to minde, of all the actes and doings that I haue beene priuie vnto, of king Lewis the eleuenth our master and benefactor, a prince worthy of perpetuall memory. Of his youth I can ſay nothing but by his owne report. But from the time I entred into his ſeruice, till the hower of his death whereat my ſelfe was present, I was more continually resident with him than any man of my estate that ſerued him, being euer either of his priuie chamber, or employed in his weightie affaires. I founde in him as in all other princes that I haue knoyne or ſerued, both vertue and vice. For men they are as we be, and perfeſſion is proper to God onely. But ſure that prince whose vertues and good partes ſurmount his vices, deserueth great commendation, the rather because commonly noble personages are more prone to al kind of wontonnes than other men: partly for that in their childhood they are brought vp without due chauſtisement & correction, and partly because when they are growne to mans estate, ech man ſeeketh to ſeede their humors and ſoothe them in all they ſay or do. But for mine owne part because I loue not to flatter nor misreport the truth, ſomwhat may happily be found in this historie not tending altogether to the kings praise, but I truſt the readers will weigh the reaſons aboue alledged. Sure thus much I dare boldly ſay in his commendation, that in mine opinion he was the prince in his age (all things conſidered) leaſt ſubiect to vice. Yet haue I knowne and beene conueriant with as many great princes, both ſpirituall and temporall as any man in Fraunce of my time, as well the princes of this realme, as thofe alſo that haue liued in Britaine, Flaunders, Almayne, Englaude, Spayne, Portugall, and Italie. Diuers others alſo whom I haue not ſeen: yet haue I knowne, partly by conference with their ambaſſadors, and partly by their letters and inſtructions which are meanes ſufficient to enforme men of their naues and diſpoſitions. Notwithſtanding I minde not by ſetting foorth his commendation in this worke, to detract from the honor and good renowme of others, but ſend you, penned in haſte all that I could call to minde, truſting that you haue required it of me to turne it into ſome worke that you purpoſe to publish in Latine (to the perfeſſion of which toong you haue atteined) whereby may appeare both the woorthines of the prince I now write of, and alſo the excellencie of your owne wit. Farther ſir, if I happen to faile in any point, you haue my L. of Bouchage, and others who are better able to enforme you of theſe affaires than my ſelfe, and to couch their words in much eloquenter language. Although to ſay the truth conſidering how honorably the king entertained me, how great familiaritie it pleasid him to vſe towards me, and how liberally he beſtowed vpon me, never intermitting one of the three till the houre of his death, no man hath iuſter cauſe to remember thoſe times than my ſelfe, whereunto I alſo adde the loſſes I haue ſuſtained, and the dangers I haue beene in ſithence his deceafe, which are ſufficient I thinke, to put me in minde of the great benefits I received at his hands during his life. Notwithſtanding that I know it to be a matter of course that after the death of great and mightie princes, great altera-

tions ensue to the losse of some, and gaine of others: for riches and honors folow not alwaies their expectation that hunt after them. To conclude sir, the better to enforme you of the time fithence I entred into the kings familiaritie (which is your desire) I am forced first to rehearse what hapned before I came to his seruice, and so orderly to proceede from the time I became his seruant, till the houre of his death.



The occasion of the wars betweene Lewis the eleventh and the Earle of Charolois afterward Duke of Burgundie.
Chapter 1.

¹ *Commines*
whē he came
to the Earle of
Charolois
seruice was
19.yeeres of
age.

1464.

² *Charles Earle*
of Eu, *Peter of*
Morvillier, &
John de Flar-
cour *bishop of*
Narbonne
were the am-
bassadors here
mentioned, they
arrived at Lille
the 5. of Nouem-
ber, *Annals*
Burgundie.

³ Whether
the king ment
to haue taken
the Earle of
Charolois
prisoner by



After I was past my childehood and able to ride ¹ I was presented at Lille to *Charles* then Earle of Charolois, and after his fathers death *D.* of Burgundie, who received me into his seruice the yeere 1464. About three daies after my comming thither, arriued at the saide towne of Lille, certaine Ambassadours from the king, namely the Earle of Eu, *Morvillier* Chancellor of Fraunce, and the Archbishop of Narbonne, ² who in presence of Duke *Philip* of Burgundie, his sonne the Earle of Charolois, and their whole Councell in open court had their audience. *Morvillier* speech was very bitter, for he charged the Earle of Charolois there present, that at his late being in Holland he had caused a little French ship of war of Diepe to be arrested, and therein the bastard of Rubempre, whom also he had imprisoned, charging him that he was come thither to take him prisoner, and causing this brute every where to be published ³ (especially at Bruges whither strangers of all nations resort) by a knight of Burgundie named sir *Oliver de la Marche*, ⁴ wherefore the king finding himselfe wrongfully burdened heerewith (as he said) ⁵ required *D. Philip* to send this sir *Oliver de la Marche* prisoner to Paris, there to be punished according as the case required. Whereunto *D. Philip* answered that the said sir *Oliver* was steward of his house, borne in the Countie of Burgundie, ⁶ and

^{pre, reade *Annal. Burgundie*, lib. 3. pag. 880. and *Meyer* lib. 16. fol. 334. who flatly charge him with it.} ⁴ Sir *Oliver de la Marche* heere named wrote a Cronicle of these times. ⁵ The cause why the King sent *Rubempre* into Holland was not (as he said) to take the Earle of Charolois, but the Vicechauncellor of Britaine named in *Meyer*, *Ioannes Recuilla*, and by our author in the third Chapter of this first booke *Rouille*, whom the Duke of Britaine had sent into England to make a league betwene the realme of England and him, and because the King supposed this Vicechauncellor would visit the Earle of Charolois in his returne: he sent this *Rubempre* into Holland to take him and bring him into Fraunce, *Annal. Burgund. Meyer*. ⁶ For the better understanding of the Dukes answere, I am forced to passe the bounds of a note. Wherefore it is to be vnderstood that in the declination of the Romaine Empire, the Burgundians anno 408, being chased out of Almaine, where they inhabited, the countries now subiect to the Palsgrave of the Rhine, invaded Fraunce, and conquered the countries, now knowne by the names of the Countie and Duchie of Burgundie, together with Sauoy, Dauphine, Prouince, and the greatest part of Switzerland, and anno 414. chose them a king named *Gondiatus*, with whom (after diuers battels fought with changeable fortune) *Arius* the Emperour, *Honorius* his lieutenant in Fraunce, at the length made peace. And *Gondiatus* remained king of Burgundie, and aided the Romaines against *Attila*. Soone after failed the male line of *Gondiatus*, and by the mariage of *Clotilde* daughter to *Chilperic*, *Gondiatus* his sonne, with *Clodarius* King of Fraunce: Burgundie fell to *Clodarius* sonne to the saide *Clotilde* and *Clodarius*, and so continued in the house of Fraunce till the yeere 843. when the sonnes of the Emperor *Lotharius* firs warring together, Burgundie was deuided into *Burgundiam Transjurana*, and *Cisjurana*. *Transjurana* containing Sauoy, Dauphine, Prouince and Lyoanous, remained to *Lotharius* the Emperour, with the title of King of Burgundie. *Cisjurana* containing the Countie

and

and Duchie of Burgundie, was also dismembred, for that part now knowne by the name of the Countie of Burgundie, fell also to *Lotharius* share: but that part now knowne by the name of the Duchie of Burgundie, was togither with the Realme of Fraunce yelded to *Carolus Calvus*: But after the death of the Emperor *Lotharius*, his two sonnes *Lotharius* and *Lotharius* made another partition of their part of Burgundie: for the realme of *Austrasia* with the Countie of Burgundie fell to *Lotharius*, after whose death his vncle *Carolus Calvus* King of Fraunce ambitiously through violence conquered also that part of Burgundie, and ioyned it to the crowne of Fraunce, so that the said *Carolus Calvus* possessed all Burgundie *Cisjurana*, that is, both the Countie and Duchie of Burgundie. *Lotharius* the other sonne of the Emperor *Lotharius* possessed with the Empire all Burgundie *Transjurana*, together with the title of King of Burgundie, and left behinde him one only daughter named *Hermingard*, maried to *Boson* brother to *Richilde*, *Carolus Calvus* his wife, in respect of which mariage the said *Calvus* gave to *Boson* all Burgundie *Cisjurana*, which he the said *Calvus* then held: And thus had *Boson* all the realme of Burgundie, viz. *Transjurana* in the right of his wife, and *Cisjurana*, by his brother in lawes gift. Farther the said *Calvus* being both Emperor and King of Fraunce, created the aboue named *Boson* King of Burgundie anno 879. to whom succeeded *Lotharius* his sonne, from whom *Ralph* King of Fraunce (sonne to *Richard* that first intituled himselfe Duke of Burgundie) wan the greatest part of Burgundie *Cisjurana*. To this *Lewis* succeeded his sonne *Ralph* King of Burgundie, who not being able to defend his realme gave it to the Emperor *Conradus* 2. who notwithstanding obteined the least part thereof: for as touching *Transjurana*, *Beralde* Duke of Saxe had before this gift woon from King *Ralph*, Sauoy and a great peice of Switzerland, Dauphine, Lyoanous, and Prouince *Gugue le gras* the first *Dauphin*, had likewise conquered. And as touching *Cisjurana* by treatie made betwene the Emperor *Conradus* 2. and *Henry* King of Fraunce, only the Countie remained to the Empire, and the Duchie to the crowne of Fraunce. This I haue written, because some hold opinion that the Countie of Burgundie ought also to be held of the crowne of Fraunce, whereas in dede rather the Duchie with all *Transjurana* (the greatest part whereof of the French King at this day posseseth) ought to be held of the Empire, from whom the said French Kings haue pulled so many prouinces, that now (as one properly speakeith) the Eagle hath lost so many feathers, that hardly he can flie.

in no respect subiect to the crowne of Fraunce. Notwithstanding if it could be duely proued that he had said or done any thing prejudicall to the Kings honor, he would see him punished according as the fault deserved. And as touching the bastard of Rubempre, he said that true it was that he was apprehended for great causes of suspition giuen, and strange behauor vsed by him and his men about the towne of *Lahaye* ⁷ in Holland, where at that present his sonne the Earle of Charolois remained, adding that if the said Earle were suspicous he tooke it not of him, for he was never so, but of his mother who had beene the most ielous Ladie that euer liued.

⁷ *Lahaye* in our author and in *Annal. Bur-*
gund. where
Rubempre
should haue
taken the
Earle of Cha-
rolois, is na-
med in Meyer
Gorkem.

But notwithstanding quoth he, that my selfe never were suspicous: yet if I had been in my sonnes place at the same time, that this bastard of Rubempre haunted thole coasts: I would sure haue caused him to be apprehended as my sonne did. Lastly, he promised that if this bastard were not guiltie of this fact, to wit a purpose to haue taken his sonne (as common report said he was) he would foorthwith deliuer him out of prison, and send him to the King according to his ambassadours demands? The *D.* answere ended: *Morvillier* began againe, charging with great and heinous offences, *Frances* *D.* of Britaine, and alledging that at the Earle of Charolois late being at Tours (whither he went to visit the king) the said *D.* and he had giuen their faith ech to other in writing to become brethren in armes, which writings he said were enterchangeable deliuered by the hands of master *Tannegui du Chastel*, who since hath been gouernor of Roussillon, and borne sonne swaie in this Realme: This fact *Morvillier* aggravated in such sort, that nothing he omitted in setting forth this offence that might tend to the disgrace and dishonor of a Prince. Whereunto the Earle of Charolois made offe effsoones to answere, being maruellously out of patience to heare such reprochfull speeches vsed of his friend and confederate. But *Morvillier* euer cut him off saying: My Lord of Charolois, I am not come of ambassage to you but to my L. your Father. The said Earle besought his father ⁸ The pension
diuers times to give him leaue to answere, who in the end said thus vnto him: I haue
the Earle of
Charolois
had of the
King with the
gouvernement
of Normandy
was 36000.
franks, *Annal.*
Burgund. La
Marche, Meyer.

answering for thee as me thinketh, the father should answere for the sonne, notwithstanding if thou haue so great desire to speake, bethinke thy selfe to day, and to morrow speake and spare not. Then *Morvillier* to his former speech added, that he could not imagine what had moued the Earle to enter into this league with the *D. of Britaine*, vnlesse it were because of a pension ⁸ the King had once giuen him, together with the gouernement of Normandy, and afterward againe taken from him.

B 2

The

The next day in presence of the selfe same audience, the Earle of Charolois kneeling vpon a veluet cushion, adressed his speech to his father, and began with this bastard of *Rubempre*, affirming the causes of his imprisonment to be iust and lawfull, as the course of his arraignment should well declare. Notwithstanding I thinke

⁹ A franke is
two shillings
and sixe pence
sterling, after
eight loute to
an English
shilling, so that
the Earles
pension after
that rate a-
mounted to
fower thou-
sand five hun-
dred pound
sterling.

¹⁰ The townes
and territories
upon the riuers
of Somme en-
gaged to Duke
Philip by the
treatie of *Arras*, which was
in the yeare
1435, are na-
med in the ar-
ticles of the
said treatie re-
hearsed in *An-
nal. Burgund.*
pag. 760. and
761. and in
the first booke
of *La Marche*,
and in the 16.
of *Meyer* and
others.

¹¹ They were
engaged as
our author
and *Annal.*
Burgund. write
for 400000.
crownes, but
Meyer saith
450000. but
they were re-
deemed for
400000 anno.
1463. *La Mar-
che, Meyer, An-
nal. Burgund.*

These *Morvilliers* words aboue rehearsed, caused the Earle of Charolois hatted against the King to take deepe roote, the seedes whereof were before sowne by the Kings late redeeming of the townes situate vpon the riuer of Somme ¹⁰, namely *Amiens, Abbeuille, Saint Quintin*, and the rest which King *Charles* the seventh had engaged by the treatie of *Arras* to his father. D. *Philip* of Burgundie to haue and to holde to him and to his heires males, till they were redeemed for fower hundred thousand crownes ¹¹: How these matters passed, I know not perfectly, but true it is that in the D. old age he was so gouerned by the Lords of *Croy* and *Chimay*, being brethren, and others of their house, that he agreed to take againe his money and restore the said territories to the King, greatly to the Earle his sons discontentation: for besides that they were the frontier townes of their dominions, they lost in them a number of able men for the wars. The Earle of Charolois charged the house of *Croy* with this fact, so farre foorth that after extreme age was growne vpon his father (whereunto he euen then approached) he banished all the said house out of his dominions, and confiscated all their lands, estates and offices.

How

How the Earle of Charolois and diuers noblemen of Fraunce leuied
an army against King Lewis, vnder colour of the
weale publique. Chap. 2.



Oone after the abouenamed Ambassadours departure, John Duke of Bourbon that last died, arriuied at the towne of *Lisle*, pretending that he came to visit his vnkle Duke *Philip* of Burgundie, who aboue all houses loued espe-
cially this house of Bourbon, and no maruell: for this Duke of Bourbons mother was Duke *Philip*s sister. She had li-
ued a widow many yeeres, and sojourned there at that
time with her brother, both her selfe and diuers of her
children, to wit, three daughters and one sonne, not-
withstanding this was not indeed the cause of the Duke
of Bourbons arriuall, but his comming was to perswade the Duke of Burgundie to
suffer an armie to be leuied in his dominions, assuring him that all the Princes of
Fraunce would doe the like: meaning thereby to give the king to understand how
evil and vniust gouernment he vised in his realine, and purposing to make themselues
so strong, that they might constraine him by force to redresse this inconuenience, if
praiers could not preuaile. This war was afterward called THE WEALE PUBLIQUE,
because the authors thereof vied the common wealth for colour of their enterprise:
The said good Duke *Philip* (for so is he surnamed since his death) agreed that an
armie should be leuied in his dominions, but the bottom of the enterprise was never
discouered to him: for he thought not that the matter should haue come to hand
strokes as after it did. Immediately began the musters through all the Dukes domi-
nions, and the Earle of Saint Paule afterward Constable of Fraunce, accompanied
with the Marshall of Burgundie, being of the house of *Neuf-chastell*, repaired to
Cambray (where D. *Philip* then lay) to the Earle of Charolois, who immedately after
their arriuall assembled his fathers Councill, and a great number of his subiects in
the Bishops palace at *Cambray*, where he proclaimed all the house of *Croy* traitors
to his father and him. And notwithstanding that the Earle of S. Paule alleged, that
by this proclamation he should be greatly indamaged, because long before this, he
had giuen his daughter in mariage ¹ to the L. of *Croy* sonne: yet was the said house
of *Croy* (all that notwithstanding) forced to abandon the Dukes dominions ², where
they lost great riches. With the which dooing, Duke *Philip* was much Discon-
tent, especially because his chiefe chamberlaine (afterward Lord of *Chimay*) a yoong
man well disposed, and nephew to the Lord of *Croy*, was forced for feare of his life,
to depart without leaue taken of his master, being aduertised that if he did otherwise
he should either be slaine or apprehended: but the Dukes old age caused him to
bear this matter more patiently than otherwise he would. All this trouble hap-
pened in his house because of the restitution of the territories aboue mentioned, si-
tuate vpon the riuer of Somme, which the Duke had restored to King *Lewis* for the
sum of 400000. crownes, by the perswasion of this house of *Croy*, as the Earle of
Charolois laide to their charge.

The said Earle after he had pacified his father, and reconciled himselfe to him
the best that mought be, put his whole force incontinent into the field, being
accompanied with the Earle of S. Paule, the principall gouernor of his affaires, and
he that had the greatest charge in his armie, for he had vnder him by the Earle of

Charolois

¹ Every French man of armes Charolois commandement 300. men of armes, and 4000. archers, besides a number of valiant knights and esquires of Artois, Haynalt, and Flaunders. Like bands and as great were also vnder the leading of the L. of Ravastin, the D. of Cleves brother, and the L. Anthony bastard of Burgundie, other captaines for breuitie I passe ouer, but aboue all the rest, two knights there were especially, in great credit with the Earle of Charolois, the one named the L. of Hault-bordin an ancient knight, bastard brother to the Earle of S. Paule, the other the L. of Contay. They had both beeene trained vp in the long wars betwenee Fraunce and England, at the same time that Henry the 5. of that name King of England, raigned in Fraunce, being confederate with this Duke Philip of Burgundie. They were two valiant and wise knights, and had the principall charge of the whole armie: of yoong gentlemen there were a number, but one especially very famous, called master Philip of Lalain, issued of a race that hath euer been so valiant and couragious, that they haue in maner all died in the wars in their Princes seruice. The Earles force was great: for his men of armes were to the number of 1400. but euill armed, and vnitrained, because of the long peace these Princes of Burgundie had liued in. For since the treatie of Arras by the space of 36. yeeres and more, they neuer had war that indured, nor almost taste of war, saue a few broyles against the citie of Gaunt, which were soone pacified. Notwithstanding his men of armes were well mounted, and well accompanied, for few or none should you haue seene without fve or sixe great horses of his retinue.

² The archers were crossbow-men mounted on horsebacke, as harquebussers on horsebacke are now. ³ He that maketh such offer of himselfe, seeketh pray not seruice, wherefore this reiection of so many, was done according to the rules of the art of war. ⁴ Of the excesse of this house of Burgundie, Annal. Burgund. write thus, lib. 3. pa. 917. and 918. All fashions of apparell were growne in vse among the subiects of this house of Burgundie, and those so indecent and dissolute, that none could be more. The Ladies and gentlewomen were vpon their head a strange kinde of attire, fashioned in pyramidal forme, the top thereof halfe an ell good aboue the crowne of their head, and therupon a carchef of lawne or some other fine linnen hanging downe to the very ground: a fond auire and worthy to be derided. The men disguised themselves no lesse than the women, some ware their clothes so short, that they hardly couered those parts that nature hit selfe shameleß to discouer: their haire was curled and of such length that it hindred their sight: vpon their heads they ware felt-hats copleranked, a quarter of an ell high or more: they studded their dublets about their shoulders and brest maruellous full of bombast, to the ende they might seeme square and broad breasted, a thing greatly displeasing God: their clokes were not so short but their gownes were as long, for they trained after them vpon the ground. To be short, the whole world could not devise stranger kinds of disguising than they had, and that was woorst of al is this, that every rascall and every woman in beggers estate would be appareld princelike, and imitate the fashion of Court, without regard either of cost or calling. Compare this with the excesse of England at these daies, and we shall see in a glasse our owne vanities, and haue just cause to looke for the same miseries that fell vpon this house of Burgundie after this excesse. ⁵ The 15. of May saith Meyer, but the 25. Annal. Burgund. the Earle departed from his father.

artillerie,

artillerie, which was mightie and strong for that time, and the straglers appointed for the cariage, the which was so great, that the Earles owne cariage inclofed the greatest part of his campe: he marched first towards Noyon, and besieged a little castell called Nesle, which was soone taken, notwithstanding the resistance made by the garrison that was within it. The Marshall *Joachin* (one of the fower Marshals of Fraunce) issuing out of Peronne coasted continually along by the Earles campe, but could not endamage him, for his force was so small, that when the Earle drew neare to Paris he retired thither. All the way as the Earle passed he made no war,

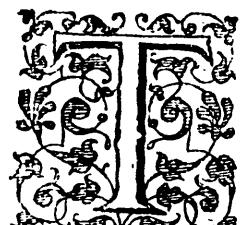
⁶ The Earle of Charolois as he passed named himselfe the Duke of Berries lieutenant, for the which cause the townes here mentioned the wil-linger received him. ⁷ *Alnales Burgundi.* The Earles army shewed it selfe before Paris about the 12. or 13. of Julie, at which time all the Princes should haue met him there. Meyer.

The Earle of Charolois shewed himselfe before Paris ⁸, where was a hot skirmish, hard at the towne gates, but to the Citizens disadvantage. Men of war within the towne were none, saue onely the Marshall *Joachin* with his compa-⁹nie, and the Lord of Nantouillet, afterward Lord great Master, who did the King as good seruice in these wars as euer did subiect King of France at his neede, and yet in the ende was euill recompensed, rather by his enemies malice, than the Kings fault, though neither of both are wholy to be excused. The poore people of the citie were in so great feare the day of the skirmish, that they cryed often (as I was afterwards credibly enformed) that wee were entred the towne, but without cause. Notwithstanding the L. of Hault-bordin aboue mentioned (who had beeene brought vp in the towne, when it was nothing so strong as now it is) gaue aduise to assault it, and the soldiers desired nothing more, contemning the townes men because the skirmishes were hard at their gates, yet the contrarie opinion tooke place, whereupon the Earle retired to S. Denis. The next day in the morning he debated with his Councell whether he should go to meeete with the Dukes of Berry and Britaine or not, who were at hand as the Vicechauncellor of Britaine said, shewing also their letters testifying the same, but he had forged them vpon his blanks, and other newes knew he none. In the end the Earle refolued to passe the riuier of Seine, notwithstanding that the most part of his Councell gaue aduise to returne home, seeing the rest of the confederates had broken day, alleging it to be sufficient to haue passed the riuers of Somme and Marne, and more than needed to passe this riuier of Seine. Some also put foorth great doubtes, because we had no places on our backe to retire into if we should be distressed. But all this notwithstanding the Earle passed the riuier and encamped at Pont S. Clou ¹⁰, wherefore the whole armie of S. Paule tooke a great boate vpon the riuier of Seine, in the which he passed the riuier, and tooke Pont S. Clou.

⁸ I must here declare the occasion of the Kings voyage into Bourbonnois, which was this: So soone as he understood that all the princes of his realme had conspired against

against him (at the least against his government) he determined to prevent them, and before they were assembled, to invade the D. of Bourbon, who was the first that openly discovered himself to be of the confederacie ¹¹; and because his countrey was weake he hoped soone to subdue it, as in deede diuers places he tooke, and would easily haue taken all, had not succours come thither out of Burgundie vnder the leading of the L. of Coulches, the Marquesse of Rottelin, the L. of Montague, and others, with whom Master *William* of Rochedort Chauncellor of Fraunce (a man at this day of great estimation) was also in armes. This force was levied in Burgundie by the sollicitation of the Earle of Beauieu, and the Cardinal of Bourbon, ¹² brethern to D. *John* of Bourbon, and by them received into Molines. Aide came also of another side to the D. of Bourbon, vnder the leading of the D. of Nemours, the Earle of Armignac, and the L. of Albert, being accompanied with a great band of soldiers, some of the which were good men of armes of their countries, who lately had forsaken the Kings pay, and put themselves into their service. But the greatest part of their men were vtterly vnfurnished of all things, and forced for lacke of pay to liue vpon the poore people. The King notwithstanding these their great forces gave them ynoch to do: wherefore in the end they fell to treat of peace, especially the D. of Nemours, who solemnly promised and swore to take part with him, and yet did afterwards the contrarie: whereupon the King conceived so great displeasure against him, that afterward he could neuer brooke him, as eftsoones he hath told me. To be short, the King perceiving that he could not atchieue his enterprise in Bourbonnois so speedily as at the firt he hoped, and fearing if the Earle of Charolois forces which approached neare to Paris, and the forces of the Duke of Berry his owne brother, and of the Duke of Britaine which were comming out of Britaine, should ioine togither: that the Parisians would receiue them into their towne, because they all pretended the common wealth for colour of their enterprise: and knowing also that as the towne of Paris did, so all the other townes in his realme would follow; for these causes I say, he resolued with all speede possible to put himselfe into Paris, meaning to keepe these two great armes asunder: but his purpose was not to fight, as he hath himselfe diuers times told me in communing of these affaires.

How the Earle of Charolois encamped neere to Montl'her, and of the battell fought there betweene the King of Fraunce and him.
Chap. 3.

 He Earle of Charolois supposing that the King (being departed out of Bourbonnois as before you haue heard) came downe pur- posely to fight with him: resolued likewise to set forward against the King, and then read openly the contents of the letter sent him by the Lady aboue mentioned, (but suppressing his name) and required his soldiers to play the men, saying, that he was fully resolued to hazard the battell, wherefore he marched and encamped at a village neere to Paris called Longiumeau, and the Earle of S. Paule with the vawarde lodged at Montl'her, two leagues beyonde Longiumeau, from whence he sent foreriders and scoutes abroad, to vnderstand of the Kings comming, and what way he tooke: farther in the presence of the Earle of S. Paule, the Lord of Hault-bourdin, and the Lord of Contay, Longiumeau was assignd for the place of the battell, and thither it was agreed that the Earle of S. Paule shold retire with the vawarde if the king hapned to come.

Now

Now you shall understand that the Earle of Maine with seuen or eight hundred men of armes lay continually in face of the Dukes of Berry and Britaine, who were accompanied with a number of wise and valiant knights, that King *Lewis* had put from their pensions and offices, at his first comming to the state, (notwithstanding the great seruices they had done his father, in the recovering and pacifying of the realme:) whereof afterward full ofte he repented him. Among these knights was the Earle of Dunois, a man of great experiance in all matters ¹, the Marshall of Loheac, the Earle of Dampmartin, the Lord of Bueil and diuers others, accompanied with the number of five hundred men of armes, who lately had forlaken the Kings pay, and retired themselves to the Duke of Britaine, of whose onely subiects this whole force consisted. The Earle of Maine who lay continually in face of the two Dukes campe, (as you haue heard) finding himselfe too weake to encounter with them, dislodged continually before them, approaching neerer and neerer to the King, in like maner the Dukes of Berry and Britaine endeuored to ioine with the Burgundians. Some haue helde opinion that the Earle of Maine had secret intelligence with the Princes, but I could neuer vnderstand any such thing, neither do I beleue it ².

The Earle of Charolois lying in campe at Longiumeau (as you haue heard) and his vawarde at Montl'her, was aduertised by a prisoner, that the Earle of Maine with his whole force, all the men of armes of the Kings ordinarie retinue, being to the number of two and twenty hundred, and the arriereban ³ of Dauphine together with fortie or fiftie gentlemen of Sauoy, excellent good soldiers, were all ioined with the King.

The King in the meane time consulted with the Earle of Maine, the high Seneschall of Normandie called *De Bressey*, the Admiral of Fraunce who was of the house of Montauban, and others, what was to be done, and in the end whatsoeuer was said or aduised to the contrarie, resolued not to fight, neither approch neere to the Burgundians campe, but onely to enter into Paris, ⁴ which in in mine opinion was the best and safest course. He stood in great doubt of this high Seneschall of Normandie, and therefore desired him to tell him truely whether he had giuen his faith in writing to the Princes that came against him: whereunto the Seneschall answered after his meane ieasting maner, that he had, and that the writing should remaine with them, but the bodie shold serue him, which his answere the King tooke in good part, and gaue him the leading of his vawarde, and put also vnder his charge, the guides whose helpe he vsed, bicause he ment to shun the battell as you haue heard. But the Seneschall being wedded to his owne will, said priuily to certaine of his familiar friends, that he shold that day ioine the two armes so neere togither, that he had need to be a good man of war that shold seuer them without battell, which his promise he performed, bough to his owne cost, for the first man that was slaine was himselfe ⁵, and his band with him. These his words, the King hath often since rehearsed to me, for I serued then the Earle of Charolois.

But to proceede, the 27. of July, ⁶ the ycre 1465. the Kings vawarde came to Montl'her, where the Earle of Saint Paule lodged, who incontinent aduertised the Earle of Charolois lying two leagues thence (namely at Longiumeau, the place assignd for the battell) of their arriuall, desiring him of aide with all speed, and alledging that bicause all his men of armes and archers were lighted on foote, and inclosed with their cariage, he could not possibly retire to Longiumeau, according to the order death: for those that slue him supposed it had been the King, *Annal. Aquitan.* but Meyer saith he was reported to be slaine by the Kings procurement, which I know not where he findeth. ⁷ Of the day of the battell *Annal. Franc.* agree with our *Annal. Burgund.* & *Annal. Aquitan.* say 17. Meyer hath 17. *Cal. Augusti*, that is the 16. day of July, and with him agreeth *Aggoin* & *La Marche*, who was present at the battell and knighted in it.

agreed

agreed on, without seeming to flie, whereby he should both discourage and endanger the whole armie. Which message receiued: the Earle of Charolois sent foorth with the bastard of Burgundie called *Antonie* with a great band of men to ioine with the Earle of S. Paule, and debated with himselfe whether he should go thither in person or not, and in the ende marched forward with the rest, and came to the place about seven of the clocke in the morning: but before his arriuall ffeue or sixe of the Kings ensignes were displaied along vpon a great ditch side between the two armies.

The Vicechauncellor of Britaine called *Rouille* was yet in the Earle of Charolois campe, and with him an ancient man of armes named *Maderey*, the selfesame that deliuered Pont S. Maxence to the Burgundians: against these two the whole armie murmured, because the battell being now ready to be giuen: the forces they had so much vaunted of were yet vncomme. Wherefore they were both in great feare, and fled before the two armies ioined, taking their way to the Britaines campe. The Earle of Charolois company set themselues in order of battell as they marched, and at their arriuall found the Earle of S. Paule on foote, and all the archers dismounted, eech man hauing a pale pitched before him. Farther, they bet out the heads of diuers pipes of wine to drinke: and sure for those few battells I haue been in, I never saw men in my life more desirous to fight, which me thought was a good signe and a great comfort. Order was giuen at the first that we should all light on foote none excepted, but that order was afterward altered. For almost all the men of armes mounted againe on horsebacke, saue certaine valiant Knights and Esquiers appointed to fight among the foote men, namely, *Monseur de Cordes*, and *Master Philip of Lalain*, with diuers others: for at that time among the Burgundians the honorablest personages fought on foote among the archers, to the ende the infanterie might be the better assured and fight the more couragiously, which order they learned of the English men, with whom Duke *Philip* (being confederate in his youth) made war vpon the realine of Fraunce the space of two and thirtie yeeres without truce⁷.

But the burthen of those wars lay vpon the English mens shoulders, who were at that time rich and mightie, and had a wise, goodly and valiant King called *Henry*, accompanied with sage, hardie, and expert captaines, namely, the Earle of *Salisbury*, *Talbot* and others, whom I passe ouer, because those wars were before my time, notwithstanding I haue seene the reliques of them. For when God ment to withdrawe his goodnes from the English men, this wise King died at *Bois de Vincennes*, and his sonne who prooued but a simple man, was crowned King of Fraunce and England at *Paris*. Soone after, all was turned topsy turvy in England. For ciuill wars arose among them which haue endured almost till this present, by reason that the house of *Yorke* vsurped the crowne, or held it by good title, I wot not wel whether, for the lot of kingdomes is giuen from heauen.

But to returne to the historie, this dismounting and remounting of the Burgundians, caused both great delay of time, and losse of men, for at this instant, that yoong valiant knight *Master Philip of Lalain*, being but slenderly armed was slaine⁸. The Kings forces marched scatteringly along by the Forrest of *Torfou*, being hardly 400. men of armes at our first arriuall, so that if we had then charged them, in mine opinion we had found no resistance, for they that were behinde, could not haue aided the former, because they could not march forward vpon a front, but one by one after an other. Notwithstanding, their number continually increased, which this wise knight *Monsieur de Contay* perceiving, came and told his master the Earle of Charolois, that if he would obteine the victorie it was time to give the charge, confirming his opinion by diuers good reasons, and adding that if he had assailed his enimies at his first

first arriuall, they had already been discomfited; for then their number was small, but now greatly increased as easie it was to be discerned, and sure he said true⁹. Then was euery mans aduise asked, and the former order cleane altered, but in the meane time a great and hot skirmish was already begun, at the very entrie into the village of *Montlhery*, all of shot on both sides. The Kings bands were led by *Pancet of Riviere*, being all archers of his ordinarie retinue, glistering in gilt and very well appointed. But the Earles shot was out of order, obedient to no man, and doing all things of their owne braine. Thus began the skirmishes in the which the Lord *Philip of Lalain*¹⁰, and *James of Mas* a valiant gentleman, afterward master of the horse to Duke *Charles of Burgundie*, fought on foote among the archers. The Burgundians being the greater number, tooke a house, and bare two or three doores before them, where-with they couered themselues in steede of *Targats*, and after they were entred the streete, set fire on a house, the winde was with them, and blew the flambe in their enimies faces, who thereupon retired, and afterward tooke horse and fled, with the which hue and crie, the Earle of Charolois began to march, leaving the order first deuised. For order was first giuen that the Earles battell should rest twise by the way, because his vaward and his battle were farre asunder¹¹. The Kings army stood neere to the castle of *Montlhery*, a great hedge and a ditch being betweene them and vs. The fields beyond them bare that yeere wheate, beanes, and other graine, growne maruellous high and thicke: for the soile there is very good. All the Earles shot marched on foote before him in very euill order, notwithstanding that in mine opinion in a battell the principall hope of victorie consisteth in the shot, I meane if the force of shot be great (for small force serueth to small purpose) and either euill mounted (to the end they be not vrwilling to foriske their horses) or not mounted at all. Farther the day of battle, those that are ignorant of the wars will doe a greater exploit, than those that haue been long trained vp there-in, this is the Englishmens opinion, who are the best shot in the world: order was first giuen (as you haue heard) that the Earles battle should rest twise vpon the way, to the end the foote men mought breath them, because the vaward and it were far asunder, and the corne high and thicke which troubled their going, yet notwithstanding the cleane contrarie was done, as though men would purposely haue lost all. Wherefore hereby, God manifestly declared that he is the Lord of hostes, and disposeth of the victorie as seemeth best to him, and sure for my part, I cannot be perswaded that the wisedome of one man is sufficient to gouerne such a number of men, nor that an enterprise can be executed in the field, as it is deuised in the chamber: and farther I verily beleue, that who so enableth himselfe by his own wit and capacite to give order in so weightie a matter, twischauch himselfe towards God. Notwithstanding every man ought to doe his indeuour therein, acknowledging the wars to be one of the accomplishments of Gods iudgements, which oftentimes he beginneth vpon small occasions, to the end that by giuing victorie now to one, and now to another, some great realnes and seniories may fall to ruine and desolation, and other some increase and florish with large empire and domination, for farther proofe whereof marke this that followeth. The Earle of Charolois marched without any breathing giuen to his shot and footemen vpon the way. The Kings men of armes passed through the hedge above mentioned at two severall places, and when they approched so neare their enimies, that they began to charge their staves, the Burgundian men of armes brake their staves, and passed through it, notwithstanding them leue to let one arrow flie, notwithstanding that the shot were the princiwal force and onely hope of their armie, for of the men of armes (being to the number of

⁷ The Duke was ioined with the English men but 15. or sixteeene yeres, as saith also *Introduction de la Marche*, for the league began anno 1419. and ended anno 1435.

⁸ The Burgundians dismounted so suddenly, that laying downe their complete armor they had not leisure to buckle their lighter armor about them, which was the cause of Lalain's death, *Annot. Burgh.*

⁹ Contay vised another reason to persuade the Earle to assault his enimies here not expressed, to wit, to prevent the Parisians, who if they assyed forth should inclose him betweene them and the King, *Annot. Burgh.*

¹⁰ This *Lalain* seemeth to be the father of him that was slaine.

¹¹ Betweene

Longjumeau

where the

Earles battell

lay, & Montlhery where

his vaward

lodged are

fewer English miles.

twelue hundred) I thinke hardly fiftie knew how to charge a launce, there were no foyre hundred of them armed with quiracies, and of their retinue not one armed, all the which inconueniences grew partly bicause they had rested so long in peace, and partly bicause this house of Burgundie for ease of their subiects, enterrained no soldiers in ordinary. But since that day, these Seniories of Burgundie haue continued in troubles, which euen at this present rather increase than diminish. Thus the Burgundian men of armes (as you haue heard) brake themselues the chiefe force and onely hope of their armie, yet notwithstanding, so it pleased God to dispose of this matter, that on the right side of the castle, where the Earle himselfe stooode no resstance was found. All this day my selfe never departed from the Earle, being lesse afraide than in any other battell that euer I was at since, for I was yoong and knew not what perill ment, but wondred how any man durst resist the Prince I serued, supposing none to be comparable to him. Such are the cogitations of men lacking experiance, which causeith them oftentimes to maintaine fond arguments, grounded vpon small reason. Wherefore it is good to follow his advise that saith, *A man sel-dom repenteith him of too little speech, but often of too much.* On the left hand stood the Lord of Rauastin, and master James of S. Paul, with diuers others, who well perceiued their force too weake to enconnter with the enimie that came to charge them, but they were now so neere ioined together, that it was too late to devise any new order. To be short, these were viterly ouerthrown, and persued euen hard to our carriage, where certaine of the footemen relied themselues, but the greatest part tooke the forrest, being but halfe a league thence. The principall that folowed the chace were the gentlemen of Dauphine and Sauoy, with certaine companies of men of armes, who supposed the victorie had beene theirs, and not without cause, for sure the Burgundians flight was great on that side, yea and of great personages. The most part fled toward Pont S. Maxence,¹² supposing it had held yet for the Earle. In the forrest also a great number staied, among whom was the Earle of S. Paul well accompanied, for he stood neere to the forrest side, and declared afterward that he held not the battell as lost.

*Of the danger the Earle of Charolois was in,
and how he was rescued.
Chap. 4.*


He Earle of Charolois pursued his enimies on that side him-selfe stood, halfe a league beyond Montl'her, and found no resistance, notwithstanding that he were but slenderly accompanied and met with maine enimies, wherefore he held the victorie for his: but suddenly an old gentleman of Luxembourg called *Anthony le Breton*, came to him and aduertised him that the French were relied vpon the field, so that if he followed the chace aby further, he should cast away himselfe. But the Earle regarded not his speech, notwithstanding that he repeated it twise or thrise. But euen in that instant arrived Monsieur de Contay, who told him the selfesame tale the old gentleman of Luxembourg had done, and that in so stout and bold termes, that he gaue credit to his words and experiance, and presently retyred. And I thinke verily if he had passed but two bow shot farther, he had been taken as diuers were that followed the chace before him. As he returned, hard by the village he met with a band of footemen flying, whom he pursued being accompanied hardly with an hundred horse:

¹¹ Pont S. Clou, and Pont S. Maxence were yeclded by the Burgundians, because the rumor was that the Earle of Charolois was slaine in the battell. Meyer.

horse: none of these footemen made resistance but one, who gaue the Earle such a blowe on the brest with a iavelin, that the marke thereof appeared at night: the greatest part of the rest escaped through the gardens, but he that stike the Earle was slaine. And as we passed hard by the castell, we found the archers of the Kings garde before the gate, who neuer abandoned their place for our comming: whereat the Earle much maruelled, for he thought the battell had beene at an end, but he found it otherwise: for as he turned about to enter into the field (part of his compaニー being scattered from him) suddenly 15. or 16. men of armes gaue a charge vpon him, and at the very first stike his caruer named *Philip D'orgues* bearing a guydon of his arme. The Earle was there in great danger and received many hurts, especially one in the throte with a sword (the marke whereof stakk by him as long as he liued) by reason that his beauer being euill fastened in the morning was fallen away, and my selfe saw when it fell. The enimies laid hands vpon him, laying, *My Lord yeeld, we know you well enough, be not wilfully slaine: but he manfully defended himselfe.* And at that instant a phisitions sonne of Paris that serued the Earle, named *John Cadet* being a great lubberly fellow, mounted vpon a strong iade like himselfe, ran through the enimies, and brake them¹, wherewith they retired to the ditch side, De la Marche calleth him that delievered the Earle, Robert Cauier, for Contreyn a horseman of Bruxels, his Platiions sonne, whom for that fact immediately he made knight and fidealre of Brabant. G. gun wryteth that the Earle was twice in danger, once in the hands of Geffrey De S. Belin, and againe in the hands of Gilbert Gressay. (the place they had taken in the morning) the rather for that they discouered one of our ensignes marching in the midst of the field, and approching neare to vs, being the bastard of Burgundies ensigne, all to totterd and tornie, to the which the Earle all embrewed in his owne blood retired, leauing at his archers ensigne not aboue fortie men, with whom we being hardly thirtie, joined in great feare. The Earle in continent changed his horse, hauing a fresh horse brought him by *Simon of Quingy* then his page, and since a man well knowne: and rode about the field to relie his men, leauing vs that taried behinde him in such feare, that by the space of an hour we were all fully resolued to flee, if but a hundred enimies had marched against vs: notwithstanding our men came to vs by ten and twentie in a troupe, as well horse-men as footemen, but of the footemen many were hurt, and all very wearie, partly because of the battell, and partly because of their vreasonable iourney in the morning. Soone after returned the Earle himselfe, hardly accompanied with an hundred men, but by little and little our number increased. The corne which but halfe an hour before had beene so high, was now troden flat downe, by meanes whereof, arose a terrible dust, all the fields lay strawed with dead bodies of men and horses, but because of the dust none could be knowne.

Immediately after this, we discouered the Earle of S. Paul issuing out of the forrest, accompanied with fortie men of armes, and his guydon marched straigh to-wards vs, and continually increased in number, but bicause he was far from vs, we sent twise or thrise to him desiring him to make haste, which notwithstanding he did not, neither altered his pace, but caused his men to take vp the launces that lay vpon the ground, and came in very good order, which sight much comforted vs. With him a great number relied themselues, and in the end came and ioined with vs, so that we were then to the number of eight hundred men of armes, but footemen fewe or none, which was the onely let the Earle obtained not perfect victory, for there was a great ditch and a thicke hedge betweene his battell and the Kings.

Of the Kings part fled the Earle of Maine with diuers others, to the number of eight hundred men of armes. Some haue helde opinion that the said Earle of Maine had intelligence with the Burgundians, but for mine owne part I beleue it not. Neuer was in any battell so great flight on both sides, but the two Princes kept the field: of the Kings part there was a man of honor that fled as far as Luzignan without

staie, and of the Earles part a noble personage to Que snoy le Comte, these two had no great desire to bite one another ².

¹ For the two places here named be aboue three hundred English miles a funder.

While the two armies stood thus in order of battell, the one in face of the other, the artillerie shot terribly, which slue men on both sides, but neither partie desired a new field. Notwithstanding our band was greater then the Kings, but his presence and the curteous language he vsed to his soldiers, was a great stay to his people, so far forth, that I am throughly perswaded both by mine owne knowledge and that I haue since heard, that had it not beene for him alone they had all fled. Some of our company desired a new battell, especially the L. of Haultbourdin, alledging that he discouered a troupe of enimies flying, and vndoubtedly if we could haue recouered but a hundred archers to haue shot through the hedge aboue mentioned, all had been ours.

While this matter was in communication, and both the armies standing thus in order of battell without fight, the night approached, and the King retired to Corbeil, but we thought he had encamped in the field, because fire falling by chaunce into a barrell of powder, and certaine carts laden with munition in the place where the King had stooode, tooke in the end the great hedge aboue mentioned, which we supposed to haue been the Frenchmens fiers there encamped, whereupon the Earle of S. Paul and the Lord of Haultbourdin, who seemed to be the men of greatest experiance in our army, commanded our cariage to be brought to the place where we were, and our campe to be inclosed therewith, and so it was. And as we stood there relied together in order of battell, diuers French men returning from the chase, and supposing the victorie to be theirs, and our campe the Kings, passed through the midst of vs, some of them escaped, but the most were slaine. The men of name that died on the Kings part were these, master Giffery of S. Belin, the high Seneschall of Normandy, and captaine Floquet, and of the Burgundians, master Philip of Lalain: of footeemen and common soldiers we lost more than the King, but of horsemen the King more than we: of prisoners the French tooke the best of those that fled. There were slaine of both sides two thousand at the least ³. The battaile was well fought, and there were of both parties that did their endeuer, some in fighting, & some in flying, but sure in mine opinion it was a worthyfeat of armes to relie themselues together vpon the field, and to stand three or fourre howres in order of battell, the one in face of the other, and vndoubtedly both the Princes had good cause to make account of their subiects that stood so well by them at their need. But they did herein like men not like angels, for some lost their offices for flying, which were bestowed vpon others that fled ten leagues beyond them: one of our part lost his credit, and was commanded out of his masters presence, but within one month he was in greater fauor than before.

When we were inclosed with our cariage, every man lodged himselfe as commodiously as he could, a great number of vs were hurt, and the whole armie almost disengaged, fearing that the Parisians with two hundred men of armes that were within the citie, and the Marshall Touchin the Kings lieutenant there, would issue foorth and assaile vs on the other side. After it was darke night fiftie launces were commanded to go foorth to understand where the King lodged, but hardly twenty of them went, notwithstanding that our campe were not aboue three bowe shot from the place where we supposed the King had encamped. In the meane time the Earle of Charolois ate and dranke a little, as did all the rest of the company, each man in his owne lodging, and the wound in his necke was dressed: but we were forced to remoue out of the place where he refreshed himselfe, three or fourre dead bodies

³ There were slaine at the battell of Mont'heray, 2000. Annal. Burgund. Mey- or saith 3000. Gaguin 3600.

bodies to make him roome, and to bring two bottles of straw, vpon the which he sat downe. And as they remoued these dead bodies, one of the poore naked soules began to call for drinke, into whose mouth was powred a little of the tysan the Earle had drunke of, wherewith his spirits reuived, and then he was knownen to be one Sauvage an archer of the Earles gard a valiant fellow, who was dressed and healed.

The Earle debated with his Councell what was to be done, the first that spake was the Earle of Saint Paule, who said we were in great danger, and gaue advise by break of day to retire homeward, to burne part of our cariage, to saue onely the artillerie, and to giue order that none should lead backe any cariage, but such as had aboue ten launces vnder their charge, adding that it was impossible to lie there without victuals betweene Paris and the King. after him spake Mounseur de Haultbourdin almost to the same effect, saue that he aduised vs to stay till we vnderstoode what newes our scoutes that were abroad would bring vs, to the which purpose spake also three or foure others. But the last that spake was Mounseur de Coritay, who said that so soone as the army shold vnderstand of this resolution they would all flee, and by that meanes be taken & spoyle before they had gone twenty leagues: which his opinion he confirmed by diuers very good reasons. Wherfore he gaue advise that euery man shold lodge himselfe as commodiously as he could that night, and the next morning by break of day begin a new field with determination either to live or die vpon the place, which he said to be a safer course than to flee. The Earle of Charolois followed the said Coritay advise, and gaue every man commandement to take his rest for two howers, and at the sound of the trumper to be in a readines: farther he willed diuers by name to send to comfort his soldiers.

About midnight our scoutes that were abroad returned, and it well appeyed they had not beene far: for they brought word that the King lodged at the fires aboue mentioned. Incontinent others were sent foorth, and within an houre after euery man put himselfe in a readines to fight, but the most part had rather haue fled. About break of day our scoutes last sent foorth met one of our Carters whom the enimies had taken prisoner that morning as he brought a pot of wine from Mont'heray. This Carter told them that the French were all fled, wherof they sent word incontinent to the campe, and went themselues to the place, and found the Carters report true, whereupon they returned with this newes to the great comfort of the whole armie, and then a number cryed to pursue them, that made but small haste after them, not an hower before. My selfe had an old horse halfe tired, who by chaunce thrust his head into a paile of wine and drunke it off, which made him lustier and fresher that day than euer before.

When it was broad day euery man mounted on horsebacke, and the squadrons made a goodly shew in the field, notwithstanding all our companies were not yet come togither, but a number returned at that present which had liuen hidden in the woods all night. The Earle of Charolois suborned a Frier Franciscan, who brought worde to the campe that he came from the Britains, who would be there the selfe-same day, which newes comforted not a little the whole armie, but all men beleueed it not.

Immediately after, to wit, about ten of the clocke in the morning, arriued the Vicechauncellor of Britaine, called Rouville, & Maderey aboue mentioned with him, accompanied with two archers of the D. of Britaines garde in their liuery coates, which comforted maruellouslie the whole army, and the said Vicechancellor was asked where he had been, and was commended for his departure (considering the great murmurering that was risen against him) but much more for his returne, and

euery man welcommmed them and made them good cheere.

All this day the Earle of Charolois kept still the field, rejoicing greatly, and wholy attributing the honor of the victory to himselfe alone, which glory cost him deere, for after this he never followed any mans advise but his owne, and whereas before he had hated the wars, and loued nothing that appertained thereto: his thoughts were after this so cleane altered that he continued in the wars till his death, in them ended his life, & by them desolated his house, at the least brought it maruelously vnderfoote, though not altogether destroyed it. Three noble and wise Princes his predecessors had so highly aduanced it, that few Kings except the K. of Fraunce were mightier than he, and in rich and strong townes none passed him: but no man especially no Prince ought to attribute too much to himselfe, but to acknowledge all prosperitie and good successe to proceed from God. Sure these two things I dare boldly say in his commendation, first that I thinke never man endured more trauell than he in all points of bodily labour and exercise, and secondarily that in mine opinion, I never knew harder gentleman: for I never heard him complaine of weatines, I never saw him shew any countenance of feare, yet was I with him seuen yeeres together in the wars: euery sommer without faile, and sometime both winter and sommer his attempts and enterprises were so high and difficult, that onely God by his absolute power could haue atchiued them, for they passed far mans reach.

How the Duke of Berry the Kings brother, and the Duke of Britaine joyned with the Earle of Charolois against the King.

Chap. 5.


 He next day being the third after the battell, we remooued our campe and lodg'd at Montl'hery, out of the which the people fled, part into the Church steeple, and part into the Castell, but the Earle caused them to returne to their houses, neither lost they the value of one penie, for every man paid his shot as truly as if he had been in Flaunders. The castell helde for the King, and was not assaulted by vs. The third day being passed, the Earle of Charolois by the Lord of Contais advise departed to Estampes (a good and commodious lodging, and in a fruitfull soile) meaning to preuent the Britains, who came that way, and before their arriall to lodge his men that were sicke and hurt in the towne, and the rest abroad in the fields. This good lodging and the Earles long abode there sau'd many a mans life. At the said towne of Estampes arriu'd the Lord Charles of Fraunce then Duke of Berry, and the Kings onely brother, accompanied with the Duke of Britaine, the Earle of Dunois, the Lord of Dampmartin, the Lord of Loheac, the L. of Bueil, the Lord of Chaumont, and master Charles of Amboise his sonne (who since hath caried great credit in this Realme) all the which the King at his first comming to the crown had displaced and put out of office, notwithstanding the great seruices they had done the King his father and the realme, both in the conquest of Normandie and in diuers other wats. The Earle of Charolois and all the noble men that were with him went foorth to receiue them, and lodged their persons in the towne, where their lodgings were alreadie made, but their forces lay abroad in the fields. They had with them eight hundred men of armes very well appointed, a great number of the which were Britons, who lately had forsaken the Kings pay, and these made a gallant shew in their campe: of archers and other soldi-

ers

ers armed with good Brigandines they had great force, so that I suppose they were six thousand men on horsebacke, all in very good order, and sure this army shewed the Duke of Britaine to be a great Prince, for they were all paid out of his coffers.

The King being retired to Corbeil (as you haue heard) was not idle, neither for gat what he had to doe, but went straight into Normandy partly to leuy men, and partly because he feared rebellion in the countrey, but a great part of his forces he left about Paris in those places that had most need of defence.

The first euening that all these Princes met at Estampes, they told newes each to other, the Britons had taken prisoners certaine of the Kings part that fled, and if they had been but a little neerer the place of the battell, they had either taken or discomfited the third part of his army. They had first giuen order to send foorth certaine bands before them, to vnderstand how neere the Kings army and the Earles were together, but they altered their mindes. Notwithstanding master Charles of Amboise and certaine with him scoured the countrey before their army, to see if they could meete any of their enemies, and certaine prisoners as you haue heard they tooke, and part also of the Kings artillerie. These prisoners reported vnto them, that vndoubtedly the King was slaine (for so they supposed bicause they fled at the very beginning of the battell,) which newes the abouenamed master Charles of Amboise and they that were with him brought to the Britaines campe, who reioyced maruelously thereat, supposing it had been true, and hoping for great rewards if the Lord Charles were King. Further they debated in councell (as a man of credit there present, afterward aduertised me) how they might rid the countrey of the Burgundians, and send them home in the diuels name, and were in maner all agreed to cut their throtes if they could, but this their ioy soone ended, whereby you may perceave what sodaine alterations are in a realme in such troubles.

But to returne to the campe lying at Estampes, when euery man had supped and a great number being walking in the streetes: The Lord Charles of Fraunce, and the Earle of Charolois withdrew themselves to a window, where they entred into very earnest communication. Now you shall vnderstand that there was among the Britaines one that tooke great pleasure in throwing squibs into the aire, which when they fall to the ground run flaming among men, his name was master John Bouteſen, or master John de Serpens, I wot not well whether. This mery companion being secretly hidden in a house, threw two or three squibs into the aire from a high place where he stood, one of the which by chance stakē against the bar of the window where these two Princes communed togither, wherewithall both of them started so dainly vp, being astonisched at this accident, and each beholding other, suspecting this to be purposely done to hurt them: then came the Lord of Contay to his master the Earle of Charolois, and after he had told him a word or two in his eare, went downe, and caused all the men of armes of the Earles house, and all the archers of his garde, and a number of other to arme themselves. Incontinent also the Earle of Charolois mooued the Duke of Berry to command the archers of his garde to do the like, whereupon immediatly two or three hundred men of armes, stood on foote in harnes before the gate, with a great number of archers, the which sought round about from whence this fire might come: in the end the poore fellow that had done the deed fell downe vpon his knees before them confessing the fact, and threw three or foure other squibs into the aire, whereby he put diuers out of suspition each of other, thus the matter turned to a iest, and every man unarmed himselfe and went to bed. The next day in the morning they sat in councell to debate what was to be done, all the Princes with their principall seruants being there present, and as they

C 3

were

were of diuers parts and not obedient to one head: so were they also of diuers opinions as in such assemblies it cannot be otherwise chosen. But among the rest of their talke, certaine words that passed the Duke of Berry (who was yoong and unacquainted with such exploits) were especially marked: for he seemed already to be weary of this enterprise, alledging the great number of the Earle of Charolois men that he had seene in the towne hurt and maimed, of whom to shew that he had pitie and compassion he brake foorth into this speech and said, that he had rather the matter had never been begun, than that so much mischiefe should arise by his occasion and for his cause, which words displeased greatly the Earle of Charolois and his men as hereafter you shall heare: Notwithstanding they concluded in this assembly to go before Paris, to prooue whether the towne would enter into league with them for the benefit of the common wealth (which they all pretended to be the only cause of their assembly) being fully perswaded that all the townes in the realme

¹ Charles D. of Burgundie was of the house of Lancaster after this sort. John of Gaunt D. of Lancaster had issue by Blanche his first wife, daughter and heire to Henry D. of Derby & Lancaster, Philippe which married with John King of Portugall bastard of Ferrande, by whom she had issue Isabell married to Philip D. of Burgundie, by whom she had issue this D. Charles. ² Margaret King Edwards sister, arrived in the Lowe countries, 25. Junij Ann. 1468. Meyer.

would follow the example thereof. The words aboue mentioned vttered by the D. of Berry in this assembly, put the Earle of Charolois and his men into such a dump, that they said thus one to another, heard you this man speake: he is discouraged for seuen or eight hundred hurt persons that he seeth in the towne, who are none of his but meir strangers to him, he would be otherwise troubled than if the matter should touch himselfe in any point, and easilly be won to agree with his brother and leaue vs in the mire, and bicause of the long wars that haue been in times past betweene King Charles his father and the D. of Burgundie my father, both the parties would soone consent to turne their forces against vs, wherefore it is good to prouide vs of friends in time. And vpon this suspicion onely, William of Cluny Prenotarie, who died Bishop of Poictiers was sent into England to King Edward the 4. then raigning, to whom the Earle of Charolois had euer before been mortall enimie, supporting the house of Lancaster against him, of the which he was issued by his mother ². And the said Clunies instructions were to treat with King Edward of a mariage betweene the Kings sister called Margarer, and the Earle of Charolois, not to conclude the matter, but onely to put the King in hope thereof: for the Earle knowing how greatly the King desired this mariage, supposed by this meanes to win him to take his part if he needed his helpe, at the least to staine him from attempting ought against him. And notwithstanding that he ment nothing lesse then the accomplishment thereof, bicause as ferently as he loued the house of Lancaster, as extreinly hated he the house of Yorke: yet was the matter so labored, that certaine yeeres after, the mariage was accomplished ³, and the Earle receaved also the order of the Garter, and ware it till his dying day. Many a such deed is often done vpon suspicion onely, especially among great Princes, who are much more suspicous than other men, bicause of the doubts and reports that are dayly brought vnto them oftentimes by flatterers vpon no occasion.

How

How the Earle of Charolois and his confederates with their whole army, passed the riuere of Seine vpon a bridge made of boates, how John D. of Calabria ioyned with them, and how they all encamped before Paris. Chap. 6.



Li these Princes according to there determination departed from Estampes, hauing soiourned there certaine daies, & marched to Saint Maturin of Larchant, and Moret in Castinois, in the which two little townes the Lord Charles of Fraunce, and the Britaines lodged, but the Earle of Charolois encamped in a great medow vpon the riuere of Seine, and made proclamation that every man should bring a hooke with him to fasten his horse therewith, he caried also with him seauen or eight small boates in cartes, and great store of pipeboorde, meaning therewith to make a bridge ouer the riuere of Seine, because these Princes had no passage there. The Earle of Dunois accompa-
 nied him riding in a litter, for bicause of the goute he could not sit on horsebacke, notwithstanding his ensigne was borne with him. When they came to the riuere they launched foorth the boates they brought with them, and tooke an Iland in the midst of the stremme, where certaine of our archers landed and skirmished with a company of horsemen that defended the passage on the other side vnder the leading of the Marshall Joachin and Sallazard. The place was much to the disaduantage of the French, bicause it was high and in a goodly vine country, besides that the Burgundi-
 ans had great store of artillerie vnder the charge of a notable gunner named Master Girald, whom they tooke prisoner at the battell of Montlhery, being then in the Kings seruice. To be short, the aboue mentioned horsemen were forced to abandon the passage and retire to Paris. The selfe same night the bridge was made from that side of the riuere where we lay to the Iland, where incontinent the Earle of Charolois caused his pavilion to be pitched, and lodged there all night with fiftie men of armes of his house: by day breake a great number of Coopers were set on worke to make casque of the pipe boord we brought with vs, who so bestirred themselues, that before noone the bridge was made from the Iland to the other side of the riuere. Incontinent passed the Earle of Charolois, and caused his tents whereof he was well furnished, to be pitched: ouer the same bridge passed also his whole armie and artillerie, and lod-
 ged vpon the side of a hill hanging towards the riuere, by meanes whereof his camp made a goodly shew to those that came after.

It was that whole daies worke to conuey ouer the Earles owne forces, but the next morning by day breake passed also the Dukes of Berre and Britaine with their whole armie, commending this bridge to be very commodiouly and speedily made, they marched when they were passed, a little beyond the Earle, and encamped also vpon the hill. When it was darke night we discouered a great number of fires as far from vs as we could well discerne, which diuers supposed to be the Kings forces, but to the King a yereley tribute: The third, before midnight we were aduertised that it was John Duke of Calabria ¹ onely sonne

taine should be left to the Kings disposing. For these causes the D. of Britaine ioyned with the Princes: the D. of Calabria had cause of offence, bicause being entred into Italy to recouer the Realme of Naples, and the King having promised him aide: after the said D. of Calabria was ouerthrowne at Troia in Apulia: the King refused to send him the aide promised, so that he was forced vtterly to abandon his enterprise. The D. of Bourbon had maried the Kings sister, and could not get his mariage money: the Duke of Nemours, Earles of Dunois, Dalebrer, and the rest of the noble men and gentlemen were against the King, some bicause they were put out of pension and office, many bicause the King sought to deprue them of the roialties they had in their seniories touching Hunting and Hawking, and sought to draw all to himselfe, but all in generall were offended because he contemned his nobilitie, and entertained none but men of base estate about him. Thus much I haue set downe because it might otherwise seeme strange, that all these Princes should thus conspire against the King for zeale of the common wealth, if other particular greifes had not more moued them than the misgovernement of the estate.

to King *Rene* of Sicilie ² with nine hundred men of armes of the Duchie and Countie of Burgundie. The said Duke had with him few foormen, but was well accompanied with horsemen, and those in so good order, that for their number I neuer sawe a goodlier company nor a more warlike: for he had with him six score men of armes barded, all Italians or trained vp in the Italian wars, among whom were *James Gaston*, the Earle of Campobache, the L. of Baudricourt now gouernor of Burgundie, and diuers others: his men of armes were very expert soldiers, and to say the truth, the flower of our armie, I meane number for number. With him were also fower hundred crossebow men that the Palsgrauie had lent him, all very well mounted and very good soldiers. Besides whom he had also in pay fiftie hundred Switzers foote-men which were the first that euer came into this realme and these so valiantly behaued themselfes in all places where they came, that they purchased great renoume to their whole nation, which their countreymen that haue serued here since, haue well maintained. This company the next morning approached neere to vs, and passed that day ouer our bridge, which a man may boldly say conuaied ouer all the power of Fraunce saue onely the Kings armie. And I assure you the force was so great of valiant men well appointed, and in very good order, that I wish all the friends and welwillers of the realme had seene it, and likewise the enimies: for by that meanes the former would haue esteemed of the realine as it deserued, and the later euer after the more haue feared it. The Burgundians that accompanied the Duke of Calabria were led by the L. of Neuf-chastell Marthall of Burgundie, who had with him his brother the L. of Montague, the Marquesse of Rotelin, and a great number of knights and esquires: some of the which had been in Bourbonnois, as I haue made mention in the beginning of this historie ³, but they all joined for their more safetie with the Duke of Calabria, who shewed himselfe to be as noble a Prince, and as good a soldier as any in the companie, whereupon great loue and amitie grew betweene him and the Earle of Charolois.

After this whole force (being as I suppose to the number of an hundred thousand horse good and bad) was passed the riuier, the Princes determined to shew themselfes before Paris, wherefore they put all their vawards together. The Burgundians vaward was led by the Earle of S. Paule, and the vaward of the Dukes of Berry and Britaine by *Oudre of Rie* ⁴ afterward Earle of Comminges, and the Marshall *Lobec* as I recorde, and aunt to *Roger the last King of Sicill* of this race, with *Henry* the said *Barbarossa* sonne, in which race it continued, till *Manfridus* bastard sonne to *Fridericus* the Emperor, sonne to the aboue named *Henry* obtained the Crowne of Sicil and Naples by dispossessing *Conradinus* his nephew the true heire thereof. Against this *Manfridus* Pope *Vrbanus the 4.* called into Italie *Charles of Aniou* brother to *S. Lewis* King of Fraunce who slew *Manfridus* in battell, and afterward executed also *Conradinus* the true heire of the Crowne, being taken in Battell, comming with an army to conquer the said Realme of Naples and Sicil as his true inheritance: and thus obtained this *Charles of Aniou* the Crowne both of Naples and Sicil, till not long after by the comming of *Peter* King of Arragon, who had in married *Constantia* daughter and heire to *Manfridus*: The Sicilians arose suddenly against the French, slew them all in one evening, and yeelded the Realme of Sicil to the said *Peter*, whose posterite euer sithens even till this day haue continued in possession thereof. Notwithstanding the posterite of *Charles of Aniou* held still the Realme of Naples with the title of the Realme of Sicil, till the time that the lau *Jane* Queene of Naples, to fortifie her selfe against Pope *Vrbanus Sextus* adopted *Alfonse* of Arragon, sonne to *Ferrande* King of Arragon, which *Ferrande* mother named *Elenor* was daughter to King *Peter*: but after the said *Jane* for displeasure conceived against the said *Alfonse* adopted secondarily *Lewis D. of Aniou*, brother to *Charles the fist King of Fraunce*, descended of the race of the fist *Charles King of Sicil*, against whom and his sonne *Lewis*, *Alfonse* long warred, and in the end after *Queene Jane* death chased them both out of Italy, and left the Realmes of Arragon and Sicil, to *John* his brother: but the Realme of Naples to *Ferrande* his base sonne, with whom *Rene* here mentioned (brother to *Lewis the 2.* of that name *D. of Aniou* and King of Sicil, and by him with *Janes* consent adopted) long warred, but preuailed not: so that *Rene* had onely the title of Sicil and Naples by the adoption aforesaid, but no possession thereof: for Sicil the Kings of Arragon held euer since the conquest of *Peter*, and the Realme of Naples *Ferrande* the bastard held of his fathers gift, from whose posterite how in the end after many alterations it fell to the house of Arragon that now possessest it, shall be set downe at large in the wars of Naples made by King *Charles the 8.* who had the house of Anious title, whereof one author treateth in the 7. and 8. booke of this historie. ⁵ This force led by the Marshall of Burgundie was 4000. men, Meyer. ⁴ This *Oudre* is he that acquainted the Duke of Berry with this confederacie, and conueighed him into Britaine, Meyer, la Marche.

member,

member, and in this order marched they, but all the Princes remained in the battell. The Earle of Charolois and the Duke of Calabria were very diligent in commanding and giuing good order in the armie, and rode very well armed, and shewed that they meant to do their dutie, but the Dukes of Berry and Britaine were mounted vpon small ambling nags, and armed with slight brigandines, light and thin, yea and some said they were not plated, but studded onely with a few gilt nailes vpon the fassin for the leffe waight, but I will not affirme it for a truch. Thus marched this armie to Pont de Charenton two little leagues from Paris, which was taken incontinent, notwithstanding the resistance of certaine franke archers ⁶ that were within it: ouer the said bridge of Charenton passed the whole force. The Earle of Charolois lodged in his owne house called *Conflans*, situate vpon the riuier not far from Charles the 7. thence, and inclosed a great pece of ground, with his cariage and artillerie, and 1449. being lodged his campe within it, and with him lay the Duke of Calabria: but the Dukes of Berry and Britaine, with part of their forces lodged at S. Mor-des-tosse, and the rest they sent to S. Denis being also two leagues from Paris, in the which places this whole companie lay eleuen weekees, during the which space these things happened in his realme that now I will rehearse.

The next day in the morning began the skirmishes hard at Paris gates, within the towne was the Lord of Nantouillet, L. great Master of Fraunce (who did the King receive paie good seruice there as before I haue said) and the Marshall *Touchin*. The poore people of the King, and were exempt from all subsidies and payments: for the which cause they were al called franke, that is free, but King *Lewis* the 11. anno 1480. called these franke archers and waged Switzers in their other place, and no maruell: for those that are in office inake of their offices what they can, not what they ought, which is the cause that some offices in the towne of King *Lewis* no fee at all are sold for eight hundred crownes, and other some of very small fee, for more than the fee will amount to in fifteene yeeres. Seldome is any man put out of office: for the Court of parliament alloweth these sales of offices as lawfull, the reason whereof is because it is a generall case. Among the Councillors are alwaies a number both of vertuous and worthy personages, and also of lewd and euill conditioned persons, as are in all other estates.

A discourse of ambitious hunting after offices and estates, by the example of the Englishmen.

Chap. 7.

 Speake of these offices and estates, because in changes they are so greedily desired, and are also cause thereof, as appeareth by the last of July arruied that which hath happened not onely in this our age, but also in French Kings ambassidors the time of King *Charles the sixt*, vnder whome the wars began at the treaty of Arras, during the which wars the Arras Annal. English men entred into the realme, and conquered so far that Burg. so that at the time of the said treaty (which continued ¹ the space of the treaty began in the be- two moneths) the Duke of Bedford brother to *Henry the fist King of England*, being ginning of married to Duke *Philip of Burgundie* sister, was regent in Fraunce for the English August, and the English men, whose monethly entertainment in that office amounted to 20000. crownes at men departed the least. At the said treaty were present for the King of Fraunce, four or five Dukes discontented tember. Annal. Burg. and the treaty ended the 21. of September, but *De la Marche* saith the 10. of December. Meyer 11. Calen. Octob. which agreeith with Annal. Burg.

¹ At the treaty was present *Philip D. of Burgundie him selfe, La Mar. he Meyer.*
 or Earles, fve or six Prelates, and ten or twelve Councillers of the Parliament. For Duke *Philip* likewise diuers noble men ² in much greater number, for the Pope ². Cardinals as mediators, and for the English men diuers noble personages. Duke *Philip* greatly desired to acqute himselfe honorably towards the English men before he wold abandon them, because of the ancient league that had beene betweene them: wherefore the Duchies of Normandie and Guienne were offered to the King of England, with condition that he should doe homage for them to the crowne of Fraunce, as his predecessors had done, and restore all the places he held in the Realme out of the said Duchies: which condition the English men because of the homage, refused, but to their great losse, for being abandoned of this house of Burgundie, their good successe altered, and all their intelligences within the Realme failed, whereby their power daily so diminished, that in short space they lost Paris, and by little and little all that they held in this Realme. After their returne into England, none of them would ditninish his estate, but the offices within the realme sufficed not for maintenance of them all, whereupon long ciuill wars arose among them, in the which King *Henry* the sixt, who had beene crowned King of England & Fraunce at *Paris*, was proclaimed traitor, and imprisoned in the tower of London, where he remained the greatest part of his life, and in the end was there murthered. The Duke of Yorke father to King *Edward* that last died, intituled himselfe right heire to the crowne, and soone after was slaine in battell, and had his head smitten off, as had also the father of the Earle of Warwick ³ that last died, whose credit was so great in England, and all the rest that were slaine in those wars. The said Earle of Warwick led the Earle of Marche afterward named *Edward* the fourth, by sea to Calis with a small companie escaped out of battell ⁴, for the Earle of Warwick tooke part with the house of Yorke, as the Duke of Sommerset did with the house of Lancaster. To be short: these wars endured so long, that all they of the houses of Warwick and Sommerset were either slaine or beheaded in them. King *Edward* caused afterward his owne brother the Duke of Clarence to be drowned in a Butt of malmesey, charging him that he meant to make himselfe King: but after King *Edwards* death, his other brother the Duke of Gloucester murthered the said Kings two sonnes, proclaimed his daughters bastards, and vsurped the crowne. Immediately after the which cruell deede, the Earle of Richmond now King (who had beene prisoner many yeres in Britaine) passed into England, and discomfited and slew in battell this bloody King *Richard*, late murtherer of his two nephewes. Thus haue there died in England in these ciuill wars since my remembrance, aboue fowrescore persons of the blood Royall, part of the which my selfe knew, and part vnderstood of by the Englishmen resident with the Duke of Burgundie at the same time that I serued him. Wherefore you see it is not at *Paris* onely, nor in Fraunce alone that men fall at variance for worldly goods and honors. But sure all Kings and great Princes ought to take heede that they suffer not factions to arise in their Courts, for thereof kindleth the fire that consumeth their whole countrey in the end. Notwithstanding such alterations happen not in mine opinion, but by Gods disposition, for when Princes and Realmes haue long florished in great wealth and prosperitie, and forget from whence all these benefits proceede: God raiseth vp an enimie against them, whom they never feared nor stood in doubt of as appeereth by the Kings mentioned in the Bible, and by that also which hath hapned and daily doth happen, not onely in England, and in these countries of Burgundie, but in diuers other places also.

⁵ ca. 13. that this place is to be read as I haue amended it. ⁴ The Earles of Marche and Warwick went to Calice before the Duke of Yorke was slaine, or ouerthrown in battell: for they fled from Ludlow lying in camp there against the Kings force, because they found themselves too weake, and their counsele betrayed by *Andrew Trowly* who fled from them to the King.

How King Lewis entred into Paris, while the Princes of Fraunce practised with the citizens.
 Chap: 8.



Haue been long in this discourse, and it is now time to retorne to the historie. After the Princes were come before Paris, they began to practise with the citizens, promising offices and great rewards to diuers, and omitting nothing that might further their affaires. At three daies end the citizens assembed togither in the towne hall, where when they had long debated these matters, and heard the Princes requestes & demands made openly to them for the benefit of the whole realme (as they pretended:) they determined to send ambassadors to them to treat of peace, according to the which determination a great number of the best citizens came to Saint Mor where the Princes lay, and Master *William Charrier* then Bishop of Paris, a notable prelate, declared the citizens embassage, and for the Princes the Earle of Dunois was appointed to be mouth. The Duke of Berry the Kings brother was president of this Councell sitting in a chaire, and all the other Princes standing about him. On the one side stood the Dukes of Britaine and Calabria, and on the other the Earle of Charolois armed at all peeces saue the head peece and vanebrases, and wearing vpon his quirace a short cloke maruellous rich: for he came from Conflans: and Bois-de-Vincennes being well manned was held for the King: wherefore it stood him vpon to come armed and well accompanied. The Princes request was to enter into Paris to confer with the citizens about the reformation of the state, which they said was euill gouerned, charging the King with diuers disorders. The citizens gaue them very lowly and humble language, desiring respite before they could make any resolute answere: yet (notwithstanding this delay) the King was afterward discontented both with the Bishop and the rest that accompanied him. Thus returned these ambassadors into the towne, continuing still their former practise: for euery one of the Princes talked with them apart, and I am of opinion that some of them had agreed secretly to suffer the Princes in their owne persons to enter the towne, and their men also (if they so thought good) by small troupes: which practise if it had taken effect, had not onely beene the winning of the towne, but the atchieueng of the whole enterprise. For the citizens would easily haue been brought for diuers considerations to revolt to them, and so consequently all the other townes in the realme. But God put wise counsell into the Kings head, which also he executed accordingly, being already aduertised of all these practises.

Before the ambassadors that were returned from the Princes had made their report, the King in person entred the towne of Paris, accompanied like a Prince that commeth to relieue his people: for he brought with him into the towne two thousand men of armes, all the Nobles of Normandie, a great number of franke archers, and all his owne seruants, pensioners and others that vse to accompane the King in such affaires. Thus this practise was broken off, and all the people altered their mindes, neither durst any of them that had been with vs make farther mention of the Princes demaunds. Some of them also sped but euill for that they had alreadie done, notwithstanding the King vised no extremitie towards them ¹, but some lost their offices, and others were sent to dwell in other places: for the which easie reuenge

¹ Yet Meyer soned the Bishop but Meyers words are no Gospel.

venge the King vndoubtedly deserued great commendation, considering that if this practise begun had taken effect, the best that could haue happened to him had been to forsake his realme, which also was his resolution. For as himselfe hath often told me, if he could not haue entred into Paris, but had found the towne revolted, he would haue retired to the Switzers, or to *Frances* Duke of Milan, whom he accounted his especiall friend, and so also the Duke shewed himselfe, as well by the aide he sent him being ffe hundred men of armes and three thousand footemen vnder the leading of his eldest sonne *Galeas* afterward Duke of Milan (who came as far as the country of Forrestz in Auvergne, where he made war vpon the Duke of Bourbon, and afterward returned home bicause of his fathers death:) as also by the counsell he gaue him at the treatie of peace held at Conflans, where he sent him word to refuse no condition of peace, but to seuer his companie, and retaine his own forces still about him.

We had hardly beene three daies before Paris when the King entred the towne, immediately after whose arriuall sharpe war was made vpon vs, especially vpon our forragers, whom we were constrained to garde with great forces, bicause they went far from our campe. Now to speake somewhat of the towne of Paris, we must needs confesse that it is maruellously well seated in the Ile of Fraunce, seeing the country about it was able to victuall two such huge armes: for as touching vs we neuer lacked, and they within the towne found nothing enhanced, saue onely a denier ² vpon euery loafe of bread, the reason whereof was, bicause we held not the riuers aboue the towne, being these three, Marne, Yonne, and Seine, besides divers small streames that run into them. Wherfore all things considered this towne is situate in the best and fruitfullest soile that euer I sawe, yea it is almost incredible how great the prouision is that commeth thither, my selfe was resident there since the time I now write of, halfe a yeere togithet with K. *Lewis* being lodged at the Tournelles, and ordinary eating and lodging in the Court. Since his death also by the space of twentie moneths, full sore against my will I was held prisoner in his pallace, where I saw dayly out of my windowe the prouision that came vp the streme out of Normandie, and likewife downe the streme, which was so great that I would neuer haue beleene it, had I not seene it.

Diuers bands as you haue heard issued daily out of Paris, and the skirmishes were great, our watch being of fiftie launces, stood neere to la Grange aux Merciers, but our scouts rode as neare Paris as was possible, the which were often beaten backe to our watch, and eftsoones (the enimie on their backe) as far as our cariage, retiring sometime a softpace, and sometime a fast trot. Then vsed we to renforce them with new supplies, which beate backe the enimies hard to the towne gates, and this was daily and howerly done, for within the towne were aboue 2500. men of armes in verie good order, and a great number of gentlemen of Normandy, and franke archers, besides that they sawe daily their Ladies which encouraged them to put forth themselves. Our force was also very great, but in horsemen we were not so strong as they, for we had with vs onely the Burgundians being about two thousand launces good and bad, nothing so well armed as they within Paris, bicause of the long peace wherein they had liued as before is mentioned, of the which number also two hundred men of armes were at Laigny with the Duke of Calabria, but of footemen we had great force, and those very good. The Britains armie lay at Saint Denys, making war on that side the towne o: Paris all the waies they could, and the other noblemen were disparkled some heere some there, to make prouision of victuals. In the end the Duke of Nemours, the Earle of Armignac, and the Lord of Albert came

* A Denier is the twelvith part of three halfe pence sterling.

to vs, but their forces lodged a good way from our campe because they had no pay, and should haue famished our armie if they had taken ought without money. This I am sure of, that the Earle of Charolois gaue them ffe or sixe thousand franckes, and tooke order that they should come no neerer vs. They were at the least ffe or sixe thousand horse that did maruellous much harme in the countrey.

How the Earle of Charolois artillerie and the Kings artillerie shot the one against the other neare to Charenton, and how the Earle of Charolois caused another bridge to be built vpon boates ouer the riuere of Seine.

Chap. 9.



Ow to retorne to the campe before Paris, you may be sure that no day passed without losse on both sides, but no great exploit was done, for the king would suffer no great force to issue out of the towne, neither meant to hazard the battell, but desired peace, and wisely to disparkle this assemblie. Notwithstanding, one morning very early 4000. archers came & encamped along by the riuier side vpon the very banke, directly ouer against Conflans. The gentlemen of Normandie and certaine of the Kings ordinarie men of armes lay in a village but a quarter of a league from them, and betwene them and their footemen was onely a faire plaine. The riuier of Seine ran betwene them & vs, and they began to dig a trench ouer against Charenton, which reached in length as far as Conflans to wit to the very end of our campe, directly ouer against the which, (the riuier being betwene vs and them as you haue heard) they built a bulwarke of wood and earth, and thereon mounted great store of artillerie, which at the very first shot chased the Duke of Calabrias men out of the village of Charenton, and forced them in great haste to come and lodge with vs with losse both of men and horses. But the Duke of Calabria himselfe lay in a litle house betwene the riuier and the Earle of Charolois lodging, directly ouer against the enimies.

This artillerie shot also into our campe, and put the whole armie in great feare, for the very first shot slew certaine of our men, and twise it staketh through the Earle of Charolois chamber as he sat at dinner, and flew a trumpet vpon the staires, bearing vp a dish of meate. Wherfore after dinner the Earle remoued into a low parlor resoluing not to depart thence. The next morning the Princes met at his lodgynge to consult what was to be done: for they were late in counsell there, and at their rising dined also there togither. The Dukes of Berry and Britaine sat next to the wall vpon the bench, and the Earle of Charolois and the Duke of Calabria ouer against them. The said Earle placed every one of them aboue himselfe, as reason was he shold some of them, yea all of them seeing they were in his lodgynge. There they devised to countermount all the artillerie in their armie against the Kings, whereof the Earle of Charolois had great store, as had also the Dukes of Calabria and Britaine: for accomplishment of which their purpose, they pearced the wals along the riuier side behinde Conflans, and there mounted all the best peeces of their artillerie, saue the Bombards and the other great peeces which shot not: the rest also they planted in other places where they might do best seruice, and by this meanes the Princes had much more artillerie on their side than the King on his.

¹ Couperois in the French is vndoubtedly to be read Couperois as I have here translated it, for to read it Couperois is senselife, for the better vnderstanding of this place peruse *Valutius de remilitari lib. 11. pag. 313.* where you shall see the right description of this bridge.

² This Chastel Guyon Chasteau Guyon, and Chasteau Guyon as our author also afterward n.1 meth him was the Prince of Orenge sonne, la Marche.

³ The olde copie saith he was slaine at Morat, but De la Marche, who was at the battell fith at Granson: but here is to be noted that the Chasteau Guyon mentioned by our author, lib. 5. cap. 2. and by *Annales Burundianas* that went into Piemont after the battell of Granson was not this, but some or brother to this which is prooued by *Commines* owne words, for in that place he calleth him Monsieur De Chasteau Guyon qui est de present, and

whether this Chasteau Guyon were slaine at Granson or Morat, he could not be aliue in Charles the 8. time, when our author writ. Thus much I haue said lest Commines should seeme to vary from *La Marche* or rather from himselfe.

The trench that the French had made was of great length, and they wrought continually vpon it, aduancing it towards Paris, and casting the earth towards vs, there by to sauue themselues from our shot: for they lay all in their trench, neither durst one of them peepe out, because the medow where they lodged was as plaine as a mans hand. To conclude I never heard in so short space such a number of Canon shot, for we on our side ment to remoue them thence by force of artillerie, but vnto them ordinance came daily from Paris, and they plied the matter diligently and spared no powder. A great number in our army digged pits in the ground before their lodging, many also were made to their hands, for it was a place where men had wrought for stone. Thus euery man shifted for himselfe the best he could, and three or four daies we passed in this estate, but the feare was greater on both sides than the losse, for not one man of name was slaine.

But when the Princes sawe that their enimies dislodged not, they accounted it a thing tending greatly to their dishonor, and also very dangerous: for the Parisians were thereby so greatly encouraged, that one day of truce it seemed all the towne was come soorth to the trenches. Wherefore the Princes concluded as they sate in councell, to make a large bridge of great boates the noses whereof were coupled together, and the rest couered with plancks, and the last couple nearest to the shore fastened to the ground with great anchors: besides these, a number of other great boates vpon the riuier of Seine were brought thither, wherein they meant to passe ouer certaine bands to assaile the Kings forces. The charge of this worke was committed to Master *Giralde* the Master gunner who said, that our bands that passed the riuier should haue great aduantage ouer their enimies, because their trenches would be far vnderneath vs, considering that they had throwen the earth on the side toward vs, alleging farther that they durst not issue foorth of their trenches, for feare of our shot, which reasons much encouraged our men, and made them the willinger to passe ouer. Thus the bridge being finished all sauue the last couple of boates, which also were vpon the point to be fastened to the rest, and all the other boates appointed for conuiance ouer of our men being likewise in a readinesse: suddenly on of the Kings heralds arrived there, who said to Monsieur de Bonillet and others there present, that we had broken the truce. For bicause that day and the day before were daies of truce, euery man that listed came to see what we did, but that night the truce ended, our bridge was so large that three men of armes with their staves readie to charge, might haue passed ouer it vpon a front. Farther there were fife or sixe great boates, every one of the which would haue conuiced ouer a thousand men at a time, besides a number of lesse boates to passe ouer the artillerie that shoulde serue in this enterprise. The bands were also named, and their names enroled that shoulde go, and the Earle of S. Paul, and the Lord of Haulbourdin ordained to leade them. After midnight they that were appointed to this enterprise began to arme themselues, and before day were all in a readinesse. Some also went and hard masse, and did as good Christians ought to do in such a case. The same night I was my selfe in a great tent in the middest of the armie where the watch stood, being also one of the watch: for no man was excused. The capaine of the watch was Monsieur de Chastell Guyon ³, slaine afterward at the battell of Granson ³. And as we stood there waiting when this pastime should begin, suddenly we heard the French as they lodged in their trenches cry alowd: Farewell neighbors, farewell, immediately whereupon they set fire on their lodgings and retired their artillerie. The day began to breake, and they

that

that were appointed to this enterprise were alreadie vpon the riuier, at the least part of them when they saw the enimies a far off retiing to Paris, whereupon they returned all, and vnaarmed themselues, reioicing much bicause of their departure. But you shall vnderstand that the King sent them thither onely to beate our campe with artillerie, not to fight: for he would put nothing in aduenture, as before I haue said notwithstanding that his force were sufficient to haue encountered with all these Princes ioined together, but his onely desire was, as he well declared, to treat of peace, and to seuer this company without hazarding his estate and the state of this large and noble realme of Fraunce in battell, than the which nothing can be more vncertaine or dangerous.

Euery day they practised on both sides to withdraw mench from other, & diuers daies of truce were made, during the which Commissioners sat on both sides to treat of peace at *La Grange aux Merciers* hard by our campe. For the King, the Earle of Maine with diuers others came thither, and for the Princes, the Earle of S. Paul accompanied with diuers others in like maner. These Commissioners met often, but no goode was done: notwithstanding all that time the truce endured, and a number of both the armies met and committed togither at a great ditch in the midway: the one, on the one side: and the others, on the other: for neither partie might passe the ditch, notwithstanding the truce. No day escaped by reason of this meeting and communication, but that ten or twelve; and somtime more, came and yeelded to the Princes, and another day as many went from vs to the King: wherefore this place was afterward called the market place, because such marchandise was bought and sold there. Now to shew you mine opinion in this case, me thinketh that such meeting and communing together at such times, and in such sort is very dangerous, especially for him that is likeit to take the foile: for naturally most men desire to aduance themselves, at the least to sauue themselves: wherefore they will easilie be wonne to turne to the strongest. Some there are I confesse so faithfull and constant, that none of these respects can alter them, but few such are to be found. Farther this danger is then specially to be feared, when we haue to doe with a Prince that will endeuor himselfe to winne men: which sure is a great grace of God in any Prince that can frame himselfe thereunto, for it is a token that he is not infected with the foule vice and sinne of pride, which all men detest & abhor. But to conclude this discourse, when a Prince mindeth to treat of peace, he ought to employ therein the faithfulest and trustiest seruants he hath, being men of ripe yeeres, lest their lacke of experience cause them either to conclude some dishonorable treaty, or put their master in greater feare at their retурne than there is cause why. Farther a Prince ought to commit such affaires rather to those that haue receaued benefit at his hands than to such as never were benefited by him, but especially to wise men, for he shall never make profit by employing a foole. Besides this, such treaties ought to be held rather far from his campe than neere vnto it, and when the Commissioners retурne, the Prince must give them audience, himselfe alone or in presence of verie fewe, to the end that if their newes be discomfortable, they may be instructed how to anwer those that will be inquisitive, for all men will desire to understand newes of them, yea and some of their familiars will thinke that they will hide nothing from them, notwithstanding if they be such men as I haue heere described, and know their master to be wise, they will reueale nothing to any man whosocuer.

A discourse upon certaine vices and vertues of King Lewis the II. Chap. 10.

L Am entred into this discourse bicause I haue scene much treacherie in the world, & many seruants deceave their masters, oftentimes through their masters owne fault: for this I dare boldly auowe, that proud and disdainfull Princes, and such as will give audience but to fewe, are oftner abused than those that are courteous, and ready to give eare to every man: wherein sure King Lewis our master surmounted far all the Princes of his time, for he was the wised Prince in winding himselfe out of trouble and aduersitie, the humblest in words, the plainest in apparell, and the greatest traueler to win a man that might do him seruice or harine that euer I knew. Neither vsed he to relinquish his sute for the first refusal, but labored the party continually by large promises and liberall gifts, as well of great sums of money, as also of such estates and offices as he knew would content him. And as touching those whom he had banished and withdrawne his fauor from in peace and prosperitie: he bought them deereley againe when he needed them, and imploied them in his service, cleane forgetting all offences passed. He loued naturally men of meane estate, and was enimie to all such as needed not to depende vpon him: neuer Prince gaue audience to so many men, neuer Prince was inquisitiue of so many matters, nor desirous to be acquainted with so many strangers as he, whereby he knew aswell all that were in authoritie and estimation in England, Spaine, Portugale, Italie, and the Seniories of Burgundie and Britaine, as his owne subiects. And by these vertues preserued he his estate, which stood in great danger at his first comming to the crowne, bicause of the enimies himselfe had procured to himselfe. But his great liberalitie especially serued him to good purpose, for as in aduersitie he wisely behaued himselfe, so contrariwise in time of peace or truce, he lightly fell out with his seruants, by picking trifling quarels to them, and such was his disposition, that he could hardly away with peace or quietnes. In his talke he spared no man, neither absent nor present, saue such as he feared, which were many, for naturally he was very fearfull. Farther, when his talke had either turned him to displeasure, or was like so to do, he would endeuor himselfe to amend the matter, by vsing these or such like words to the partie offended: I know well that my toong hath wrought me much displeasure, but it hath also oftentimes stood me in great stead, notwithstanding reason it is that I should repaire the iniurie done, and when he vsed this familiar speech, he euer gaue withall some great present to the partie greeued. Sure the knowledge of good and euill is a great gift of God to a Prince, I meane when the good surmounteth the euill, as it did in the King our Master, who in mine opinion was much bettered by the trouble he sustained in his youth, when he fled from his father and sojourned with Duke *Philip* of Burgundy the space of sixe yeces: for he was constrained there to frame himselfe to the humor of those whom he stood in neede of, which singular vertue aduersitie taught him. But after his fathers death, when he came first to the state he thought only vpon reuenge, but soone fel the smart thereof, and therefore foorthwith altered his minde, acknowledged his error, repaired the harmes done, and sought to recover by large benefits those whom he had offended, as heerafter you shall perceiue. And I thinke verily he shoulde never haue wound himselfe out of those troubles had not his education been better than noble mens commonly is in this realme, who are brought

¹ King Lewis departed fro his father into Dauphine anno 1447. & there remained till the yere 1456. at the which time bicause of the force his father sent thither against him, he was constrained to flee to the Duke of Burgundy where he remained till the yere of his coronacion, which was in the yere 1461. *Annal. Bur- gund. De la Marche. Meyer.*

brought vp altogether in wantonnes and dissolutees, as well in their apparel as in their talke, they are vterly unlearned, there is not one wise man about them: they haue gouernors that dispose of all their affaires, but themselues do nothing: yea some noble men there are hardly of fower nobles rent that glorie in saying, Speake to my seruants, thinking thereby to imitate great Princes. But I haue often scene their seruants so make their profit of them, that their folly hath thereby appeered to the whole world. And if any of them happen at the length to looke about him, and to attend to his owne busines, it is so late that it serueth almost to no purpose: for all those that haue been great or done great things, began in their tender age, which vertue proceeedeth either of their bringing vp, or of the grace of God.

How the Burgundians lying neere to Paris, and looking for the battell, supposed great thistles to haue been launces held upright. Chap. 11.

L Haue been long in this discourse, but it serueth to so good purpose that sooner I could not end it. Now to returne to the wars, you haue heard how these archers that lay in the trench along vpon the riuier of Seine, dislodged at the very instant that we should haue assailed them. The truce never endured past a day or two, and when it ended sharpe war began againe, and the skirmishes continued from morning till night, but no great force issued foorth of the towne, notwithstanding they bett backe our scoutes oftentimes whom we euer releuued with new supplies. There passed no day without some skirmish great or small, and I thinke the King would haue had them greater, had it not been because he was ielous of diuers though needlesly. I haue heard him say that one night he found the posterne of Saint Anthonies bastile towards the fields wide open, which put him in suspition of Master *Charles* of Melun, whose father kept the place, yersure a faithfuller seruant than the said *Charles* that yeere the King had none.

One day they within Paris determined to issue foorth to fight with vs, of the which enterprise I suppose the King vnderstood nothing, but it was onely his capitaines resolution, they meant to assaile vs three severall waies, their greatest band should haue come from Paris, another from Pont de Charenton, which two could not greatly haue endamaged vs, and the third appointed to be two hundred men of armes from Bois-de-Vincennes. Of this resolution we were aduertised about midnight by a Page that told vs this newes as lowd as he could crie from the other side of the riuier, by commandement of the Princes friends within the towne, some of the which also he named and so departed. By breake of day issued foorth Master *Poncet* of Riuiere before Pont de Charenton, and the Lord of Lau on the other side from Bois-de-Vincennes euern hard to our artillerie, where they flue one of our gunners. The alarme was great in our campe: for we supposed this to be the enterprise, whereof the Page aduertised vs ouer night. The Earle of Charolois was soone arm'd, yet not so soone as *John* Duke of Calabria, for at all alarmes he was the first man arm'd, and that at all points, and his horse euer barded. Moreover he ware such a garment as the famous men of war vse in Italy, and shewed himselfe both a noble Prince, and a worthy Capitaine: he rode straight to the barriars of our campe to staine our men from issuing foorth, where he was as well obeyed as the Earle of Charolois himselfe: yea the whole armie obeyed him more willingly than any man

in the compaie, of the which honor vndoubtedly he was woorthie. Incontinent out whole force was in armes and stood in order of battell within our cariage, all save two hundred horse that kept our watch abroad. To be shott this day we looked assuredly for the battell, but never before nor after. Soone after the Earle of Charolois and the Duke of Calabria, arriued the Dukes of Berry and Britaine, whom I never sawe armed but this day onely. The Duke of Berry was armed at all points: notwithstanding they were but weakely accompanied, in the which estate they passed through the campe, and rode foorth to the Lords of Charolois and Calabria where they communed togither. Our scoutes being renforced, rode as neare Paris as they could, and discouered a great number of our enimies scouts, comming to learne what noise this was in our armie. Our artillery shot terribly when Monsieur *De Lau* approached so neare vs: the King also had good peeces vpon Paris wals, that shot into our campe which was strange: for we lay two leagues from the towne, but I thinke the peeces were mounted to the most aduantage. This thundering of the artillerie, caused both the parties to thinke some great enterprise to be towards: The day was very darke and cloudie, and our scouts approaching neer to Paris, discouered many enimies abroad in the field, and a good way beyond them, a number of launces held vpright (as they supposed,) which they iudged to be the kings whole force, and all the people of Paris issued foorth of the towne in order of battell: which imagination the darknes of the heauens put into their head. They returned foorth with to the Princes being yet without our campe, and aduertised them of this newes, assuring them of the battell. The scouts that were issued foorth of Paris approached still neerer and neerer to our campe, bicause they sawe ours retire: which thing so much the more increased in our scouts their former imagination. Then came the Duke of Calabria to the place where a great number of the Earle of Charolois houeshold seruants stood to accompane his standard and his banner readie to be displayed, and the guidon of his armes according to the custome of the house of Burgundie, and there the said Duke of Calabria spake thus to vs all: We haue now our desire, for the King is issued foorth with his whole force, and marcheth forward as our scouts tell vs. Wherfore let vs determine to play the men. So soone as they be out of the towne we will enter, and measure with the long ell¹, and with such like words rode he about encouraging the companie. Our scouts at the length perciuing the enimies to be but weake recovered their spirits, and rode againe towards Paris, where they discouered these battels in the selfesame place they left them: whereupon they entred into a new cogitation what they might be, but when they approached neere to them (the day being broken vp and cleere) they perceiued them to be high thistles, whereupon they rode hard to the towne gates, and found not a man abroad, whereof incontinent they aduertised the Princes, who vpon this newes went to masse and afterward to dinner: but our scouts were ashamed of their first aduertisement, notwithstanding the darknes of the day, togither with the message of the Page brought vnto vs ouer night, somewhat excused them.

¹ By the long ell he mea-
neth the pike,
wherewith
souldiers at
the sacking of
a towne vse
to measure
velvets, silks,
and cloths.



How the King and the Earle of Charolois met togither to treat of peace. Chap. 12.

He treatie of peace continued still, betweene the King and the Earle of Charolois especially, bicause the principall force of both the armies was theirs. The Princes demands were great: namely the Duke of Berries, who required al Normandy for his partage, which the King would by no meanes condescend vnto.

The Earle of Charolois demanded the townes situate vpon the riuier of Somme: namely, Abbeuille, Amiens, Saint Quintin, Peronne, and the rest that King Charles the 7. had engag'd by the treatie of *Arras* to deeme them during the life, because they were engaged to Duke Philip and his heires males.

The Duke of Burgundie, of whom King Lewis had redeemeed them for the summe of fower hundred thousand crownes, not past three months before: but the Earle of said Earles alledged that during his life, the King could not redeeme them,¹ putting him alwaies in remembrance how much he was beholding to the house of Burgundy, which received him when he fled from King Charles his father, furnished him of money to maintaine his estate the space of sixe yeeres², and accompanied him at his coronation to Reimes and Paris³, wherefore the Earle of Charolois tooke the redeeming of these townes in very euill part. This treatie of peace was so followed, that one morning the King came by water directly ouer against our campe, leauing his horsemen that accompanied him vpon the riuerside, and hauing in the barge with him besides the water men that rowed, onely fower or fve persons, namely Monsieur *De Lau*, Monsieur *De Montauban* then admirall of Fraunce, and Monsieur *De Nantouillet*, with one or two more. The Earles of Charolois and Saint Paul stood on the other side of the riuier to receiue the King, who said thus to the Earle of Charolois, brother doe you assure me in the word of a Prince, (for the Earles first wife was the Kings sister⁴:) whereunto the Earle answered, yea sir as one brother should assure another. Then the King and his companie landed, the two Earles receiuing him honorably according to his estate, and he hauing words at will, began thus and said: Brother, I know you to be a gentleman and of the house of Fraunce: why sir, quoth the Earle⁵ bicause said the K. when I sent of late mine Ambassadors to mine vncle your father, and you to Lisle, where my foolish chanceller *Morouillier* so much misbehaued himself toward you: you sent me word by the Archbishop of Narbonne (who is a gentleman as his behauour there well declared,) that before a yeere expir'd I should repent me of the proud language the said *Morouillier* there vsed. You haue kept promise in deed, and that long before your day: which words the King spake with a merrie cheerefull countenance knowing his nature with whom he talked to be such, that they would please him well, as vndoubtedly they did. Then the King of Bourbon, proceeded farther saying, I loue to deale with men that keepe promise. Afterward he disauow'd *Morouillier*'s words, saying that he had spoken beyond his commission.

To be shott the King walked a long time betweene these two Earles: a great number of the Earle of Charolois souldiers in armes standing by, and marking diligently their behauour. At this meeting the Earles required the Dutchie of Normandie, His third wife and the townes situate vpon the riuier of Somme, with diuers other particular demands for themselues, and certeine ouertures lately treated of for the common wealth of the realme, but vpon those they stood lest, for the weale publique was now turned into wealth priuate. As touching Normandie the King would hardly heare thereof, but he granted the Earle of Charolois demands, and for his sake offered no issue. His second daughter named *Marie*, which also was his heire. His third wife was *Isabel* daughter to *Charles D.* His fourth wife was *Margarete* daughter to *Edward the 4.* His fifth wife was *Margarete* daughter to *Edward the 4.* As touching Normandie the King would hardly heare thereof, but he granted the Earle of Charolois demands, and for his sake offered no issue. the

the Earle of S. Paule the office of Constable: which communication ended, the King tooke barge and returned to Paris, and the Earles to Conflans, departing each from other in very courteous and louing manner.

Thus passed we the time, sometime in peace and sometime in war, but notwithstanding that the treatie of peace at la Grange aux Merciers where the Commissioners used to sit, were cleane broken off on both sides: yet continued still the communication aboue mentioned betweene the King and the Earle of Charolois, and messengers went betweene them notwithstanding the war: for the Earle sent to the King *William of Bische* and *Guillor Dusie*, being both his owne seruants, but yet beholding to the King: for when Duke *Philip* had banished them, the King at the Earle of Charolois request entertained them. Many mislikid these sendings to and fro, so far foorth that the Princes began now to mistrust and abandon each other, in such sort that had not one thing happened soone after⁵, they had all departed with great dishonor. Twise I sawe them hold three feuerall assemblies in one chamber where they were toghether, wherewith the Earle of Charolois was maruellously offended: for he thought, seeing the greatest force of this armie was his, that they did him wrong to sit in counsell in his chamber, he being present, without calling him to it: wherefore he debated this matter with the Lord of *Contay* a very wise gentleman, who aduised him to take it patiently, because if he should alienate their mindes from him they could better make their peace than he, adding that as he was the strongest, so ought he to be the wifel, and farther counselling him to do his endeour by all meanes possible for their continuance toghether in friendship, and in no wise to fall at variance with them, but to digest and winke at all these disorders. Lastly he told him that all men woondred, yea his owne seruants, that so meane personages as the two aboue named were imployed in so weighty affaires: alleging great danger to be therein, considering how liberall a Prince he was with whom he had to deale. True it is that this *Contay* hated *William of Bische*, notwithstanding heerein he spake but as others did, and I thinke verily not vpon malice but as the case required. The Earle of Charolois followed his aduise, and began to sport and pastime with the Princes otherwise than he had been accustomed, to shew them a cheerfull countenance, and to commune oftener both with them and their seruants, and sure so was it requisite: for they stood euuen vpon the point to seuer themselues. A wise man doth good seruice in such a companie, if he may be credited, neither can he be valued too deere, but I neuer knew Prince in my life that could finde the difference between man and man til he stood in need of men: and if any happily do, yet make they no account of a wise man, but place in authoritie about them those whom they fauor better, either because they are of equall yecres with them, or seeke in all things to feede their humors, wherein they are often nuzled by the furtherers of their wanton pleasures. But wise Princes will soone reforme themselues when neede requireth, such as were the King our master, the Earle of Charolois at that time, King *Edward of England*, and diuers others: but these three especially I haue seene at so lowe an ebbe, that they haue stood in greatneede of those whom before they despised. Notwithstanding as touching the Earle of Charolois, after he was Duke of Burgundie, and highlier aduaunced by fortunes fauor than euer was any of his predecessors, and growen so great that he feared no Prince of his estate, God ouerthrew him in all his glorie: and so bereaved him of his wits, that he contemned all mens counsell but his owne, wherby he miserably ended his life, with a great number of his seruants and subiects, leauing his house desolate as you see.

⁵ He meaneth the taking of Roan mentioned in the next chapter.

How

How the citie of Roan by practise was put into the Duke of Bourbons bands, for the D. of Berry, and how the treatie of Conflans was fully concluded.

Chap. 13.



OU shal now understand what mooued me to discourse so long of the dangers depending vpon these treaties, and why I aduised Princes to be wise and circumspect whom they employ in them, especially him that hath the woorse end of the staffe. For while the commissioners sat to treat of peace, by means wherof men met & communed together: in steede of treating of peace some practised to yeeld the Duchie of Normandy to the Kings only brother the Duke of Berry, to the end he might there take his partage, and restore Berry to the King, which enterprise was also executed accordingly, for the Lady of Brezey, the late Seneschall of Normandie widow, and certaine of hir kinsfolkes and seruants by hir perswasion, receiued John Duke of Bourbon into the castell of Roan, and finally into the towne, the which willingly consented to this mutation, as did also all the other townes and places in the countrey, a few excepted. For the Normans haue euer been and yet are of opinion, that it is requisite for them (their countrie being so large) to haue their Prince resident among them, neither desire they any thing more: and sure it is a goodly thing and a rich: for my selfe haue knownen the reuenues thereof nine hundred and fiftie thousand franks,

¹ and some say they are greater.

After the towne was revolted, all the inhabitants gave their oth to the Duke of Bourbon as the Duke of Berries lieutenant, saue the bailiffe of the towne named *Onaste* (who had been a groome of the Kings chamber in Flaunders and neere about him) and another called *William Piquart*, afterward generall of Normandie, and the high Seneschall of Normandie that now is, who also departed to the King against his mothers will, who (as you haue heard) was the chiefe author of the citizens revolt. When the King heard this newes he resolued to make peace, seeing he could not vndoo that was already done. Wherefore incontinent he sent word to the Earle of Charolois being in his campe, that he would gladly speake with him, and appointed the hower when he would meeete him in the fields by Conflans, neere to the said campe, at which hower he came, accompanied with an hundred horse, all in maner Scottish men of his garde. The Earle of Charolois met him with a small traine without any ceremonie, notwithstanding many of his seruants went after him, so that in the end his companie was greater than the Kings, but he caused them to stay a pretie way off, and when the King and he had walked toghether a while, the King told him that the peace was already made, and aduertised him of all that was hapned at Roan (whereof the Earle as yet understood nothing) adding that notwithstanding he would neuer willingly haue granted his brother so large a partage: yet now seeing the Normans themselues had made this mutation, he would agree therunto, and passe the treatie in maner and forme, as before at diuers meetings wasdevised, for as touching the other articles they had to agree vpon, they were but trifles. The Earle of Charolois was glad of these newes, for his armie lay in great diffresse of vittailes, but more of money, and had not this hapned, all these Princes had been forced to depart with great dishonor. Notwithstanding to the Earle of Charolois the same day, or within two or three daies after came a new releefe both of men and money, sent

¹ That is 118750. pounds sterling.

sent him by Duke *Philip* his father out of Burgundie, vnder the leading of the Lord of Saugeus, being six score men of armes, and fifteene hundred archers, and six score thousand crownes vpon ten sumpter horses, with great store of bowes and arroves, which furnished reasonably well the Burgundians armie, who stood in grete doubt that the other princes would make peace without them.

This communication of peace pleased so well both the King and the Earle of Charolois, and so desirous they were (as I haue heard the Earle himselfe say,) to conclude the treatie, that they marked not which way they walked, but rode straight toward Paris, so far foorth, that they entred into a great bulwarke of wood and earth, that the King had caused to be made a good way without the towne, at the end of a trench, by the which lay a way into the towne. The Earle was accompanied only with fower or fve persons, who were much abashed when they saw themselues within the bulwarck: notwithstanding himselfe set a good face on the matter. But when this newes came to the campe the whole armie began to mutter, and the Earle of S. Paul, the marshall of Burgundie, the Lord of Contay, the Lord of Hault-bourdin, and divers others assembled togither, blaming greatly both the Earle, and those that accompanied him of this follie, and alleaginge the inconuenience that hapned to his grandfather at Montereau-faut-Yonne in the presence of King *Charles* the seventeenth. Wherefore incontinent they commanded all the soldiers that were walking abroad in the fields to retire into their campe. And the marshall of Burgundie surnamed Neuf-chastel said thus: though this foolish harebrained yoong Prince be gone to cast away himselfe: yet let vs prouide that his house, his fathers estate, and we our selues fall not into danger: wherefore mine aduise is that euery man repaire to his lodging, and be in a readines, banishing all feare whatsoeuer happen. For we are strong enough if we seuer not to retire to the marches of Henault, or Picardie, or into Burgundie. When he had thus said, he and the Earle of Saint Paul mounted on horsebacke, and walked out of the campe to see if they could descreue any body comming from Paris: where after they had stooode a while, they discouered fortie or fiftie horses being certaine of the Kings seruants, as well archers as others that waited vpon the Earle of Charolois: who so soone as he perceiued these two approch, caused the French to returne: he stood in awe of the marshall, because he vsed to give him very sharpe language, neither feared sometimes to tell him that he was but lent him during his fathers life. Wherefore minding now to preuent him, he said thus, Chide me not, I acknowledge my great follie, but I was hard by the bulwarke before I wist. But this notwithstanding the marshall said more to his face, then he had spoken behinde his backe, and sure he was a faithfull and a trustie knight. The Earle answered nothing but held downe his hed, and entred into his campe where they were all glad of his returne, and commended the Kings faith: and sure it is to be thought that both the King and the Earle had great regarde of their honor, considering that each of them putting himselfe into others hands: Yet neither of them received harme, notwithstanding the Earle neuer after returned vnder the Kings power.



How the treacie of peace was concluded betwene the King, and the Earle of Charolois and his confederates.

Chap: 14.

N the end all matters were fully concluded, and the next day as the Earle of Charolois was making his musters to knowe what number he had lost: suddenly the King accompanied with thir-
 The treatie
 was sworne
 to the fist of Oc-
 tober, the cō-
 ditions wher-
 King hauing once giue him Pinal in Lorain, tooke it afterward
 aaigne from him to bestow vpon *John* Duke of Calabria greatly to the said marshals
 337. where he
 damage. The King(acknowledging his error) by little and little reconciled himselfe
 to the wise and valiant knights that had serued the King his father, and whom he at his
 first comming to the crowne had displaced, wherefore they were with the Princes in frō the Kings
 armes against him. Farther it was agreed that the next day the King should come to
 the Castell of Vincennes, and likewise all the Princes that were to do him homage: *Dugreslaus*
 cap.1. pag.6.
 for whose safetie the said Castell should be put into the Earle of Charolois hands,
 according to which agreement the next morning thither came the King, and like-
 wise all the Princes none being absent, the porche and gate being manned with Bur-
 gundians well armed: there the treatie of peace was concluded. *1* The Lord *Charles*
 did the King homage for the Duchie of Normandie, and the Earle of Charolois for
 the townes in Picardie aboue mentioned, as did also all the rest that had homage to
 do, and the Earle of S. Paul tooke his othe for the office of Constable: but accor-
 ding to the common prouerbe, neuer was so plentifull a marriage feast, but some de-
 parted vndined, for heere some had what them lusted, and others nothing. The King
 received into his seruice certaine gentlemen that were with his brother, and also cer-
 taine meane persons, but the greatest part remained stil with his said brother the new
 Duke of Normandie and the Duke of Britaine, who went to Roan to take possession.
 At their departure from the Castell of Vincennes they tooke their leaue each of
 other, and returned to their lodgings: farther, all letters, pardons, and other writings
 seruing for the confirmation of the peace were made. On one day departed all the
 three Princes, the Duke of Normandy & Britaine first into Normandy, & the Duke
 of Britaine from thence into his owne countrie, and the Earle of Charolois into
 Flaunders. But when the Earle was readie to take horse, the King meaning effectually
 to shew how greatly he desired his friendship, came to him and accompanied him
 to Villiers-le-bell, a village fower leagues from Paris, where both these Princes lod-
 ged that night. The Kings traine was very small, but he commanded two hundred
 men of armes to follow him to conuey him backe: whereof the Earle of Charolois
 being aduertised as he went to bed, fell into great suspicion thereof, and commanded
 a great number of his seruants to be in armes. Thus you see how impossible it is for
 two great Princes to agree, bicause of the suspicioous tales and reports that are daily
 and howerly beaten into their heads. Wherefore two Princes that desire to conti-
 nue in friendship ought neuer to come togither, but to employ vertuous and wise
 men betweene them, who will encrease their amitie, and reprise all such breaches as
 shall happen.

deliver them, or the King happily, thereby to recover his former soueraigntie: I leaue heere to discusse. Notwithstanding if
 any such condition were in the treatie of Conflans, as *Meyer* reporterb, in my simple iudgement these two wise men would not
 haue appealed contrarie to it, and thereby haue made the cause of their death iust though before vniust, by violating this pri-
 uilege, and so infesting the liberties of the state of Flaunders obtained by this treatie of the King.

The

The next morning the two Princes tooke their leaue each of other with much courteous and wise talke, and the King returned to Paris accompanied with the men of armes aboue mentioned, called thither for that purpose, whereby he remoued all suspicion the Earle had conceiued of their comming. The said Earle rode towards Compiengne and Noyon, being receiued by the Kings commandement into all the townes he passed by. From thence he marched to Amiens where they did him homage, as did also all the other townes vpon the riuier of Somme, and the territories in Picardy restored to him by this treatie, which the King not past nine moneths before had redemeed for the summe of fower hundred thousand crownes, as before you haue heard. This done, he marched incontinent into the countrie of Liege, because they had by the space of fife or sixe moneths made war vpon his father in his absence, in the countries of Namur and Brabant, where also they had slaine certaine of his subiects: but bicause the winter approched he could do no great exploit, notwithstanding a number of villages were burnt, and diuers small overthrows giuen to the said Liegeois, whereupon they made a treatie with the Duke of Burgundie, and Burgundie, & for performance thereof stood bound to him in a great summe of mony. This done, lving his sons the Earle of Charolois returned into Brabant.

gibbet with vile reprochfull words. Reade Annal. Burgund. fol. 900. and Meyer fol. 337. pag. 2. but soone after, namely 15. Octob. the same yere the Duke of Burgundie by the conduct of the Earle of Nassau the Seneschal of Hainault, the Lords of Grunne, Galebecque, and Rubempre gave them an overthrow at Montrenac where they lost 2200. men: wherefore seeing their forces broken, and the Earle of Charolois returned home, they desired peace which they obtained 22. Ianuarij anno 1466. as our author in this chapter maketh mention, and likewise Meyer fol. 338. and Annal. Burgund. fol. 909. where also reade the conditions of the peace, but this peace the same yere about Iune they brake againe, by aiding them of Dinand, as in the second booke our author setteth forth at large.

How by the division that hapned betweene the Dukes of Britaine and Normandie, the King recovered the said Duchie which he had giuen his brother.

Chap. 15.



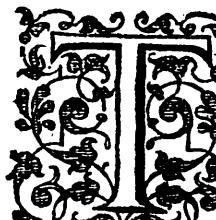
He meaneth by the hoory, the offices in Normandie.

Ow to returne to the Dukes of Normandie and Britaine, who after their departure from Bois-de-Vincennes, went together as you haue heard to take possession of Normandie. You shal vnderstand that immediately after their entrie into Roan, they fell at variance about partition of the bootie¹, for the knights aboue mentioned were yet with them, who being accustomed vnder King Charles the seventh, to liue in great authoritie, and enjoy goodly offices: though now, seeing this enterprise at an end, and themselues vnrrestored to the Kings fauor, to be aduanced by the new Duke of Normandie, wherefore they gaped for the best offices in the countrie as due to them. On the other side the Duke of Britaine thought it reason that part of them should be at his disposition, because the greatest burden of these wars had lien vpon his shoulders. To be short, the fire so kindled betweene them, that the Duke of Britaine for safetie of his person was forced to retire to mont S. Katherine neere to Roan, where also the Duke of Normandie men with the citizens of Roan were about to besiege him, so that in the end he was forced to retire the high way to Britaine. Of this devision the King being aduertised, furthered it I warrant you to the vtermost of his power (for he was master in this Arte) and in the meane time approached with his armie neere to the countrie, wherupon those that held the strong places began to yeeld them to him, thereby to recouer his fauor. I speake of these matters

The places proceed, the King practised with the D. of Britaine (who held certaine of the strong places in base Normandie²) vterly to abandon his brother, for conclusion whereof they were togither a certaine space at Caen, where they made a treatie, by the which, the said towne of Caen and diuers other places remained in the L. of Lescuts hands, with a certaine number of soldiers in pay, but this treatie was so confused, that I thinke neither partie vnderstood it throughly well. Thus returned the Duke of Britaine into his owne countrey, and the King bent his whole force against his brother the Duke of Normandie, who seeing himselfe vnable to withstand him, and that the King had already taken Pont de l'Arche and diuers other places in the countrie, determined to flie into Flaunderes. The Earle of Charolois was yet at Sainctron³, a little towne in the countrie of Liege, where he was maruellously busied, for his armie was all broken and out of order, and part thereof, notwithstanding the winter, in war against the Liegeois. This variance betweene the two Dukes aboue mentioned much troubled him, for he desired nothing more then to see a Duke of Normandie, because thereby the King should lose the third foote of his realme⁴ wherfore he leuied men in Picardie to put into Dieppe, but before they were readie, he that held the towne yeelded it by composition to the King, who by this means recovered all the Duchie of Normandie saue those places that the Lord of Lescut held by the treatie of Caen.

How the new Duke of Normandie returned into Britaine in very poore estate, and vterly discouraged, because he had failed of his enterprise.

Chap. 16.


He Duke of Normandie was once determined (as you haue heard) to flie into Flaunderes, but at that very instant the Duke of Britaine and he reconciled themselues, acknowledging both of them their errors, and well perceiving all good things by division to perish and come to naught. And sure in mine opinion it is almost impossible, that many Princes of equall estate being together should long continue in friendship and amitie, vntesse they haue superior over them, who also must be wise any well esteemed, to the end he may hold them in due obedience. I haue my selfe seene many examples heereof, and therefore speake not vpon hearesay. Besides that, common experience proueth that we are all naturally inclined to fall at variance to our owne harine, not regarding the inconueniences that ensue thereof, which is a generall fault through the whole world. Wherfore in mine opinion a wise Prince hauing ten thousande men at his commandement, and knowing how to gouerne them, is more to be feared and esteemed than six Princes confederate together, with each of them ten thousand, because so many matters fall in question betweene them, that all good occasions are lost, before they can resolute vpon any thing.

Thus returned the Duke of Normandie into Britaine in very poore estate, and vterly abandoned of all the Knights aboue mentioned that had serued the King his father. For they made their peace with the King, and were better entertained by him than euer they had beene in his fathers time. These two Dukes were wise after the hurt received (as the common prouerbe saith of the Britons) and liued togither in Britaine, being gouerned by the Lord of Lescut their principall seruant. And diuers ambassadours ran betweene the King and them, and betweene them and the Earle of

Charolois,

Charolois, and likewise between the King and the Duke of Burgundy, some to learne newes, some to corrupt one anothers seruants and subiects, and some for diuers other euill purposes, and all vnder colour of good faith. Some also went with good intent trusting to pacifie these troubles, which sure was great simplicitie in them to thinke themselves wise and sufficient ynoch by their presence to appease Princes so great, so subtil, & so well acquainted with all sorts of fine practises as these were, especially neither partie inclining to reason. But some there are so blinded with vaine glorie, that they thinke themselves able to deale in matters that oftentimes they understand not: for their Masters do not alwaies discouer to them the bottom of their thoughts. To such it often happeneth that they go but to furnish the feast, yea many times to their owne cost: for euer one by-fellow or other accompanieth them, that hath some secret practise apart, at the least thus haue I seene the matter ordered at all times and in all places where I haue been. Wherefore as I said before, that Princes ought to be circumspect whom they employ in their affaires: so say I now, that those that are imployed ought to take heede how they negotiate in Princes busynesses. And who so can shift off the charge, vnsesse he vnderstand it throughly well, and perceiue his Master to be well affected thereunto, is to be accounted wise: for I haue knownen many a good man in a pecke of troubles with such affaires. Princes also I haue seene of two contrarie dispositions, the one so subtil and suspiciois, that a man can neuer be acquainted with their humor, for they thinke all the world bent to deceiue them: the other trust their seruants well ynoch, but themselves are so grosse and understand so little of their owne affaires, that they knowe not who doth them good seruice or bad, whereby they alter their mindes in a moment from loue to hatred, and from hatred to loue. And notwithstanding that of either sort few are good and constant: yet I for my part had rather liue vnder the wise than the foolish: because there are more waies to auoide their displeasure, and recover their fauour lost: but with the ignorant a man can devise no shift, for no man dealeth with themselves in any matter, but altogether with their seruants, whome also they change as oft as the wind.

Notwithstanding in those countries where such Princes raigne, all men are of dutie bound to serue and obey them. Wherefore all things considered, our onely hope ought to be in God: for he alone is constant, he onely is good: but this lesson we learne too late: yea neuer before we neede his helpe, notwithstanding it is better late than neuer.



THE

THE SECOND BOOKE.

Of the wars betweene the Burgundians and Liegeois, and how the towne of Dinand was taken, sacked, and razed.

Chap. 1.



Immediately after these troubles aboue mentioned, ended in France, the Duke of Burgundy yeere by yeere had war with the Liegeois, against whom when the King sawe him busied: he vsually attempted some enterprise against the Britons, sending also some small aide to the said Liegeois: wherupon the Duke foorthwith either turned his force against the King to succour his confederates, or they concluded some truce or truce. Now you shall understand that in the yeere

1466. Dinand was taken by the Duke of Burgundie,

¹ being atowne in the country of Liege strong & rich

for the bignes therof, by reason of their great trade of

copper works, commonly called Dinandrie, being pots, pans, and such like imple-

ments. Philip Duke of Burgundie (who died in the moneth of Iune the yeere 1467)

in his extreme age was borne thither in a litter, so much hated he the said towne,

bicause of their great crueltie vsed against his subiects in the countie of Namur,

especially against a little towne called Bouuines, situate within a quarter of a league

of Dinand, and feuered onely with the riuier of Maze. For not long before the time I

now write of, they of Dinand besieged the said towne of Bouuines (the riuier running

betweene ²) the space of eight moneths, committed many cruell murthers in the

countrie thereabout, and shot all that space continually with two Bombards, and

other great peeces of artillerie into the towne: so that the poore people were con-

strained to sauue themselves in their sellers, and there to abide. It is almost incredible

how great hatred was betweene these two townes, notwithstanding that their children

vsually married togither, bicause there was no other good towne neere them.

The yeere before the destruction of Dinand being the same sommer, the Earle of

Charolois came before Paris with the Princes of Fraunce as before you haue heard:

they made a tracie with the Duke of Burgundie, whereby they agreed to give him a

certaine summe of money to abandon their league with the citie of Liege, and to go-

uerne their estate apart, a manifest token of imminent destruction, when they that

ought to continue togither in amitie, seuer themselves and forsake each other,

which I speake as well to great Princes in league togither as to townes and commo-

nalties. But bicause I suppose evry man to haue seene and read a number of exam-

ples to this purpose, I will lightly passe ouer this discourse, onely noting by the way

that King Lewis our Master was the finest and cunningest Prince in dissoluing friend-

ship betweene men that euer I knew, for he spared neither money, goods, nor trauell,

but labored as well the seruants as the masters. Now to retorne to the historie, they

of Dinand soone repented them of the tracie aboue mentioned, for they cruelly

put to death fower of their best citizens that had beene the chiefe perwadours of them

thereunto, and began war a newe in the countie of Namur: wherefore partly for

these considerations, and partly bicause of the earnest sollicitation of the citizens of

Bouuines, Duke Philip laid the siege before the towne, but the charge of the whole

1466.
The peace
made the 22.
of Januarie,
anf. 1466.

whereof men-
tion is made
in the 14.

Chap. of the
last book,
about Iune

the same yeer,
the Liegeois
brake as heere

is rehearsed,
and againe

they hung vp
the image of

the Duke and
his son, with

the most bar-
barous inq-
uicencie that

ever was
heard of.

Read Annal.

Burgund. pag.
911. and 912.

& Meyer pag.

338. where al-
so their intol-
lerable cru-
eltie is descri-
bed.

The Dinan-
dois durst not
passe the riuier
into the

Dukes domi-
nions, where-
fore they

planted their

artillerie on

their owne
sides of the ri-
uer, meaning

only to beat
the towne,
not to make
any breach.

armie was committed to his sonne. Thither came also from his owne house the Earle of S. Paul Constable of France to aide the Duke, not by the Kings commandement, nor with the men of armes that were vnder his charge, but with such force onely as he had leuied in the marches of Picardie. Once they of Dinand made a proud sallie, and were repulsed to their great losse: and the eight day after the towne being mar-

¹ Dinand was taken in August. *Annal. Burgund.* the 25. of August *Meyer.* & the Dukes armie before the towne was thirty thousand men. *Meyer.*

² The eight hundred drowned before Bouuines, were those that hanged vp the iimage of the Duke and his sonne with such reproches. *Annal. Burgund.*

³ The Liegeois army was off forty thousand men. *Annal. Burg.* but Meyer saith but sixe and thirty thousand.

⁴ Others say but fiftie hostages.

uellously beaten with the canon was taken by assault, ³ so that their friends had not leisure to bethinke them whether they should aide them or not. The towne was burnt and rased, and the prisoners being to the number of eight hundred drowned before Bouuines. ⁴ Sure the revenge was cruell vpon them, but I thinke God had so ordene

ned it bicause of their great wickednes.

The next day after the towne was taken, the Liegeois came thither with great force ⁵ to succour it, contrarie to their promise: for by the treatie aboue mentioned, they and the towne of Dinand had abandoned each other. Duke *Philip* because of his old age returned home, but his sonne with the whole armie marched against the

Liegeois whom we met sooner than we looked for. For by chance our vaward missed the way for lacke of guides, by meanes whereof our battell met first with them, where in were the principall leaders of our armie. It was almost night when we arruied at the place where they lodged: yet notwithstanding we marched against them, but euuen at that very instant they sent ambassadors to the Earle of Charolois, desiring him for the honour of the virgine *Marie*, whose euuen that was, to haue compassion vpon this poore people, excusing their fault the best they could. Yet this notwithstanding their armie made shew as though they desired the battell, and their behavior

seemed cleane contrarie to their ambassadors request. But after the said ambassadors had passed twise or thrise betweene them and vs, they concluded to obserue the treatie made the yeere before, and to give the Duke a certaine summe of money, for performance of the which conditions, better than the former, they promised to deliuer to the Earle by eight of the clocke the next morning three hundred hostages,

⁶ named in a role by their Bishop and certaine of his seruants being in our campe. This night our army was in great trouble and feare, for our campe was neither fortifiid nor inclosed, besides that, we lay scattered heere and there, and in a place much for the Liegeois aduantage, who were all footemen, and knew the countrey better than we. Some of them desired to assault vs, and in mine opinion if they had so done, they mought easily haue defeated vs, but their ambassadors that intreated for peace brake off that enterprise.

By break of day our armie was come togither, and our battailes stode in very good order. Our force was great, for we were three thousand men of armes good and bad, and twelue or thirteene thousand archers, besides great force of footemen, of the countries thereabout. We marched straight vpon our enemies with intent either to receaue the hostages, or give them battell if they refused to deliuer them. We found them seuered into small bands, and in great disorder, as a people obedient to no mans commandement. Noone drew neere, the hostages being yet vndeliuered. Wherefore the Earle of Charolois asked the Marshall of Burgundie there present, whether he should assault them: who answered yea, alledging that they mought now be discomfited without danger, and that no conscience was to be made in the matter, seeing the fault was theirs. The like aduise gaue also the Lord of Contay, adding that he should never haue them at such aduantage, and shewing him how they went scattered heere and there in small bands, wherefore he counselled him without farther delay to inuade them. But the Earle of Saint Paul Constable of Fraunce, being asked his aduise, was of the contrarie opinion, saying, that if he assailed them, he

should

should do against his honor and promise, bicause such a number of people could not ⁷ so soone agree vpon the deliuerie of so many hostages. Wherefore he held it best to ⁷ This peace was concluded the 1. of September an. 1466. the conditions read in *Meyer* fol. 339. pag. 2. & *Annal. Burgund.* pag. 915. Farther about the middest of September the next yeare being 1467. they brake this peace again.

further aforesaid he sent a trumpeter to them, who met with the hostages vpon the way, whereupon the wars ended, and every man returned home, but the soldiers were much offended with the Constables aduise, for they sawe a goodly bootie before them. Incontinent ambassadors were sent to Liege to confirme the peace ⁷: but the people being inconstant and wauering, vaunted that the Earle durst not fight with them, and discharged harquebuses vpon his ambassadors, and entreated them very ill. But the Earle returned into Flaunders, and this sommer died his father ⁸, for whom he made a great and soleme funerall at Bruges, and aduertised the King of his death.

⁷ Duke *Philip* died the 15. of June 1467. *Annal. Burgund. Berlandus. De la Marche. Meyer* saith the 16. of July, *Gagin* in one place saith Iune, and in another the 14. of July, he governed 48 yeeres, liued 71. *Meyer.* Farther here is to be noted that in this place, our author beginneth the yere 1467. for that yeere died the Duke as he saith before in this chapter, and these words, where he saith, And this sommer died his father, haue not relation to the same sommer Dinand was taken, and the peace made with the Liegeois: for if the Duke had died that sommer, he could not haue beene at the taking of Dinand, for Dinand was taken in August, and then the Duke dying in June, must haue beene dead before, if he had died that sommer: but these words haue relation to the Earle of Charolois returne into Flaunders which was in the beginning of the sommer anno 1467. for the peace was made 1. September 1466. and all that winter (to the ende he might make all sure at Liege:) he remained in those countries, and in the beginning of the next sommer, anno 1467. returned into Flaunders, and in June after died his father. Thus much I haue beene forced to say, leauing our author by slipping ouer that winter because nothing was done in it, should seeme to write contrarieties.

How the Liegeois brake the peace with the Duke of Burgundie then Earle of Charolois, and how he discomfited them in battell.
Chap. 2.

 Vring these wars and euer after, many secret and new practises were entertained betweene these Princes. The King was maruellously offendid with the Dukes of Britaine and Burgundie, by meanes whereof they could hardly heare one from another: for oftentimes their messengers were staied, and in time of war forced to go by sea out of Britaine into Flaunders, or at the least to passe out of Britaine into England, & so to trauell by land to Douer, and there to crosse ouer to Galice: for they could not passe the next way through Fraunce without great danger. But during all the space of twenty yeeres or more, that these Princes were at variance, sometime in open war, and sometime in a dissembled truce, wherein each partie comprehended their confederates: God shewed so great fauor to the realme of Fraunce, that the ciuill wars in England were not yet fully ended, notwithstanding that they began fifteen yeeres before, and had continued with cruell and bloodie battels, wherein many a good man lost his life. For you shall understand, that there were in Englande two houses that claimed the crowne, to wit, Lancaster and Yorke: for the which cause both the parties proclaimed their enimies traitors, and the diuision of these two houses was the preseruation of the estate of Fraunce: for doubt you not but that this realme had sustained great troubles if the English men had beene in such estate then as in times past. But to returne againe to our matter, the Kings chiefe desire was to conquere Britaine, both bicause it seemed easier to be subdued, and of lesse defence than this house of Burgundie, and also bicause the Britons receiued all his euill willers, namely his brother,

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and

and other his enimies that had intelligence in his realme. Wherfore he practised continually with the Duke of Burgundie, making him diuers offers if he would forsake the Britons, and namely that he would in like maner abandon the Liegeois, and all other the Dukes enimies. Whereunto the Duke of Burgundie would not agree, but made a new voyage against the Liegeois, because they had againe broken the peace, and taken and spoiled a towne called Huy ¹, and chased his men out of it, notwithstanding the hostages deliuered the yeere before vnder paine of death, and the great summe of mony they had bound themselues to forfeite, if they brake the said treatie. The Duke leuied his armie about Louuain in Brabant, and vpon the marches of Liege, whither came to him from the King the Earle of Saint Paule Constable of Fraunce (now become wholy French, and residing altogether with the King) accompanied with Cardinall *Balue* and others, who aduertised him that the Liegeois were the Kings confederates, and comprehended in the truce: wherfore the King would succour them if he inuaded them. Notwithstanding they offered if he would abandon the Dukes of Berrie and Britaine to the King, that the King would then abandon the Liegeois to him. Their audience was short and in open court, neither staied they aboue one day. The Duke excused himselfe, and accused the Liegeois with breach of the peace, alledging that they had inuaded his dominions, wherfore he saw no reason why he should not be reuenged on them without forsaking his confederates, and this was his answer for that time. Againe the next day after their arriuall, the Duke being ready to take horse, tolde them that he humbly besought the King to attempt nothing against the Duke of Britaine, whereunto the Constable replied and said, sir you choose not but take all, for you will make war at your pleasure vpon our friends, and constraine vs to lie still and not inuade our enimies as you do yours, it may not be so, neither will the King endure it. Then the Duke taking his leaue said thus againe, the Liegeois are assembled togither, & within three daies I looke for the battell, if I be ouerthrowne, I am sure you will do after your accustomed maner: but if the victorie fall on my side, the Britaines shall lie quietly by you. Which talke ended; he mounted on horsebacke, and the ambassadours repaired to their lodgings, to make them ready to depart. The Duke marched in armes from Louuaine with great force, and laid his siege before a towne called Sainctron, his power was maruellous great, for all the strength of Burgundie was come to him, so that this armie was far greater than any other that I had seene with him before.

A little before his departure, he debated with his counsell, whether he should put the Liegeois hostages to death, or what he should do with them. Some gaue advise to kill them all, especially the Lord of Contay so often aboue mentioned, whom I never heard speake so cruelly as at that present. Wherfore it is necessary for a Prince to haue more than one of his counsell, for the wifest erre, yea, and that often. Otherwhiles bicaule they are partiall to the matters debated through hatred or loue, sometime bicaule they seeke to contrarie some one that hath spoken before them, possible alio their bodies may be euill disposed, for it is not to be held for counsell that is given after dinner. But you will say, that men subiect to such imperfections are vnfit to be of a Princes counsell, whereunto I answer, that we are all men, and that who so will haue no councellors but such as never faile to speake wisely, nor are more di-tempered at one time then another, must seeke them in heauen, for he shall not finde them on earth. But for redresse of this inconuenience, sometime one of the counsell will speake very well and wisely, that vseth not often so to do, and thus one supplieth an others defects. Now to returne to the matter debated in this assemblie,

¹ The new copie hath Liny, but the old and La Marche name it Huy, Guise, Hoy, Huberius, Huyum, Meyer, Huyum, and almost all other good authors.

two or three were of the said Contaies opinion, mooued thereunto by his great authoritie and wisedome: for in such assemblies a great number give their opinion but as they haue heard some other speake before them, not vnderstanding the matters debated, but seeking onely to flatter some one being of credit and authoritie that hath already spoken.

After these the Lord of Humbercourt, a gentleman borne neere to Amiens, and one of the wifest knights that euer I knew, being asked his advise said, that to the end the Duke might haue God on his side, and discharge himselfe of crueltie and desire of reuenge before the world: he thought it best to pardon all these hostages, considering they came thither with a good intent, supposing the treatie should have been obserued. Notwithstanding he aduised the Duke at their departure to give them to vnderstand, how great grace and fauor he shewed them, and to desire them to do their endeuer in perswading their citizens to peace, which if they could not obtaine, yet at the least themselues acknowledging his goodnes towards them, should neuer after beare armes neither against him, nor their bishop there present with him. This opinion tooke place, and the hostages when they were deliuered promised to do as the Duke required. Farther this was told them at their departure, that if any of them were hereafter taken in armes against the Duke, he should die, and thus they were dismissest.

It is not amisse to reherse heere how after Monsieur de Contaies cruell sentence pronounced against the hostages: (part of the which were come thither with a good meaning and vpon very simplicitie,) one of the Counsell said thus to me in mine care: Marke well this man, his body is healthfull ynochough, though he be old: yet dare I lay a good wager he shall not liue a yeere to an end, bicause of this cruell sentence he hath giuen, and sure so it fell out, for he liued not long after. Notwithstanding before his death he did his Master good seruice in the battell against the Liegeois, whereof you shall now heare.

I haue made mention before how the Duke departing from Louuaine, laide his siege before Sainctron, and bent his artillerie against it. Within the towne were three thousand Liegeois vnder the charge of a valiant knight, the selfe same that was their chiefe commissioner for peace when we met them in order of battell the yeere before. But the third day after the Dukes arriuall before the towne, the Liegeois with great force came to leuie his siege about ten of the clocke in the morning, they were thirtie thousand men ² and better good and bad, all footmen saue ffe hundred. They were well furnished of artillerie, and encamped within halfe a league of vs in a strong village called Breton, part whereof was enuironed with a marish. Farther Francis Roiet, Bailif of Lions, and the Kings ambassador at that time to the saide Liegeois, was with them in their armie ³. Our fourragers were the first that aduertised vs of their arriuall, for we had no scouts abroade, which was a foule ouersight: I never was in place with the Duke of Burgundie where I saw him give good order of himselfe but this day onely. Incontinent he raunged all his battells in the field, saue certeine bands appointed to lie still at the siege, among the which were ffe or sixe hundred English men. Farther he beset both the sides of the village with twelve hundred men of armes, and placed himselfe with eight hundred men of armes directly ouer against the village, somewhat farther off than the rest: he caused also a great companie of gentlemen and men of armes to light on foote with the archers, and then the Lord of Rauastain with the vaward (being all on foote, as well men of armes as archers) marched forward with certeine peeces of artillerie even hard to the Liegeois trenches which were broad, deepe, and full of water: yet notwithstanding ⁴ The Liegeois armie that came to succour Sainctron was of 20000. men, (but vnderstand besides the Kings forces) lead by M. Baro as Meyer temeth him who was slaine in the battell. Meyer. ⁵ The King sent to aide the Liegeois 400. men of armes and 6000. archers: Meyer. with

with force of arrowes and cannon shot, the enimies were repulſed, and their trenches wonne, and their artillerie also: but when our ſhot failed vs, the Liegeois recovered their ſpirits and with their long pikes gaue a charge vpon our archers and their Captaines, of whom they flew in a moment foure or fife hundred, in ſuch ſort that all our enſignes began to wauer as men halfe diſconfited. At which instant the Duke commanded the archers of his battell to march, being led by Philip of Creuecoeur, Lord of Cordes (a wiſe gentleman) and diuers other valiant men, who ſo couragiouſly affailed the enimies, that with the turning of a hand they were put to flight. But neither the horſemen aboue mentioned that ſtood on both ſides of the village, neither the Duke himſelfe could follow the chafe because of the marsh: for they were placed there onely to this end, that if the Liegeois had broken the D. vawarde, and iſſued foorth of their trenches into the plaue, they might then haue giuen a charge vpon them. The Liegeois fled along through the marsh, being purſued only by our footmen, notwithstanding the Duke ſent part of the horſemen that accompanied himſelfe to follow the chafe, but they were forced to ride two leagues about before they could finde any paſſage, by meaneſ whereof they were benighted, which ſaued many a Liegeois life. The reſt of his horſemen the Duke ſent to his campe, because they heard a great noife there, and doubted the enimies ſally, and indeede they had iſſued foorth thriſe, but were alwaies repulſed, eſpecially through the valauntes of the English men that the D. left there behind him. A few of the Liegeois after they were put to flight relied theiſelues together at their cariage, but ſtaied not long there. In this battell were ſlaine nine thouſand men, ⁴ which number I am ſure ſhall ſeeme great to all that loue truthe, but I haue beene in my time in many battells, where for one that was ſlaine men made report of a hundred, thinking thereby to please their Maſters whom often they abuse with ſuch vnruthes. Sure had we not beene benighted, there had beene ſlaine aboue fifteen thouſand. The battell being ended, ⁵ the Duke when it was darke night returned with the whole armie into his campe, ſauing a thouſand or twelue hundred horſe that were gone two leagues about to follow the chafe, for otherwife they could not come neere their enimies because of a little riuer that was to paſſe. They did no great exploit because of the night: notwithstanding ſome of their enimies they flew, and ſome they tooke, but the greatest part escaped into the citie. The Lord of Contay did good ſeruice this day in giuing order in the battell, and died ſhortly after in the towne of Huz and made a good end: he was a wiſe and a valiant knight, but liued not long after his cruell ſentence pronounced againſt the hostages aboue mentioned. The Duke immeadiately after he was vnaſſamed called one of his ſecretaries, and wrote a letter to the Conſtable and the other ambafſadors departed from him at Louvaine not aboue four dais before, wherein he aduertised them of his vitorie and desired them to attempt nothing againſt the Britons.

Within two dais after the battell, the pride of this fooliſh people was cleane abated, though their losſe were not great: whereby appeereth how dangerous a thing it is for any Prince to hazard his estate in battell, if he may by any other means make a good end, for a ſmall losſe in a battell changeth and altereth the minds of his ſubiects that receiueth the ouerthrow more than any man would think, cauſing them not onely to ſtand in great feare of their enimies, but also to diſpife and contemne their Prince and thoſe that are in authoritie about him, yea to murmur and practiſe againſt him. They demand boldier than they were accuſtomed, and ſtorme if ought be denied them, ſo that the Prince mought haue done more with one crown before the battell, than with three after it. Wherefore if he that hath receaued the ouerthrow

⁴ There were ſlaine at this battell 6000. ſauh the old copie, 3000. Meyer, grounding himſelfe vpon certeine obſcure An- naliſts, one of Flaunders, the other of Brabant, of pur- poſe to con- trarie our au- thor as in Commines life is ſhewed more at large.

⁵ This battell was fought vpon Alhal- low Euen, De la Marche, but Meyer ſaith the 27. of October.

ouerthrowe be wiſe, he will not aduenture a ſecond battell in this estate with thoſe that haue fled, but onely defend his owne, and ſeeke ſome ſmall enterprize eaſie to be achiueed, to the end thereby his ſubiects may recover their former couraſe, and remoue from them all feare. To conclude, the losſe of a battell traineth with it a number of inconueniences to him that is vanquished. Notwithſtanding great con- querors haue iuft cauſe to deſire the battell to abridge their labours, as haue alſo the Englishmen and Switzers, both bicause they are better footmen than their neig- hborſ, as appeareth by the great vitories they haue obtained, (which notwithstanding I write not to the diſpraiſe of other nations) and alſo bicause their men can not keepe the fields long without dooing ſome exploit, as Frenchmen and Italians can, who alſo are more full of practiſe and eaſier to be gouerned than they. Now on the otherſide, he that obtaineth the vitorie, increaſeth his honor and estimation, his ſubiects are the more obedient, they denie him nothing that he demandeth, his ſoldiers alſo waxe thereby the hardier, and the more couraſous. Notwithſtanding oftentimes the Princes themſelues after a vitorie obtained, are ſo puffed vp with pride and vaine glorie, that commonly their good ſuccesſe turneth to their harme, all the which hapneth by Gods diſpoſition, who ſendeth alterations according to mens deſerts.

When they within Sainctron ſaw the battell loſt, and themſelues incloſed on all ſides, ſuppoſing alſo the diſcomiſſure to be much greater than indeede it was: they laid downe their armor, yeelded the towne, and deliuered ſuch men to the Dukes mercie as he demanded, whom he incontinent cauſed to be beheaded, ſixe of them being of the hostages that he had diſmiffed a few dais before, vnder ſuch conditions as you haue heard. From thence he diſlodged and marched to Tongres, which abode the ſiege: but bicause the towne was nothing ſtrong, they yeelded before the batreſie vnder the ſame conditions that their neigbors of Sainctron had accepted, and deliuered alſo ten men to the Duke, who were put to death as the former, ſiue or ſixe of them being likewiſe of the hostages aboue mentioned.

How ſome of the ciſtens of Liege agreeing to yeeld their towne and others refuſing ſo to do, the Lord of Humbercourt found meaneſ to enter into it for the Duke of Burgundie.

Chap. 3.

 Fom Tongres the Duke marched to the citie of Liege, where the people were in great diuision, for part of them gaue aduice to defend the towne: ſaying that they had force ſufficient within it ſo to do, the chiefe of the which faction was a knight called Master Raz of Lutre, but others ſeeing all the country about burned and deſtroied, would in any wife haue peace, were the conditions neuer ſo vnonreſonable: wherefore when the Duke approached neere to the citie, diuers ouertures of peace were made by certaine meaneſ persons, as priſoners and ſuch like. But the principall dealers therein were certaine of our hostages, who doing cleane contrarie to the others aboue mentioned, and ac- knowledging the great fauor the Duke had ſhewed them, brought to his campe with them three hundred of the beſt ciſtens in their shirts, bare headed, and bare legged, who preſented the keies of the citie to him, and yeelded themſelues to his mercie, humbly beſeeching him onely to giue them his word, that the towne ſhould neither be fired nor ſacked. And at the ſelue ſame time that they came in this estate to the Duke,

Duke, the Kings ambassadours being Monsieur de Mouy, and a secretarie called *le Preost* were there present, who were come to the Duke with the same demands that the Constable had made a few daies before. Farther the very day of the composition, the Duke supposing to enter the citie, sent the Lord of Humbercourt thither before him; because he was well acquainted in the towne, and had beene governour thereof vnder Duke *Philip* during the yeeres they liued in peace: notwithstanding entrie was denied him for that day, whereupon he retired and lodged in an abbey without one of the towne gates, being accompanied with fiftie men of armes, the whole number amounting to two hundred soldiers, and my selfe being one of them. The Duke of Burgundy sent him word if the place where he lay were strong not to dislodge, otherwise to retire backe to him, for he could hardly haue succoured him because all that countrey is rocke and stone. The said Humbercourt resolued not to mooue (for the place was very strong,) but retained with him ffe or six of the citizens that brought the keies to the Duke, minding to vse their helpe to good purpose, as hereafter you shall perceiue. At nine of the clocke at night we heard a bell ring, at the sound whereof the citizens vse to assemble, whereupon the said Humbercourt, doubted that this bell called companie togither to issue foorth to assaile vs, (for he was aduertised that Master *Raz* of Luttre and other of the citizens would not agree to peace) and in deed his surmise was true, for that was their determination, and they were euen vpon the point to sally. Then said the Lord of Humbercourt to vs, if we can dally with them but till midnight, we are safe, for they wil waxe wearie and desirous of sleepe, and then those that are our enimies in the towne will flic when they shall see their enterprise frustrate: wherefore to bring his purpose to passe, he dispatched two of the citizens that he had staied with him, and deliuered them certeine friendly articles in writing, meaning only to busie the citizens with farther talke to win time: for their maner was and yet is to assemble togither at the Bishops pallace to debate of their affaires, when the Bell aboue mentioned is rung. These two Burgeses which had been of our hostages, when they came to the gate being hardly two bowe shot from the abbey where we lodged: found a great number of the citizens there in armes, some of the which would needes issue foorth to assaile vs, and some not. Then our two Burgeses tolde the Maior of the citie aloude, that they brought certeine friendly articles in writing from the Lord of Humbercourt the Duke of Burgundies lieutenant in those countreies, willing him to returne to the pallace to read them, whereunto he agreed, and incontinent we heard the bell ring againe, whereby we vnderstood that they were busied about our articles. Our two Burgeses returned not, but about an hower after we heard a greater noise at the gate than before, and a much greater number came thither in armes, crying and railing vpon vs from the wals, whereby the Lord of Humbercourt perceiued our danger to be now rather increased than diminished: wherefore he dispatched the other fower hostages that were yet with him, by whom he wrote a letter, the contents whereof were that during the time he was governour of the citie, for the Duke of Burgundie, he had vsed them gently and louingly, neither would for any thing consent to their destruction, especially seeing not long before he had beene a commoner of one of their companies in the towne, namely the Goldsmithes companie: ¹ wherefore they ought so much the rather to credite his words. To be short he said if they would obteine peace, and saue their countrey, they must first receiue the Duke into the towne according to their promise, and then subscribe to certeine articles written in the scedule he there sent them. After he had well instructed these fower hostages, they went to the gate as did the former, which they found wide open. Some of the citizens welcommed them with sharpe

¹ There were in this citie 32. companies, without whome nothing was concluded: the princi-pall was the Goldsmithes companie, but the most an-cient the Blacksmithes. *Gucci.*

words,

words, but others were content to heare their message. To be shott in the end they returned againe to the pallace, immediatly whereupon we heard the bell ring which much comforted vs, and by little and little, the noise that was at the gate ceased. They were togither in the pallace till two of the clocke after midnight, and in the end concluded to obserue the composition they had made, and the next morning to deliuer one of the towne gates to the Lord of Humbercourt: whereupon the continent Master *Raz* of Luttre and his whole faction fled out of the towne.

I would not haue stooode so long vpon this point being of so small importance, had it not beene to declare that by such fine deuises proceeding of deepe wisdome, great perils, dangers, & losses are often eschewed. The next morning by day breake, a number of the hostages came to the Lord of Humbercourt, desiring him to come to the pallace where all the people were assembled, there to assure them by his oth of the two points they doubted of: to wit the firing and sacking of the towne, which being done, they promised to put one of the gates into his hands: whereof he sent word to the Duke, and then accompanied them to the pallace, where after he had sworne as they demanded, he returned to the gate. And the citizens commanded the soldiers that were vpon it to come downe, and he put into it twelue men of armes, and certeine archers, and reared vp the Duke of Burgundies ensigne. From thence he went to another walled gate, into the which he put the bastard of Burgundie, who lay neere at hand. Into the third he put the Marshal of Burgundie, and into the fourth certeine gentlemen that were with himselfe, and thus were fower gates well manned with Burgundians, and the Dukes ensignes vpon them.

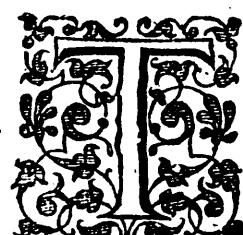
Now you shall vnderstand, that at that time the citie of Liege was one of the mightiest and most populous townes in those quatters, except fower or ffe, besides that, a great multitude of the countrey people round about, was retired thither, so that their losse in the battell was no whit perceaued. Farther they were well furnished of all things, and it was the deepe of winter when we came before the towne, the wea-ther was maruellous foule, and the ground woorderfull soft and mirie. We on the other side were in great distresse both of vitailes and money, and our army in a maner broken. Wherfore the Duke had no purpose to besiege the citie, neither could he though he would, and if they had staied the composition but two daies longer, he was fully resolued to returne home. Wherfore I may well conclude, that the great honor he obtained in this voyage proceeded of the meere grace of God, con-trarie to mans expectation: for he durst hardly haue craued at Gods hands the good successe he gaue him, which great honor and goodly victorie in the iudgement of all vertuous and wise men hapned to him, for the fauor and mercie shewed to the hostages aboue mentioned. This I write because both Princes and others oftentimes finde fault as it were with themselfes, when they haue done a pleasure or a good turne to a man, saying, that they were accursed when they did it, and will beware hereafter how they pardon so lightly, howthey bestow any such benefit, or shew any such fauor to any man, all the which notwithstanding, are things appertaining to their dutie and office. Wherfore in mine opinion this is euill spoken, and proceedeth of a base and abiect minde: for a Prince or any other man that neper was deceaued, can be but a beast, because he vnderstandeth not the difference betweene good and euill. Besides that, all men are not of one disposition, and it is no reason for the naughtines of one or two to cease from doing good to a great number, when time and occasion serueth. Notwithstanding I wish Princes to make good choise of those they benefit, for all men deserue not alike. But me thinke it almost impossible for a wise man to be vnthankfull, or vnmindfull of a good turne, and if Princes bestow vpon fooles, they are worse

worse than mad, for they shall perceave in the end that a fooles acquaintance can stand them in no steede. Farther in mine opinion, this is the greatest point of wise, done in a Prince to haue neere about him wise and vertuous men: for himselfe shall be iudged to be of the nature and disposition of those that are most familiar with him. Wherefore to conclude this discourse, me thinke we ought never to be weary of well doing: for one man alone, yea the meanest of those we haue pleasure^d, may happily so requite our friendship, that he shall recompence the ingratitude of a multitude, as appeered by these hostages, the greatest part whereof, were ingrate and unthankfull, but some of them acknowledged and requited the benefit receaued: for by the onely meanes of fife or sixe of them, this enterprise was achiued, which turned so greatly to the Duke of Burgundies honor and profit.

How the Duke of Burgundie made his entrie into the citie of Liege, and how the citizens of Gaunt where he had been euill intreated before, humbled themselves unto him.

Chap. 4.

² The Duke entered into Liege the 11. of Nouember 1467. Meyer.


He next day after the gates were yeelded, the Duke entred the towne in great triumph¹, for a breach was made in the wall for his entrie twenty fathoms long, and the towne ditch all the length of the breach filled vp even with the ground: with him entred on foote two thousand men of armes arm'd at all peeces, and two thousand archers, yet notwithstanding the force in his campe was maruellous great. The Duke himselfe entred on horsebacke, accompanied with all his housshould seruants, and the noblest men in his armie, clad and apparell'd the most sumptuouilly that might be: and in this estate rode he through the towne, and lighted at the great Church. To be short, he abode there certaine daies, and put to death fife or sixe more of his hostages that had broken promise, and with them the towne messenger whom he hated extremely: he established certaine new lawes and customes, and command'd a great summe of mony to be leuied in the citie, which he said was forfeited to him for the treaties and compositions broken the yeeres before. Farther, he caried away all their artillerie and armour, and rased all their gates and wals.

³ The French corrector through vn-skilfulness had corrupted this place, and sometime calleth it *La paix de Gand*, and sometime nothing, but I have heere restored it out of Meyer and Annal.

This done he returned into his owne countrey where he was honorably and dutifully receiued especially of the citizens of Gaunt, who before his voyage to Liege had after a sort rebelled against him with certaine other townes, but now they received him as a conqueror, with so great lowlines and humilitie, that certaine of the best citizens came on foote to him as far as Bruxels, bringing with them all the banners of their towne, which they did for this cause: Immediately after his fathers death he chose the citie of Gaunt for the first towne he would make his entrie into: for supposing that to be the towne where he was best beloued, and therefore looking for all dutie and obedience at their hands: he hoped also by that meanes to finde the like in all the other townes of his dominions, assuring himselfe that they would all follow the example of this, which his opinion proved true as touching this latter point. But you shall understand that the next day after his entrie, they came in armes vpon the market place, bringing with them a Saint called Saint Lieuin, with whose shrine they beat downe a little house called *La Cueillette*: where a custome of corne was received for payement of certaine dets the towne ought to Duke *Philip* by the treatie of peace called the *treatie of Gaures*², for two yeeres they had been in wars with him.

¹ 1453. whereof reade Annal. Burgund. lib 3. pa. 829. Meyer lib. 16. fol. 314 and others.

him. To be short, they saide this Saint would passe through this house without stouping, and in a moment beat downe the house, which disorder the Duke seeing, went himselfe to the market place: a great number of noble men in armes offering to waite vpon him as he passed through the streetes, which he refused, commanding them to stay before the towne-house, and attende him there. Nowithstanding, by litle and litle the throng of people forced them at length into the market place also, whither when the Duke came, he went vp into a house to speake to these rebels, commanding them to take vp the shrine and beare it into the church, which some obediently did, but others caused it to be laid downe againe. Then they presented supplications to him against certaine of the towne, touching payments of money, wherein he promised to do iustice. But when he sawe they would not depart, he returned to his lodging, and they abode in armes vpon the market place the space of eight daies. The next morning they brought articles to him, demanding the restitution of all their priuiledges that Duke *Philip* had taken from them by the treatie of Gaures, of this one especially, that every company in the towne (being threescore and twelue in all) might haue a banner according to their ancient custome. The Duke seeing the danger he stood in, granted them all their demands, and all such priuiledges as they required, which word was no sooner passed him, but they reared vp all their banners vpon the market place, being all readie made, whereby appeered that they would haue had them perforce, if he had not granted them. His opinion at his first entrie into Gaunt proved true, that all the other townes would follow their example: for indeede diuers rebelled as the towne of Gaunt did, slew his officers, and committed diuers other disorders. But if he had beleueed his fathers prouerbe, that

³ Yet the citizens of Gaunt anno 1338, constrained to diuers of their nobilitie Earle of Flaunders to fye for the fater of his life into a castell in Gaunt called Petra Comitis where they also besieged him. Again anno 1345. they constrained Lodowic Maleans per force to go with them to Bergen, and against his will to give his fath to I. abell daughtter to King Edward the third: they also about his person, but he escaped into Fraunce. Meyer.

The Duke was forced to digest and winke at all these rebellions, fearing to enter into a double war at one time with his owne subiects and the Liegeois. Nowithstanding his meaning was if he sped well in his voyage to Liege, to teach them their dutie at his returne, as also it hapned, for as I haue already made mention, they brought to him on foote to Bruxels, all their banners, priuiledges, and writings, as well those they made him grant at his departure from Gaunt as others, all the which in a great assembly held in the hall of Bruxels, in the presence of diuers ambassadors they presented to him, to do with them at his pleasure. Then the Heraldes of armes by his commandement, tooke the said banners from the staves whereto they were fastned, and carried them to Bollein, a hauen towne eight leagues from Calis, where the other banners yet remained that Duke *Philip* his father tooke from them, when the wars ended, wherein he vanquished and subdued them. Farther the Dukes Chancellor tooke all their priuiledges, and rent one of them concerning the election of their Senate: for in all the other townes of Flaunders, the Prince euery yeere chooseth the Senate, and receiueth their accounts, but by this priuiledge he might choose but foure in Gaunt, and the rest being two and twenty themselves chosse: when the Senators of the townes are friends and faithfull subiects to their Prince, he liueth that yeere in peace, and they willingly graunt him all his demands: but if they be otherwise, commonly some rebellion happeneth. Lastly the citizens of Gaunt paied the Duke thirtie thousand gildons and six thousand to his principall seruants, and ban-

nished certaine out of their towne, but all their other priuiledges were restored them, the rest of the townes bought also their peace with money, for they had attempted no great matter against the Duke.

By this example a man may perceiue how great good ensueth victorie in a battell, and how many inconueniences the ouerthrow. Wherfore a Prince ought to beware how he hazard his estate vpon a day vnlesse necessarie force him thereunto: and if that happen, then must he bethinke himselfe before the hower of all doubts and dangers that may be imagined. For those that feare a matter commonly prouide well for it, and haue oftener good successe than they that proceede with a carelesse contempt: vnlesse God be fully resolved to strike the stroke, against whom mans wisedome cannot preuaile. Which point is sufficiently prooued by the example of the Liegeois aboue mentioned, who had been excommunicated the space of ffeue yeeres for their variance with their Bishop, whereof notwithstanding they madenoge count, but continued still in their folly and naughtines, mooued thereunto onely through wealth and pride. Wherfore King *Lewis* was wont to say, that when pride rideth before shame and dammage follow after, (a very wise saying in mine opinion) and sure for his part he was free from that vice.

How the King seeing what had happened the Liegeois made war in Britaine upon the Duke of Burgundie confederates, and how they two met and communed togither at Peronne.

Chap. 5.

These troubles being thus ended, the Duke went to Gaunt where he was received with great pompe and triumph, for he entred in armes, and the citizens made a posterne into the fields, by the which he put men in and out at his pleasure: manie messengers ran betweene him and the King, and likewise betweene the Duke of Britaine and him, and thus passed this winter. The King trauelled continually with the Duke of Burgundie to suffer him to inuade Britaine at his pleasure, making him diuers offers in consideration thereof: whereunto the Duke would not condescend, for the which cause partly, and partly for the ouerthrow giuen to the Liegeois his confederates, the Kings displeasure was so kindled that longer he could not forbeare, but in the very beginning of sommer entred into Britaine, at the least his forces for him, and tooke two small castels, the one called Chantosse, the other Anseny, whereof the Duke of Burgundy was incontinent aduertised, and earnestly pressed by the Dukes of Normandie and Britaine with all speede to leuie his armie for their aide, whereupon he wrote to the King, humbly beseeching him to relinquish his enterprise, seeing these two Dukes were comprehended in the truce as his confederates, but receiving such answer as liked him not, he encamped with great force neere to Peronne. The Kings armie was still in Britaine, but the Court lay at Compiegne, from whence the King sent Cardinall *Balue* to the Duke within three daies after his arriuall at Peronne, who staied not long with him, but made certaine ouertures of peace, aduertising him also that they in Britaine could make their composition well ynochough without him, for the Kings drift was to feuer them. The Cardinall was honorably received, well feasted, & soone dispatched, and returned with this answere, that the Duke was not come foorth into the field to offend the King in any respect, but onely to succour his confederates: so the messages that passed betweene them were very courteous on both sides.

Immediately

1468.

Immediately after the Cardinals departure, a herald called *Bretaigne* arrived at the Duke of Burgundie campe with letters from the Dukes of Normandie and Britaine, wherein they aduertised him that they had made peace with the King, and renounced all leagues and confederacies, and namely their league with him, and farther that the Duke of Normandie had surrendred Normandie (lately giuen him for his partage) to the King, and should receiue in recompence thereof, and of all other partages the yeerely reuenues of three score thousand franks, which conditions (though neuer so vnreasonable) necessarie forced the Lord *Charles* of Fraunce to accept. The Duke of Burgundie was wonderfully abashed at these newes: for he had put himselfe into the field onely to aide the said Dukes. And sure the herald was in great danger, for because he passed by the Court, the Duke suspected that the King had forged these letters, notwithstanding he received immediately after, the like aduertisement from other places. The King thought now his enterprise halfe atrieued, and that he should easily perswade the Duke of Burgundie to forsake these two Dukes, as they had him: whereupon secret messengers ran betweene them, and the King gaue the Duke sixe score thousand crownes, whereof he paid the one halfe presently the better to content the said Duke, who had consumed great summes in leuying this armie. Farther, the Duke sent to the King a groome of his chamber very neere about him, named *John Vobriffet*, whereupon the King conceived great hope of his enterprise, and seemed desirous to commune with the Duke in person, trusting to obtaine of him all that he required, both because of the two foresaid Dukes ingratitudo towards him, and also because of the great summe of monie he had giuen him. Wherfore he aduertised the Duke of certaine matters by the said *Vobriffet*, and sent backe with him Cardinall *Balue* and Master *Tanegny de Chastell* governor of Rousillon, who gaue the Duke to understand by their words, that the King desired greatly that they two might commune togither in person.

They found the Duke at Peronne who seemed to haue no great deuotion to this meeting, bicause the Liegeois made shew as though they would rebell anew, being sollicited thereunto by two ambassadours sent thither by the King for that purpose, before the truce was made which he and the Duke concluded, for certaine daies betweene them and their confederates. But Cardinall *Balue* and the other ambassadours put this doubt out of his head, alleging that the Liegeois durst attempt no such thing, considering he had vanquished them, and rased their wals but the yeere before: and farther, if they had any such desire, yet when they should see this amity betweene him and the King, they would soone alter their mindes. Thus in the end it was concluded that the King should come to Peronne seeing it pleased him so to do, and the Duke sent him a letter written with his owne hand, containing sufficient shretie to come and go at his pleasure. And thus departed the ambassadours, and returned to the King being then at Noyon. But the Duke minding to make all sure in the countrie of Liege, sent thither their Bishop for whose quarrell all the wars aboue mentioned first began, and in his companie the Lord of *Humbercourt* (the Dukes lieutenant in those parts) with certaine bands of men.

You haue heard how it was concluded that the King should come to Peronne, according to the which determination thither he came without his garde, for his pleasure was wholy to put himselfe vnder the garde and suretie of the Duke, and that Monsieur de Cordes (who then serued the Duke) should conuay him thither with the said Dukes archers which was done accordingly. The Kings traine was very small, notwithstanding he came accompanied with diuers noble personages, namely, the Duke of Bourbon, the Cardinall his brother, and the Earle of Saint Paule Constable

of Fraunce, who had not busied himselfe about this meeting but much mislikid it. For he was now growen proude and high minded, and behaveth not himselfe to the Duke of Burgundie with such lowlines and humilitie as he was accustomed: wherefore there was no good will betweene them twaine. Thither came also Cardinall *Baile*, the governor of Rousillon, and diuers others. And when the King drew neare to Peronne, the Duke with a goodly traime issued foorth to receiue him, and brought him into the towne, and lodged him in a goodly house neare to the castell being the receiuers, for the castell was a little old thing naught woorthe.

War betweene two great Princes is easily begun but hardly ended, because of a number of accidents depending thereupon: for each partie dispatcheth messengers to and fro to hurt his enimie, which suddenly cannot be counterauanded nor redyed, as appeared by these two Princes, who concluded this meeting vpon a sudden, not aduertising their seruants thereof, who were far from them executing the charge their Masters had giuen them. For you shal vnderstand that the Duke had sent for his armie into Burgundie, being replenished at that time with a number of noblemen, among the which were the Lord of Bresse, and his two brethren the Bishop of *Genua*, and the Earle of Romont, all three sonnes to the Duke of *Sauoy*: for the *Sauoyans* and *Burgundians* haue euer borne great affection each to other. In this armie were also certaine *Almaines* borderers vpon *Sauoy* and the county of *Burgundie*. Now you shall vnderstand that the King in times past had held the Lord of *Bresse* in prison, because of two Knights he commanded to be slaine in *Sauoy*, wherefore there was no good will betweene them two. In this armie were also the Lord of *Vrfé*, Master of the horse afterward to King *Charles*, Master *Poncer* of *Riviere*, and the Lord of *Lau*, whom the King after speciall good liking of him had also held long in prison, but he escaped and fled into *Burgundie*. All this companie aboue mentioned arriuued neare to *Peronne*, euen at the very instant that the King came thither, and the Lord of *Bresse* with the three aboue mentioned, euery one of them wearing the *Saint Andrews* crosse entred the towne, supposing they had come time ynoch to accompagne the Duke when he shold go to receive the King, but because they came too late they went straight to the Dukes chamber to do their dutie to him, where the Lord of *Bresse* humbly besought him that the three aboue named, notwithstanding the Kings comming, might be there vnder his safegard and protection, as he promised them in *Burgundie* at their first arrivall into his dominions, adding that they were ready to serue him against all men none excepted: which request the Duke granted with his owne mouth, and for their good will thanked them. The rest of this armie (led by the Marshall of *Burgundie*) lodged without the towne as they were appointed. The said Marshall hated the King no lesse than the others aboue named, because of *Pinall* a towne in *Lorraine* which the King had once giuen him, and afterward taken from him to bestow vpon *John Duke of Calabria* so often mentioned in this historie. The King being foorthwith aduertised of these noble mens arruall, and the apparell they ware ¹ fell suddenly into great feare, and sent to the Duke desiring him that he might lodge in the castell, because all these aboue named were his enimies. The Duke rejoiced to see him in such feare, and caused his lodgynge to be made there, willing him to be of good cheere and doubt nothing.

¹ He meaneth by apparel the *Saint Andrews* crosse.

A discourse wherein is declared how greatly learning effectually in histories profiteth Princes and noble men.

Chap. 6.

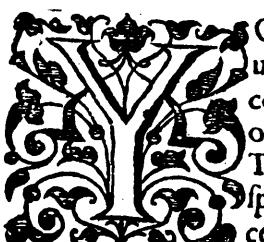
 T is great folly for one Prince to put himselfe vnder the power of another, especially when they are in war together, as those Princes well know that haue studied histories in their youth, wherein they finde diuers examples of great falsehood and treason vised in times past at such enteruiewes, and of diuers that haue staied as prisoners, and slaine those that haue come to them vnder their suretie ¹. I say not that all haue vised so to do, but the example of one is sufficient to instruct a number, how to looke to them selfes. My selfe for my part haue seene some experience in the world, hauing beeene by the space of eightene yeeres and better, employed continually in Princes seruices, and priuie all that while to the waightiest and secretest affaires that haue passed in this realme, or the countries bordering vpon it, and sure in mine opinion the best way to learne wisedome is to read ancient histories, which will teach vs by example of our ancestors, wisely to behau our selfes, safely to defend our selfes, and aduiseably to attempt any enterprise. For our life is so short that experience cannot sufficiently instruct vs, considering withall that our yeeres are abridged, and neither our liues so long, nor our bodies so strong, as were our ancestors in ages past: which way as we are weakened, so is our faith also each to other much diminished ²; in such sort, that I know not how one man may assue himselfe of another, especially great Princes, who are commonly inclined to all wilfulnes, without any regarde of reason, and (which is woorst of all) haue for the most part such men about them, as studie onely to flatter them, and sooth them in all their dooings be they good or bad, and if some one endeuer himselfe to redresse this inconuenience, all the rest will straight be vpon his top.

Farther I must needs blame ignorant and vnlearned Princes in this respect also, they haue all commonly about them great clerks and lawyers, as it is requisite they should if they be good, but if they be otherwise, they are the dangerous people in the world to be about a Prince, for they haue euer a law or an historie at their fingers ends, which be it never so good they writhe and wrest in such sort, that they will make blacke white, and white blacke. But those Princes that be wise and haue read as well as they, will not suffer them selfes to be abused by them, neither dare they be so hardy as to report vnruthes to such Princes. Farther throke you that God hath established the office of a King or Prince, to be executed by such beasts as glorie in saying: I am

seuenth. *William Duke of Normandie* by *Arnulph Earle of Flaundres*. *Louis King of Fraunce* taken prisoner by the Normans and Danes at *Roan*. *John Duke of Britaine* taken at a banquet and imprisoned by *Margareta Countesse of Ponobera*. *Guido Earle of Flaundres* twice taken prisoner vnder safe conduct by *Philip le Bel King of Fraunce*. *Charles the simple* slaine by the Earle of *Vermandois*. What shold I speake of the treasons of *Ferrande* and *Alfonso* Kings of *Naples*, or of *Christiern* King of *Denmark*, with numbers of others recorded in histories as our author heere very truly reporteth. Others be of a contrarie opinion, that our life is as long as in *Davids* time appreched by the 90. Psalm, where he sheweth the ysuall age of man in his time to haue beeene seuentie and sometime eightie yeeres, whiche men reach to at this day also, and if mans life be as long now as then, it is a good consequent that his bodie is as strong, as is to be prooved by many reasons too long to reherse. Now that our faith is as good as they ³ was in ages past appeareth also by the ancient histories, for if this be a true saying, *Regn ad exemplum rotus componitur orbis*. And the Princes in ages past were & euill as none could be woorse, (as who so list to reade without partialite shall be forced to confess.) There is no reason that the world should be woorse now than in times past, although it seeme so to manie, because we see the world of our owne age, yea and feele too many times, but commonly the histories deliuer to vs but the best of times past, and burie the woorst, and though they did, yet the euill scene with our eie is more liuely imprinted in our minde, than the euill we conceiue by our eare, which is the cause men euer thinke better of the times past, than the preesent estate.

no scholer, I trust my Councell well ynoch, and refer all matters to them, and so without farther answer depart to their sports and pastimes? No, no, if they had beene well trained vp in their youth, they would vse other language, and seeke to be esteemed for their owne vertues and woorthines. I say not that all Princes are serued by euill conditioned persons, but sure the most part of those that I haue seene haue not alwaies had their courts free from such, although some Princes I confess I haue knowne that in time of necessitie could make choise of their men, and vse the service of the best and wiest. Wherein sure the King our Master far pasted all the Priaces of his time, for never Prince aduanced so highly, nor made so great account of wise and woorthie men as he did. He was himselfe reasonably well learned³, he was very inquisitive and desirous to understand of all matters, and had an excellent wit, which passeth all learning obtained by studie: for as reading profiteth two maner of waies, the one by acquainting vs with ages past, and the other by teaching vs more in a booke in three monthes, than twenty men liuing successiuely can learne by experiance: so if a man lack wit to put that which he readeth in practise, his reading serueth to no purpose. Wherfore to end this discourse, me thinke the greatest plague that God can lay vpon a realme, is to giue them an vnwise Prince, the root and fountaine of all mischiefe: for first diuision and ciuill wars arise thereof among his subiects, because he giueth his authoritie to others, which especially aboue all things he ought to reserue to himselfe. After diuision ensueth famine & mortalitie, and all other evils that accompane the wars, wherefore heerby we may consider how much a Princes subiects ought to lament, when they see his children wantonly brought vp, and governed by euill conditioned persons.

How and for what cause the King was staled and held prisoner in the castell of Peronne by the Duke of Burgundies commandement. Chap. 7.


 Ouhaie heard how the King and this armie of Burgundie arrived at Peronne both in one instant, for the Duke could not countermand them in time, because they were well forward vp on the way when the Kings comming was first communed of. Their arriuall troubled the feast, because of diuers ielousies that sprang thereof. Notwithstanding these two Princes appointed certaine of their seruants to negotiate togither about their afaires, in most louing and friendly sort. But after three or fouries conference, these strange newes came from Liege which I will now rehersse. The King comming to Peronne had cleane forgotten his two ambassadors sent to Liege to sollicite them to rebell against the Duke, who so diligently executed their charge, that before the Kings arriuall at Peronne, the Liegeois had leuied great force and were gone to surprise the towne of Tongres, where the Bishop of Liege and the Lord of Humbercourt looged, accompanied with two thousand men and better: and the said Bishop and Humbercourt they tooke with certaine other of the Bishops familiar friends, but few they slew, neither was the number of prisoners great: the rest fled as men discomfited, leauing bag and baggage behind them. This done the Liegeois returned towards their citie not far distant from Tongres: and vpon the way thitherward the Lord of Humbercourt compounded for his ransome with a knight called Master William de Ville, named by the French *Le Sauage*, who fearing least this furious people should kill him, suffered him to depart vpon his word: which notwithstanding

¹ I maruell if King Lewis were learned, he would haue his sonne to learne only this lesson, *Quia nescit dis- simulare, nescit regnare.*

standing he never challenged, for soone after himselfe was slaine. The people rejoiced much for the taking of their Bishop. Farther you shall understand that they had extremely certaine chanons of the Church taken prisoners that day: of whom chanons of S. Lambert in Liege, the Bishops speciall friend, whom my selfe haue often seene armed at all peeces wai- ¹ These were which were not forced to be priests, but might come foorth and marie if they had not sung mass. Guicci. ² This Earle of Vermandois was named *Hebart* or *Herbart*, & the King of France Charles le Simple, who this *Hebart* slue in the Bishop and Humbercourt to be of the number, alowed constantly that all were tower heere mentioned anno 946. pr. after *Apolo*, *Burgund* 924. *Barry*, the King had slaine in battell Reg. Duke of Aquitaine, or stood in a great doubt of his person, the rather because he lodged hard by a great tower, in the which an Earle of Vermandois had in times past cause a King of France to be slain, who had married one of his predecessors to be slaine². I was yet in seruice with the Duke, and one of his priuie chamber, into the which I entred at my pleasure, according to the vse of this house of Burgundie. The Duke when the towne gates were shut, commanded all men to voide his chamber, and said to two or three of vs that taried with him, that notwithstanding he for his part had never any taste in this meeting, but agreed to it only to content the King: yet the King on the contrarie side was come thither pur- ³ heere notwithstanding the Dukes safe conduct: rage he was in against the King, and so threatened him, that I thinke verily if those to selfe taken & whom he spake had pressed forward the matter, and counselled him to worke the space of King some mischiefe, he would haue done it, at the least haue imprisoned him in the two yeres great tower aboue mentioned. None were present when these words passed the Duke; Philip Lord of Bresse, ba- but my selfe and two groomes of his chamber, one of the which was named *Charles* of Vilain borne at Dyon, an honest gentleman and in good credit with his Master. ⁴ vng called him to him. We exasperated not the matter but sought to appease the Duke as much as in vs lay, notwithstanding soone after he vsed the like speech to others, by meanes whereof it was blowen all ouer the towne, and came at length into the Kings chamber, who was in maruellous feare, as vniuersally all men were, because of the great evils they saw like to ensue a quarel begun between two so great Princes, who sure were both blame woorthie, for that they aduertised not their seruants of this meeting, who were far from them executing their commandements, whereby some great inconuenience was sure to ensue.

*A discourse wherein is shewed, that an enteriue betwene two great
Princes for treatie of their affaires hurteth more
than profieth. Chap. 8.*



It is great folly for two Princes being in maner of equal force and estate to meeete together, vnlesse it be in their youth when their mindes are wholly set vpon pleasures and pastimes, but after they are come to mans estate, and growen desirous to encroch each vpon other, such enteriueves do but increase their hatred & euill wil, though happily their persons might be there in safetie, which notwithstanding I holde almost a thing impossible. Wherefore it is better to pacifie all controuersies by wise and discrete men, as before I haue said: for prooife whereof I will rehearse certaine examples that haue happened in my time, some of the which my selfe haue seene, and of the rest haue beeene credibly enformed.

A few yeeres after King *Lewis* his coronation before the war called the *WEALE PVELIKE* began, a solleinne meeting was appointed betwenee him and the King of Castile, ¹ which are the two nearelt confederated Princes in Christendome, for their league is betwenee King and King, Realme and Realme, and man and man of their subiects, which also they are both bound vnder great curses to keepe and obserue inuiolable. To this meeting came *Henry* King of Castile with a goodly traine

² The meeting of the King and the King of Castile was anno 1463.

to Fontarabia, and the King our Master to Saint John de Luz fower leagues distant, both of them being vpon the frontires of their dominions. I was not present my selfe at this meeting, but I haue heard both the King and the Lord of Lau make report thereof, and haue beeene enformed of it also by certaine Lords of Castile there present with the King their Master, who came to this enteriue accompanied with the Lord great Master of Saint Iames, and the Archbishop of Tolledo which two bare all the sway in Castile at that time, the Earle of Lodesme the King of Castiles minion was there also in great brauerie, and all the said Kings garde, being to the number of three hundred horse, all Moores of Granado and some of them Negros. But King *Henry* himselfe was a man of so small vnderstanding, that he gaue away all his inheritance, at the least suffered every man that would to spoile him of it: our King was also accompanied with a goodly traine, as you know his maner was, but his garde especially was braue and in very good order. To this meeting came in like maner the Queene of Arragon about a controuersie betwenee her and the King of Castile, for Estelle and certaine other places in Nauarre: whereof the King was made arbitrator. But now for prooife that such enteriueves betwenee great Princes are not meet nor conuenient, you shall vnderstand that these two Kings had never beeene at variance, there was no quarrell betwenee them, neither saw they one another past once or twice vpon a riuere side that parteth both their realmes, ² hard by a little castell called Heurtebise, where the King of Castile passed to the hither side of the riuere. At their first meeting they had no great liking one of another, especially our King, who perciued the King of Castile to be but a simple man doing nothing of himselfe, but wholly gouerned by the great Master of Saint Iames and the Archbishop of Tolledo aboue mentioned. Wherefore he made no account of their Master but sought their friendship, whereupon they came to him to Saint John de Luz where he entred into amitie with them, and had great intelligence by their meanes. The greatest part of both

³ The riuere where the two Kings met was named Andaye.

both these Princes traunes lay at Bayonne, and at the very first meeting fell together by the eares, notwithstanding their league: and no maruell. For their maners and languages differed. Afterward the Earle of Lodesme came also to visite the King, and passed the riuere in a boate, the saile whereof was cloth of gold. Farther he ware a paire of buskins embrodred thicke with stome, for he was a Prince of great wealth and reuenues in Castile, and created since Duke of Albourg. In the end these two confederate nations began to scoffe and iest each at other, the King of Castile was deformed, and the French misliked his apparell, wherefore they derided him. Our King ware his apparell very short, and maruellous vncomely, and was clad sometime in very course cloth, besides that, he ware an old har, differing from all the rest of his companie, and an image of lead vpon it, whereat the Castilians iested, saying that this proceeded of miserie. Thus ended this enteriue with such scoffes and taunts, that afterward these two Princes never loued togither. Farther great dissencion arose among the King of Castiles seruants, which continued till his death and long after, in such sort that I haue seen him the poorest Prince that euer raigned, and abandoned of all his seruants and subiects. The Queene of Arragon departed also discontented, for the King pronounced sentence for the King of Castile. Wherefore both the King of Arragon her husband and she hated him ever after. And notwithstanding that they vsed his helpe a while in their necessitie against the towne of Barcelonne, yet endured not their friendship, but wars arose betwenee them, which continued aboue sixteene yeeres, and the controuersie remaineth yet vndecided. Now to proceede to other examples.

Duke *Charles* of Burgundie since the time aboue mentioned, by his owne great sute and sollicitation, met with the Emperor *Fredericke* now raigning, at Treves ³ ⁴ The meeting between the Emperor and the Duke was saith *Mayer* anno 1469 *Berlandus* saith anno 1472. *Meyer* 1473. the 28 of September.

The Duke made great preparation to shew his pompe and magnificencie. The Emperor and he treated there of many matters, and among the rest, of their chilidrens mariage, which was afterward accomplished. But when they had beeene together a certaine space, the Emperor to the Dukes great reproch and dishonor departed without leaue taking, wherefore they never loued after, neither themselues nor their subiects. The Almains disdained the Dukes pompe and loftie maner of speech, saying that it proceeded of pride, the Burgundians on the contrarie side despised the Emperors small traine, and simple attire. To be short, this iar grew so great that the wars of Nuz sprang thereof.

I was also at Saint Paul in Artois when the Duke of Burgundie and King *Edward* of England met there ⁴. The Duke had maried his sister, they were companions of one order, and abode there togither two daies. The Kings seruants were deuided into two factions, and both the parties complained to the Duke, who enclining more to the one than the other, encreased their hatred, and notwithstanding that, he aided the King for the recouerie of his realme, (out of the which he was chased by the Earle of Warwick) and furnished him both of men, money, and shippes: yet after this meeting, they never loued togither, neither could affoord each other a good word.

I was likewise at Bruxels when the Palszgraue of the Rheine came thither to the Duke of Burgundie, where he was honorably receaved, sumptuously feasted, and lodged in a chamber richly furnished. The Dukes men reported the Almains to be flouens, and void of ciuitie, alledging that they threw their mirie bootes vpon these rich and stately beds, wherefore euer after they made lesse account of them, than before they knew them. The Almains on the contrarie side like envious persons misliked this great pompe. To Conclude, after this they never loued togither, neither sought to pleasure one another.

Ferrette was engaged to the Duke about mid somer ann. 1469 for seuenie thousande crownes. *Annal. Burgund.* but Meyer saith anno 1467. for fifty thousand gildons, and other say for 80. thousand gildons. ** When this meeting was at Picquigny lookelib. 4.* I saw also the meeting of the Duke of Burgundy, and D. Sigismunde of Austrich, who sold vnto the said Duke the County of Ferrette, bordering vpon the County of Burgundy for a hundred thousand gildons, not being able to defend it against the Switzers. These two Princes liked not greatly one another. Afterward also Duke Sigismund made peace with the Switzers, and tooke againe the said County of Ferrette without paying backe the money, whereof ensued infinite harmes to the Duke of Burgundie. At the selfe same time also came the Earle of Warwicke to the Duke, who after their meeting were mortall enimies each to other.

I was also present at the enteruiewe betweene the King our master, and King Edward of England at Picquigny ⁶, neere to Amiens, whereof I will make mention heereafter more at large. All that they did there was but meere dissimulation, for they performed no whit of that they promised. And notwithstanding, that they were neuer after in war together (because the lea feuered them) yet perfect friendship was there none betweene them. Wherfore to conclude this discourse, me thinke that two great Princes minding to continue in amitie, ought neuer to meeet togither. The occasions of troubles that arise at such assemblies are these, their seruants can not refraine from talking of matters past, and words will easily be taken in euill part. Secondly, it is impossible but that the traine of the one shoulde be in better order than the other, whereof scoffes arise, which they that are scoffed stomacke. Thirdly, if they be two nations, their language and apparell differ, and that that pleaseith the one displeaseith the other. Last of all, it commonly hapneth that the personage of the one Prince is comlier and better to be liked than the other, wherefore he is praised, and reioiceth and glorieth to heare his owne commendation, which cannot be without the dispraise of the other. And notwithstanding that three or four daies peraduenture after the assembly ended, these matters be communed of closely & couertly in mens eates: yet by vse they fall in time in open talke at dinners and suppers, and so are reported to both the parties, for fewe things in this world can be concealed, especially tales and reports. Thus you haue heard the reasons and examples that my selfe haue seene touching this point.

How the King to deliuer himselfe out of the castell of Peronne, renounced his league with the Liegeois.
Chap. 9.

Now to retorne after my long discourse, to the King who was staid at Peronne, as you haue heard, the gates remained shut with watch and warde before them two or three daies, all the which time the Duke sawe not the King, neither entered any French man into the castell but by the wicket, and but few after that sort, notwithstanding none of the Kings seruants were forbidden to repaire to him, but few or none of the Dukes went to commune with him, neither yet into his chamber, especially of those that were of any credit with the Duke. The first day all men were in great feare, and muttered vp and downe the towne: the second the Duke was somewhat pacified, and sat in counsell almost the whole day, and part also of the night. The King caused all thole to be laboured that he thought could aide him in this extremitie, making them large offers and promises, and commanded also fifteene thousand crownes to be diuided among the Dukes seruants, but he to whom the charge was committed acquit himselfe not faithfully thereof: for part of the money he retained to his owne vse,

vse, as the King afterward vnderstood. The King feared especially those aboue named, that came with this armie of Burgundie, whos in times past had beene his owne seruants, but were now his brother the Duke of Normandie as they said. In this councell aboue mentioned this matter was diuersly debated, some were of opinion that the safe conduct giuen to the King should not be broken, seeing he offered to sweare the treatie as it was articled in writing: others gaue counsell rudely to imprison him without farther ceremonie, and others to send for his brother the Duke of Normandie, and to conclude a peace for the aduantage of al the Princes of Fraunce. They that gaue this advise thought if their opinio. tooke place, that the King shoulde be restrained of his libertie for euer, and held continually vnder garde, because a great Prince being in the hands of his enimie, and vsed after such sort, never or very hardly recovereth his libertie for feare of reuenge. This last opinion failed not much to take effect: for the matter was so far forward that I saw a man booted, and ready to depart with a packet of letters to the Duke of Normandie being then in Britaine, and staid onely for the Duke of Burgundies letter, notwithstanding all this was dashed againe. The King caused certaine ouertures to be made, offering to leaue there in hostage the Duke of Bourbon and the Cardinall his brother, and the Constable, with diuers others, vnder this condition, that the peace being concluded he might depart to Compiegne, promising incontinent either to cause the Liegeois to repaire the harmes done, or to declare himselfe their enimie. They whom the King named for hostages outwardly made earnest offer of themselues, I know not whether they meant as they said, and I doubt me they did not: for I verily beleue if the King had left them there, they should neuer haue returned into Fraunce.

All this night being the third after the newes came, the Duke neuer vnclothed himselfe, but lay downe twise or thrise vpon his bed, and then rose and walked: for such was his maner when he was troubled. I lay that night my selfe in his chamber, and communed with him diuers times. In the morning he was farther out of patience than euer before, ysing terrible menaces, and being ready to execute some great matter: notwithstanding in the end he was pacified, and resolued to hold himselfe contented, if the King would sweare the treatie, and go with him to Liege to helpe to reuenge the iniurie the Liegeois had done him, and the Bishop of Liege his chosen, with the which message suddenly he departed into the Kings chamber, whereof the King had a priuie watch word by a friend ¹, who aduertised him that nothing was to be feared if he agreed to these two points, otherwise that he shoulde put himselfe in so great danger, that none could be greater. When the Duke came to the Kings presence, his voice trembled, and euen there he was like to fall into a new rage, so much was he troubled. His behauour towards the King was humble and lowly, but his countenance furious, and his language sharpe, for he asked him in few words whether he wold obserue the treatie concluded, and also sweare it: Wherunto the King answered that he wold. For you shall vnderstand that the said treatie as touching the Duke of Burgundie himselfe was altered in no point otherwise than it was concluded before Paris, and as touching the Duke of Normandies partage, it was much amended for the King. For it was agreed that in stead of Normandie he shoulde haue Champaine and Brie, and certaine other places there about, for his partage. Then the Duke asked him againe, whether he wold go with him to Liege to helpe him to reuenge the treason the Liegeois had wrought by his meanes, and by his comming thither, putting him also in minde of the neere kinred that was betweene the said King and the Bishop of Liege, being of the house of Bourbon, whereunto the King answered, that after he had sworne the treatie (which was the thing he most desired)

¹ It was *commines* himselfe that gaue the King advise not to refuse to go to Liege with the Duke *Annal. Burgund.*

desired) he would accompanie him to Liege, and lead thither with him, as small or a great force as the Duke shoulde thinke good: at which words the Duke much rejoiced, and incontinent the treatie of peace was brought, and the selfe same crosse that Charlemaigne vsually ware called the crosse of victorie: taken out of the Kings cofers, and there the two Princes sware the treatie: whereupon all the bels in the towe rang for ioy, and all men were glad and rejoiced. It hath pleased the King since to a tribute this honor to me, that I did him great seruice in furthering this accord. The Duke sent these newes foorthwith into Britaine and the treatie with all, wherein he seuered not himselfe from the said two Dukes, but named them his confederates. And sure the Lord *Charles* had now a good partage in respect of the treatie made in Britaine, whereby he shoulde haue had but a pension onely of sixtie thousand franks as before you haue heard.

How the King accompanied the Duke of Burgundie, making war upon the Liegeois, who before were his confederates.

Chap. 10.


He next day after the treatie sworne, the King and the Duke departed from Peronne, and went to Cambray, and from thence into the countrey of Liege in the very beginning of winter, and in a maruelous foule season. The King had with him few soldi-
ers or none, others than the Scottish men of his gard, but gave commandement that three hundred men of armes shoulde follow after him. The Dukes armie was diuided into two bands, the one led by the Marshall of Burgundie (so often already mentioned) in the which were all the Burgundians, and the noble men of Sauoye aboue named, besides great forces of the countys of Haynault, Luxembourg, Namur, and Lambour, the other band the Duke himselfe lead, and when they drew neere the citie of Liege they debated in the Dukes presence what was to be done. Some gaue aduise to dismisse part of the army, considering that the gates and wals of the citie were rased the yere before, and the citizens in vter despaire of succour: the King himselfe being there in person against them, and offering in maner the selfe same conditions of peace on their behalfe that were demanded. The Duke allowed not of this opinion, which was a happie turne for him, for if he had, he had marred all, but his suspition of the King caused him to take the wiest course: and sure his Captaunes opinion in thinking themselves too strong, proceeded either of great pride or of great follie. Notwith-
standing I haue often heard diuers Captaunes give the like aduise, some bicause they thinke thereby to win an opinion of hardinesse, and some for that they vnderstaund not the matters debated, but wiste Princes weigh not such fond opinions. As touching this point, the King our Master had learned his lesson, for he was slowe and fearfull in attempting any thing: so when he once tooke an enterptise in hand, he so throughly furnished himselfe of every thing therunto appertaining, that he could not but obtaine his purpose.

Order was then giuen that the Marshall of Burgundie with his band shoulde go before and lodge in the citie, and if the citizens made difficultie to receive him, as it was thought they would not, bicause diuers of them were already come to the Duke to treate of peace, that then he shoulde attempt to enter by force. The said Marshall and his companie went to Namur, and the next day departed thence, and the King and the Duke arriuied there. But when the Marshall approched neere the citie, this fooliſh

foolish people sallied foorth to the skirmish and were easily repulſed, and a great number slaine, the rest retired into the towne, and at that very instant escaped their Bishop and came to vs. Within the towne was a legate ſent thither by the Pope to vnderſtand of the variance betweene the Bishop and the people, and to pacifie the matter. For the ſentence of excommunication pronounced againſt them was yet vniuoked, bicause of their offences aboue rehearſed. This legate paſſing the bounds of his commission, fauored altogether the people in hope to obtaine the Bishoprick for himſelfe, and commanded them to take armes for their defence, and encouraged them to diuers other follies. Notwithſtanding now ſeeing the citie in this danger, he iſſued foorth with intent to flie, but was taken and all his traine being to the number of ſiue and twentie very well mounted. The Duke hearing theſe newes ſeemed notwithstanding to take no notice thereof, but ſent word to thoſe that tooke him that they ſhould lead him into ſome ſecret place, and make their profit of him as of ſome merchant, and in no wife to aduertife him of this accident, alleaging that if he came openly into his campe, he could not ſuffer them to keepe him, but muſt of force deliuer him, for honoř of the ſea aþoþlike. Notwithſtanding they could not do as they were commanded, but fell at variance for him in ſuch ſort, that openly at dinner time certaine that claimed part in the boottie, came and complained to the Duke: wherefore he ſent immediately and tooke him from them, and restored him all that he lost, and entertained him very honorably.

This vaward led by the Marshall of Burgundie and the Lord of Hymbercourt, marched ſtraight to the citie, ſuppoſing to enter without reſiſtance, and through couerouſnes (hoping to haue the ſpoile thereoř to themſelues) refuſed the compoſition that was offered, neither thought it needfull to tarrie for the King and the Duke, being ſeven or eight leagues behinde them, but marched with ſuch ſpeeđe that they arriuied at the towne by twylight, and entred into a certaine ſuburbes leading ſtraight to a gate that the citizens had ſomewhat repaired. There the Liegeois and they parled together but could not agree. In the meane time they were benighted, their lodgings were vnmade, neither was the place large ynoch for the ſeat of their campe, bicause that they were in great diſorder, ſome walked vp and downe, ſome called their maſters, their compaſſions, and their captaines: which folly and diſorder Maſter John de Villette and other captains of the Liegeois perciuing, tooke harr and determined to iſſue foorth, and their miſfortune I meane the ruine of their wals, ſerued them to good purpose in this enterptise: for they ſallied foorth where liked them best by the breaches thereof, and came in order of battell to the foremost ranks of the Burgundians. Farther, among the vines and little hilſ they affailed the pages and straglers that walked their Masters horses without the ſuburbs by the which our men entred. A great number of good ſoldiers were there ſlaine, but a greater number fled, for the night couereth all shame. To be ſhort, the Liegeois ſo couragiouſly executed their enterptise, that they ſlue at the leaſt eight hundred: one hundred of them being men of armes. But the hardie and valiant ſoldiers of this vaward being in maner all men of armes and gentlemen of good houſes, ioyned themſelues together, and marched with enſigne diſplaied ſtraight to the gate, fearing the citizens ſallie there. The waies were maruelous deepe, bicause of continuall raine, in ſuch ſort that the men of armes being all on foote ſtood in mire aboue the ankles. Once all the citizens thought to ſallie foorth at the ſaid gate with great torches and lights, but our men had mounted lower good peeces of artillerie in the very mouth thereof, the which ſhot twiſe or thrice along the high ſtreete, and ſlew a great number, whereupon they all retired out of the ſuburbes, and ſhut their gates. But during this ſkirmiſh

mish in the suburbs, the others that had salied forth to assaile the pages aboue mentioned, tooke certaine carts neere to the towne, in the which they lodged themselues very vncoummodiously, and taried without the citie from two of the clocke after midnight, till sixe in the morning, but so soone as the day brake that one might descry another, they were repulsed, and in their retraiet Master *John de Villette*, and one or two more of their captaines hurt, who died all within two daies after.

How the King arrived in person with the Duke of Burgundie, before the citie of Luege. Chap. 11.

Notwithstanding that salies out of a towne be somtimes necessary, yet are they very dangerous for those that defend the place, for the losse of ten men is more to them, than of an hundred to those that besiege them, first because their number is not equall, secondarily because they cannot put men into the towne at pleasure, and lastly because haply they may loose one of their principall leaders, which mishap causeth oftentimes the losse also of the place. These uncomfortable newes were foorthwith brought to the Duke, lying fower or fve leagues from the towne, and the first report was, that his whole vaward was discomfited, yet that notwithstanding he and the whole armie mounted on horsebacke, commanding that no word should be made to the King of this misfortune. And when he drew neere the citie on the contrarie side to that where his vaward lay, he was aduertised that all was well, and the losse nothing so great as was thought, neither any man of name slaine but a knight of Flaunders named Monsieur de Sergine, notwithstanding they sent him word that the valiant gentlemen and soldiers of this vaward were vtterly wearied, and in great trouble and distresse, for all that night they had stooode vpright in the mire by the towne gate. Farther they told him that certaine of the footemen that fled were returned so discouraged, that they seemed vnfit for any great exploit. Wherefore they desired him for Gods loue to make haste, to the end the citizens might be forced to retire every man to the defence of his owne quarter, and that it would please him to sende them some vittailles, for they had not one morfell of meat. The Duke foorthwith commanded two or three hundred to ride thither as fast as their horses could gallop, to comfort his soldiers, and sent after them all the vittailles he could come by, and so was it high time, for by the space of two daies almost and a night, they had neither eaten nor drunke, vnlesse it were some one that caried a draught of wine in a bottel. Besides that, the weather was maruelous foule, neither could they possibly enter the towne on that side they lay, vnlesse the Duke embusied the enimie on the other side. A great number of them were hurt, and among the rest the Prince of Orenge (whom I had forgotten to name before) who behaued himselfe that day like a courageous gentleman, for he never mooued foote off the place he first possessed. The Lords of Lau and Vrfé did also very valiantly, but the number of the footemen that fled the night of the skirmish was at the leſt ten thousand. It was almost darke night when the Duke receaued this newes, but after he had dispatched all his busines he returned to his ensigne and rehearsed the whole order of the skirmish to the King, who rejoiced to heare that all was so well, for the contrary might haue turned to his prejudice. When they approched neere the towne, a great number of gentlemen and men of armes lighted on foote with the archers to take the suburbs which were easly woon, and there the bastard of Burgundie (who had great charge in this armie vnder the Duke,) the

the Lord of Rauastaine, the Earle of Roucy the Constables sonne, and diuers other gentlemen lodged euern hard by the gate, which the enimies had also repaired as the former. The Duke lodged in the midſt of the suburbs, but the King lay that night in a great grange, a quarter of a league from the towne, where was very good lodging, being accompanied with a great number of men, as well of his owne as of ours.

This towne is ſituate vpon mountaines and vallies, and in a maruelous fruitfull foile ¹, the riuier of Maze runneth through it: it is about the greatnes of Roan, and was at that time a maruelous populous citie. From the gate where we lodged to the other where our vaward lay, the way was ſhort through the towne, but without, it was at the leſt three leagues going, ſo crooked and foule are the waies especially in winter, in the midſt whereof we came thither. Their wals were all rafed, ſo that they might ſalie foorth where best liked them, and their defence was onely a little rampart of earth: for the towne was neuer ditched, bicaufe the foundation is hard and ſharpe rocke. The firſt night of the Dukes arriuall, our vaward was much reſrehed and eaſed: for the force within the towne was then diuided into two parts. About midnight they gaue vs a hot alarime, whereupon the Duke iſſued foorthwith into the ſtreete, and ſoone after arriued alſo the King and the Conſtable with great ſpeeđe, conſidering how far off they lay. Some cried they ſalie out at ſuch a gate, others ſpake diuers uncomfortable words, the darke and rainie weather increaſed alio their feare. The Duke lacked no courage, but failed ſomtime in good order giuing: and to ſay the truthe, at this time he behaued not himſelfe ſo aduisedly as many wiſhed, bicaufe of the Kings preſence. Wherefore the King tooke vpon him authoritie to command, and ſaid to the Conſtable, Leade your men into ſuch a quarter, for if they ſalie that is their way: and ſure both his words and behaviour ſhewed him to be a Prince of great vertue and wiſedome, and well acquainted with ſuch exploits: notwithstanding this great alarime prooued nothing, whereupon the King and the Duke returned to their lodgiſg.

The next morning came the King and lodged alſo in the suburbs in a little house hard by the Dukes lodgiſg, accompanied with an hundred Scottish men of his garde, and his men of armes lying in a little village hard by him, which bred great iufpicion in the Duke that he would either enter the citie, or eſcape before it were taken ², or peraduenture worke him ſome diſpleaſure lying ſo neere him. Wherefore ¹ R. ſimus wrte
teth that the
Duke for di-
uerſions had
rather haue
lacked the
Kings com-
panie than
haue had it,
but that the
King to blind
the Duke
with a pre-
ſence of good
will offered
himſelfe to
go with him,
which report
all the cir-
cumstances
considered
ſeemeth ve-
terly repug-
nant to truthe.

How the Liegeois made a desperate salie upon the Duke of Burgundies
men, where he and the King were in great
danger. Chap. 12.

Will now rehearse an example whereby you shal perceiue how easily euuen a few enimies may worke a great Prince displeasure, and how much it importeth Princes throughly to way their enterprises before they attempt them. Within this citie was not one man of war but of their owne territorie, they had with them neither knight nor esquire: for those few they had were either slaine or hurt two or three daies before in the salie aboue mentioned. They were vnfurnished of gates, wals, trenches and artillerie ought woorthe. To be short, within the towne were none but the citizens themselues, and seuen or eight hundred footemen of a little territorie beyond Liege, called Franche-mount: true it is that the people of those parts haue euer beene accounted good soldiers. But now to the matter. These Liegeois despairing of succours, seeing the King there in person against them, concluded to make a desperate salie, and to put all things in aduenture, knowing themselues to be but lost men.

Their enterprise was this, they determined that by the breaches of their wals hanging ouer the backside of the Dukes lodging, their best soldiers being sixe hundred men of the countrey of Franchemont should salie foorth, leading with them for guides the hosts of the Kings lodging and of the Dukes. Farther there lay a privat way through the rocks, by the which they might come vnder couert almost to the lodgings of both these Princes before they were discovered, prouided that they made no noise: and as touching our scouts that lay in their way, they made accounts either to kill them, or to be at the Princes lodgings assoone as they. Thus they resolued to follow these two hosts into their houses, where the two Princes lodged, without staying by the way in any place, hoping to steale vpon them on such a sudden, that either they would kill them, or leade them away prisoners before their forces could come to succour them, considering withall how short their retrait was into the towne, and if the woorst fell (that was to die:) they were fully resolued in the executing of such an enterprise to take their death in good part: for they sawe themselues but lost men on all sides. They gaue order also that all the people of the towne with hue and crie, should issue foorth at the gate opening vpon the suburbs where we lay, trusting thereby to discomfite all our companie that lodged there. Neither were they out of hope of a goodly victorie, at the least they were sure of a glorious end. This their enterprise notwithstanding it had beene desperate and dangerous, though they had beene accompanied with a thousand valiant men of armes: yet these fewe failed not much to atchieue it. For according to their determination, these sixe hundred men of Franche-mount salied foorth by the breaches of their wals, about ten of the clocke at night, and came on a sudden vpon our scouts and slew them, three of them being gentlemen of the Dukes house, and if they had gone straight foorth without any noise to the place appointed, vndoubtedly they had slaine both these Princes in their beds. But you shall vnderstand that behind the Duke of Burgundies lodging, there was a pavilion where the Duke of Alenson that now is, and Monsieur *de Cran* lodged. There these Liegeois staied a while and thrust their pikes through it, and slew a seruing man within it: whereupon a noise arose in the camp which caused some to arme themselues, at the least to arise. From this pavilion they departed towards the two Princes lodgings, whereunto adioined the grange aboue mentioned,

ned, into the which the Duke had put three hundred men of armes. There they staied a while also, and thrust their pikes in at the panes of the wals which these men of armes had broken downe to salie foorth with the more spedde. All the gentlemen that lay there had vunarmed themselues not past two howers before to refresh them against the assault the next morning: in the which estate these Liegeois found them. Notwithstanding a fewe of them hauing put on their quiracies bicause of the noise they heard at the Duke of Alensons pavilion, fought with their enimies at the broken panes of the wals, and at the doore, which was the onely preseruacion of these two great Princes lives: for this delay gaue a great many leisure to arme themselues and to come foorth into the street. I lay that night in the Dukes chamber (which was very straight) with two other gentlemen of his priuie chamber, and aboue him lodged twelve archers that kept the watch and sat vp at dice, but the body of his watch stode by the towne gate farre from his lodging. To be short the Dukes host came with a band of Liegeois, and assailed his owne house the Duke being within it, vpon such a sudden that we hardly had leisure to buckle his quirace about him and put a falter on his hed: for immediately as we went downe the staires to issue foorth into the street, we found our archers busied in defending the doore and windowes against the Liegeois: farther there was a maruellous noise in the streetes, some cried God sauе the King, others God sauе the Duke, and others God sauе the King, kill, kill, kill. It was two Pater nosters while before our archers and we could get foorth of the house, we knewe not in what estate the King was, nor whether he were with vs or against vs, which much troubled vs. Incontinent after we were issued foorth with two or three torches, we met others in the streetes with lights also, and sawe fighting and killing round about vs, but the conflict soone ended: for men came running on all sides to the Dukes lodging. The first man of the enimies that was slaine was the Dukes host, but he died not presently, for my selfe heard him speake. To be short all the Liegeois that accompanied him, a very few excepted were also slaine. They assaulted in like maner the Kings lodging, into the which his host entred and was slaine by the Scottishmen of his garde, who shewed themselues tall fellowes: for they never stirred from their Masters foot, but shot arrowes continually which hurt moe Burgundians then Liegeois. The citizens appointed to issue foorth at the towne gate salied accordingly, but our watch being assembled repulsed them incontinent, neither shewed they themselues so desperate as these others. Immediately after these were beaten backe, the King and the Duke met, doubting bicause of the number they sawe slaine, their owne losse to be great: notwithstanding of their men few were slaine, but many hurt. Vndoubtedly if these Liegeois had not staied at these two places aboue mentioned, especially at the grange where they found resistance, but had followed these two hosts being their guides, they had slaine both the King and the Duke, and thereby peraduenture discomfited the whole armie. Both the Princes returned to their lodgings wonderfully abashed at this desperate enterprise, and foorthwith sat in counsell to take aduise what should be done touching the assault the next morning. The King seemed to stand in great doubt of the matter in respect of himselfe in very deed, for knowing how greatly the Duke doubted wars with Fraunce if he were once out of his hands: he feared if the citie could not be taken by assault, that his returne into his realme shoulde be delaied, and peraduenture himselfe emprisoned for the Dukes better securitie. Whereby you may perceiue in how miserabile estate these two Princes liued, which could by no meanes assure themselues each of other: for they had concluded and solemnly sworne a final peace not past fifteen daies before, yet could all this put neither of them in assurance.

How the citie of Liege was assaulted, taken, and
spoiled, and the Churches also.
Chap. 13.

He King to rid himselfe of all danger, about an hower after his returne from this salie aboue mentioned to his lodging, sent for certaine of the Dukes principal seruantes that had been in counsell about the assault, and inquired of them what was concluded. They tolde him that the resolution was to assault the citie the next morning, according to the order first appointed. Then he very wisely began to alleage diuers great doubts, which pleased well the Dukes men, for they all feared the assault maruellously both because of the great number of people within the towne, and also because of the desperate salie made not past two howers before: wherefore being desirous to stay the assault for two or three daies, and take the towne by composition, they went foorthwith to the Duke to make report of the Kings allegations, my selfe being present when they came. There they rehearsed all the doubts the King alleged, and as many as they themselues could devise, but all they fathered vpon the King, doubting that he would not take it well at their hands. The D. answered, that the King alleged these doubts only to saue the citizens, and tooke it in euill part, saying that there could be no danger in the enterprise, considering that they within could make no counterbatterie, neither had any wals for their defence, adding also that the rampars they had made at the gates were already beaten downe, wherefore he would vse no further delay, but go to the assault the next morning, as it was concluded. Notwithstanding he would be contented that the King, if it so pleased him, should go to Namur till the taking of the towne vnder this condition, not to depart thence till the issue of this enterprize were seene: which answer pleased none of them all, for every man feared the assault because of this salie. The Dukes answere was reported to the King, not in so hard termes as he deliuered it, but in much milder language. The King understood the meaning of it well ynough, and said he would not go to Namur, but be at the assault the next day among the rest. In mine opinion if he had been so disposed, he might very easily haue escaped that night, for he had with him an hundred archers of his garde, and certaine gentlemen of his house, besides three hundred men of armes that lodged hard by him: but vndoubtedly where he stood vpon his honor he would not be stained with cowardise. Euer man reposeth himselfe in his armor til morning, and some disposed of their consciences, because the enterprise seemed very dangerous. When it was brode day light, and that the hower appointed drew neere, which was eight of the clocke, the Duke commanded the bombard and the two serpentines to be discharged, thereby to aduertise our vaward of the assault, which lay on the other side far from vs, if you take the way without the towne, but not far going through it, as before you haue heard. They hearing the shot incontinent prepared themselves to the assault. The Dukes truynpets sounded, and his ensignes were auanced towards the wals, their bands following them. The King stood in the midst of the streete very well accompanied, for all his three hundred men of armes, his garde, and certain noble men, and gentlemen of his house were with him. And when we approached so neere the wals that they and we should haue ioined, no resistance was founde, neither any man vpon the wals, saue two or three of the watch, all the rest were gone to dinner, supposing we would not give the assault vpon the Sonday, so that

that we found the cloth laid in euery house at our entry: Small account is to be made of rude people vnalesse they be led by some captaine whom they reverence, although somtyme in their furie they be greatly to be feared.

These Liegeois were before the assault maruellously spent and wearied, partly because of their two salies, wherein they lost a great number of their men and all their leaders, and partly because of the great labor and trauell they had sustained the space of eight daies: for because they lay open to the enimie on al sides, they were al forced to be continually vpon the wals, and I suppose they thought to repose themselues this day because of the Sabaoth, but it chaunced to them contrarie to their expectation. On that side we entred was no resistance made, and lesse on the other where our vaward lay, which entred the towne before vs. Fewe were slaine¹, for all the people fled by the bridge ouer the riuier of Maze towards the countrey of Ardennes, and from thence to other places for their more safetie. On the side that we entred I sawe men drowned in the river, but two men and one woman slaine, neither thinke I that there died two hundred persons in all, for the rest fled or hid themselues in churches and houses. The King seeing no resistance, and the whole armie (being as I ghesse to the number of fortie thousand) throng into the towne at two breaches, marched forward at leasure, to whom the Duke being entred a good way into the citie sodainly returned, & accompanied him to the palace, from whence he went to the cathedral Church of Saint Lambert², which his men were about to breake into by force to take prisoners and spoile that was conueighed thither. And notwithstanding that he had appointed certaine of his house to garde the said Church: yet could they not do it because the soldiers assaulted both the doores. Wherefore the Duke himselfe went thither, and one man I saw him kill with his owne hand³, wherupon all the companie dissparkled, and the Church was vnspoiled. Notwithstanding in the end, they that were within it were taken and their goods also. The rest of the churches (being so many in number, as I haue heard the Lord of Hymbercourt, who knew the towne well, report as many masses to be sung there euery day as in Rome⁴) were in maner all spoiled vnder colour of taking prisoners. For mine owne part I entred into none but the cathedral Church, but thus I was aduertised and sawe also good proofe thereof: for the Pope many yeeres after excommunicated all those that withheld any of these Church goods, vnalesse they restored them, and the Duke appointed certaine commissioners to go through his countrey, to see the Popes commandement executed. The citie being thus taken and sacked, about noone, the Duke returned to the palace. The King had already dined, and seemed greatly to rejoice at the taking of the towne, and commended also much the Dukes courage and valiantnes, knowing that report thereof should be made to him, and that these good words would somewhat further his returne into his realme, which was his speciall desire. After dinner the Duke and he met and communed togither very pleasantly: and if the King commended his valiantnes behinde his backe, I warrant you he dispraised it not before his face, which the Duke tooke in very good part.

I must now retorne to speake somwhat of this miserable people that fled out of the citie, for prooife of a discourse I made in the beginning of this historie touching the inconueniences I haue seene ensue a battell lost by a King, a Duke, or a meaneer Prince. These miserable soules fled through the countrey of Ardennes with their wiues and children. But a Knight dwelling in those parts, who euer before had taken the old co- Lambert which Annal, Burgund, and Guicci. report to bee the principall Church in Liege. ¹ The Duke sliue before the Church of Saint Lambert two or three archers with his owne hand. ² La Marche. ³ There were in Liege to the number of two and thirtie Churches and eight Colleges of priestes. Meyer. lower abbies, lower fraries, three nunnaries, and without and within the towne aboue an hundred Churches. Guicci. Hubertus.

part with them, slew now a great number of them, and to recover the conquerors fauor, sent word thereof to the Duke reporting the number of those that were slaine and taken, to be much greater than in deede it was: Notwithstanding that it were great, whereby he made his peace with the Duke and sauied himselfe. Others fled to-wards Meziers vpon the Maze being within the realme of Fraunce, but vpon the way two or three of their Captaines were taken, (one of the which was named *Madonlet*) who were led to the Duke, and by his commandement put to death. Some of these people died also of hunger, some of cold, and some for lacke of sleepe.

*How King Lewis returned into Fraunce with the Duke of Burgundies con-
sent, and how the Duke proceeded in destroying the coun-
tries of Liege and Franchemont.*

Chap. 14.

SOver or ffeue daies after the taking of the towne, the King began to sollicite such of the Dukes seruants as he held for his friends to mooue their Master for his departure, but himselfe first brake the matter to the Duke after a sage and wise sort, saying, that if he could stand him in any more stead he should not spare him, otherwise he desired to returne to Paris to cause the treatie to be recorded in the Court of parliament: for the maner in Fraunce is to record all treaties there, otherwise they are of no force, notwithstanding the Kings authoritie may do much therein. He required also the Duke, that the next sommer they mought meete againe in Burgundie, and make mette month togither, whereunto the Duke in the end agreed, mumbling somewhat to himselfe. Farther the Duke commanded the treatie to be read againe before the King to know whether ought were passed in it that he misliked, putting him to his chiose to allow or disallow thereof at his pleasure. Somwhat also he excused himselfe for bring him to this siege. Lastly he besought him that one article mought be added to the treatie in fauor of the Lords of Lau, and Vrfé, and *Poncet* of Riucire, to wit, that they mought be restored to all their estates and offices that they enioied before the wars began, which request misliked the King, for there was no reason why the Duke should require to haue them comprehended in the treatie, both for that they were none of his partakers in the wars aboue mentioned¹, and also because they serued the Lord *Charles* the Kings brother, not the Duke. Notwithstanding the King answered that he would graunt his demand vpon condition that he would accord the like to the Lords of Neuers and Croy, whereunto the Duke replied nought. This was a very wise answer of the King, for the Duke hated these Lords by him named so extremely, and held so goodly possessions of theirs, that he would never haue condescended to restore them: of the other articles the King answered he would alter none, but confirmed the whole treatie as they two had sworne it at Peronne. Thus was it agreed that the King should returne home, and the Duke accompanied him about halfe a league. But at their leaue taking the King said thus vnto him, if my brother who is now in Britaine will not accept this partage that I haue giuen him for your sake, what will you that I do. Whereunto the Duke answered sodainly without farther delibe ration, if he will not, I refer the order thereof to you two, of the which demand and answer sprang a great matter as hecereafter you shall heare. Thus returned the King in great ioy, being safe conducted by the Lords of Cordes and Demeriez² great baillie

¹ This was the treatie of Conflans, at the conclusion whereof these three heere named (as our author himselfe before reheateth,) were the Dukes enimes and tooke part with the King: wherefore no reason it was that the Duke shoulde seeke to haue them comprehended in the treatie as his friends, seeing at the conclusion thereof they were his enimes.

² This *Deme-
riez* the French copie name the *Murz*, the old copie *De
Merien*, *La
Marche d'Ay-
meries*. *Annal.
Burg.* *d'Ay-
meries*. The townes name is Aymeries in Henault vpon the riuere of Sanbre, *Gucci* in the description of Henault, yet the same au-
thor in his de-
scription generall name the man *d'Emery*. *Annal. Burg.* in another place name him *d'Esmeriez*, *Meyer Aymericis* and *Em-
ery*, so that I suppose it best to reade it as I haue translated it, but that *des Murz* is very corrupt I am out of doubt.

of Haynault, to the frontires of the Dukes dominions. The Duke abode still in the citie of Liege, which was extremely handled I must needs confess, but sure they had well deserued so to be delt with, bicause of the great cruelties they had continually vsed against the Dukes subiects ever since his grandfathers daies. Besides that, they never performed any promise nor kept any treatie they made, and this was the fift yeere that the Duke himselfe had beene there yeere by yeere in person, and concluded peace, which ordinarily the next yeere they brake. Farther they had continued excommunicated of long time, for their great crueltie against their Bishop, whereof notwithstanding they made no account, neither would obey the commandements of the Church on that behalfe.

Immediately after the Kings departure, the Duke with small force determined to go into Franchemont, a countrey a little beyond Liege, lying among sharpe rockes and thicke woods. From thence came the best soldiers the Liegeois had, and of this countrey were they that made the desperate salie aboue mentioned.

Before his departure a great number of poore prisoners that hid themselves in houses at the taking of the towne were drowned. Farther it was concluded that this citie heretofore so populous, should be burned at three severall times³, and three or four thousand footmen of the countrey of Lambourg⁴, being neighbors to the Liegeois, and almost of the same maners and language, were appointed to fire it, but to sauе the churches. First the great bridge built ouer the riuier of Maze was beaten downe,

then a great number were chosen to defend the chanons houses about the cathedral church, to the end they might haue lodging that should say diuine seruice. In like maner also diuers were appointed for defence of the other Churches. This done the Duke departed into the countrey of Franchemont, and immediately after he was

out of the towne we saw a great number of houses on this side the river on fire: he marched forward and lodged fower leagues off, yet heard we the noise as easily as if we had beene there present: I wot not whether it were because the winde sat that way, or bicause we lodged vpon the riuier. The next day the Duke departed thence, &

those that were left behind in the towne continued still the fire as they were commanded, but the Churches were all sauied a few excepted, and aboue three hundred houses to lodge the Church men, which caused the towne so soon to be replenished againe: for inmuch people returned to dwell with these Priests.

Because of extreme frost and cold the greatest part of the Dukes armie was forced to go on foote into the countrey of Franchemont, which had never a walled towne in it but all villages. The Duke lodged ffeue or sixe daies in a little valley called Polenne, his armie was deuided into two bands the sooner to destroy the countrey. All the houses he commanded to be burned, and all the iron mils broken, which is their onely trade of liuing. Farther our men hunted the poore people out of great woods and forests where they lay hidden with their goods, and many they slew and tooke prisoners, and there the soldiers got good booties. The cold was more extreme than is almost credible: for I saw a gentleman that with cold lost the vse of his foote and never recovered it, and a Page that had two of his fingers rotted from his hand, and in like maner a woman dead for cold and her childe with her, whereof she was newly deliuered. Farther by the space of three daies all the wine that was drunke in the Dukes lodging was cut with hatchets: for it was so frozen in the vessels that we were forced to breake them, and cut the wine being a masse of yse into small peeces, which men bare away in hats and baskets as best liked them. I could rehearse diuers other strange accidents of the cold too long to write. To conclude at eight daies end hun-

¹ This city was diuided into three quarters, as appeareth by *Gucci*, description, for the which cause it was fired at three severall times.

² The old copy hath Lambourg as I haue transla-
ted it, the new Luxembourg, as haue also *Annal. Bur-
gund.* but noe well in mine opinion. For Luxembourg is hard by Liege, but Luxembourg farther off.

ger draue vs thence in hast, and the Duke departed to Namur, and so into Brabant, where he was honorably received.

How the King by subtil meanes perswaded the Lord Charles his brother to take the Duchie of Guienne for Brie and Champaigne, to the Duke of Burgundies discontentment.

Chap. 15.

He King after his departure from the Duke returned with great ioy into his realme, attempting nothing against the Duke for his euill vsage at Peronne and Liege, but seeming to take all in good part. Notwithstanding sharpe warre arose afterward betweene them, but not soone, neither was this the chiefe cause thereof, (though happily it might in part further it:) for if this treatie had been concluded at Paris, it had passed in effect as it did at Peronne. But the Duke by his officers aduise sought to aduaunce the bounds of his dominions, besides that diuers subtil practises were vsed to set these two Princes againe at variance as you shall heare when occasion serueth. The Lord *Charles* of Fraunce the Kings onely brother and late Duke of Normandie, being aduertised of this treatie made at Peronne, and the partage assignd to him thereby: sent soorth with to the King desiring him to accomplish the treatie and performe his promise. The King sent in like maner to him about that matter, and many messengers ran to and fro betweene them. The Duke of Burgundie sent also his ambassadors to the said Lord *Charles*, desiring him to accept no other partage then Champaigne and Brie, which by his meanes was granted him, shewing him withall how great good will he bare him, sith notwithstanding he had abandoned him, yet would not he do the like as the sequell well declared; but had also comprehended the Duke of Britaine in the treatie as his confederate. Farther he sent him word that Champaigne and Brie lay very commodiously for them both, because if the King should at any time attempt ought against him, he might within two daies warning haue succours out of Burgundie: the two countries bordering one vpon another. Lastely he aduertised him that his partage was very good, and that he might leue in his countries, aides, customes, and subsidies, neither could the King claime any thing there but homage, resort, and soueraignity. This Lord *Charles* was a man doing little or nothing of himselfe, but wholy lead and gouerned by others: notwithstanding that he were aboue fiftie and twenty yecres of age. Thus passed the winter which was well spent before the Kings departure from vs. Messengers ran continually to and fro about this partage: for the King ment nothing lesse then to giue his brother that he had promised, because he would not haue him and the Duke of Burgundie so neere neighbours. But he treated with his brother to take Guienne, (which is in maner all Aquitaine:) for Brie and Champaigne. The Lord *Charles* feared to displease the Duke of Bourgundie, and doubted if he yeelded to the Kings request, and he should not keepe touch with him, that then he should loose both freend and partage, and so be left bare boord. But the King being the subtilest prince then living, and the cunningest dealer in such treaties, perceiving that he should do no good vntesse he wan those that were in credit with his brother, fell in communication of this matter with *Oudet* of Rie, Lord of Lescut afterwards Earle of Comminges (who was borne and maried in the countrey of Guienne) desiring him to perswade his master to accept

1469.

accept this partage being much better than that he demanded, and that they mought be friends and live togither like brethren, adding also that this partage should be much more beneficall both for his brother and seruants, (especially for the saide *Oudet*) than the other, and farther assuring him that without faile he wold deliver his brother quiet possession of the said countrey. By this means was the Lord *Charles* won to accept this partage of Guienne to the Duke of Burgundie great discontentment and his ambassadors there present. And the cause why Cardinal *Balue* Bishop of Angiers¹, and the Bishop of Verdun were imprisoned, was for that the said Cardinals² imprisonment was because he perwaded the King to go to Peronne, and advised the Duke of Guienne to be ware of poison, and not to take the partage of Guienne, Meyer, and for disclosing the Kings secrets by letters to the Duke of Burgundy, Gauvin. But if the Duke of Guienne had been wise, he wold of himselfe without perswasion haue refused this partage. For when a mans enemy offereth him that that hath an appearance of good, let him ever refuse it: nam datur anguis in herba, as the sequelle of this matter well declared, for the accepting of this partage, which the King alleged and that truly to be better than the other the Duke demanded, cost the Duke of Guienne his life, as hereafter shall appere.



THE

THE THIRD BOOKE.

How the King tooke occasion to make war anew upon the Duke of Burgundie, and how he sent a purseuant of the parliament to Gaunt to sommon him to appeare at Paris.

Chapter 1.

1470.



* The Kings colour was this, he would not seeme to make war vp on the Duke, but onely to have sent men to these towns at their request, who because of the Dukes cruell extactions had praid in aide of him as of their soueraigne.

He yeere 1470. the King determined to be reuenged of the Duke of Burgundie, supposing he had now found a time conuenient so to do, for he priuily sollicited and caused others to sollicite the townes situate vpon the riuer of Somme, namely Amiens, Saint Quintine, and Abbeuille to rebell against the Duke, and to send for succours into France, and to receiue them into their towns¹. For all great Princes (if they be wise) will seeke euer some colour for their doings. And to the ende you may perceiue what cunning is vsed in Fraunce, I wil shew you how this matter was managed, for the King and the Duke were both abused, whereof arose whot and sharpe war, which endured thirtee or fourteene yeeres. The King desired greatly to mooue these townes aboue named to rebellion, pretending (to the end he might haue the better meanes to practise with them) that the Duke aduanced his limits farther than the treatie would bear: whereupon ambassadours ran to and fro, who vnder colour of their ambassage practised continually as they passed through these townes, to the end aboue mentioned. In the said townes were no garrisons, but all was quiet both in the realme, in Burgundie, and in Britaine. And the Duke of Guien liued to all mens judgement in great amitie with the King his brother. Notwithstanding when the King first mooued this war, his meaning was not to take one or two of these townes onely, but he sought to stir all the Duke of Burgundies subiects to rebellion, trusting to atchieue his enterprise by this meanes. Diuers to obtaine his fauor entertained these practises, and reported their intelligence to be far greater than it was: for one promised to take this towne, an other that, and yet indeed all was nothing. Wherefore notwithstanding that the King had iust cause to be displeased for his euill vsage at Peronne, yet if he had thought this enterprise would haue fallen none otherwise out than it did, he would not haue broken the treatie nor mooued war: for he had made the peace to be proclaimed at Paris three monthes after his returne into his realme, and began this war with some feare, but the great hope he had conceiued thereof, pricked him forward: and marke I pray you what cunning was vsed to further it. The Earle of Saint Paule Constable of Fraunce, (a very wise man,) and certaine of the Duke of Guien his seruants, with diuers others desired rather war than peace betweene these two great Princes, for two respects: The one, they feared least their great offices and pensions should be diminished, if peace continued. For you shall understand that the Constable had vnder his charge foure hundred men of arms or launces paied by his owne hands every muster, without controuler: farther besides the fee and profits of his office, he had a yeerly pension of thirty thousand franks and better, and received also the reuenues of many goodly places that he kept.

The other respect was this, they sought to perswade the King, and talked also to like purpose among themselves, that his disposition was such, that his head could neuer be idle, wherefore vnesse he were busied with great Princes abroad he would be in

in hand with his seruants and officers at home. For these two reasons therefore they sought to intangle him with wars: whereunto the better to perswade him, the Constable promised to take Saint Quintine at all times when him listed, bicause his lands lay round about it, vaunting further that he had great intelligence in Flanders and Brabant, so far foorth that he would make a number of townes to reuolt from the Duke. The Duke of Guienne also being there present and all his principall seruants, offered very earnestly and promised very faithfully to serue the King in this quarrel, and to leade with them fower or fife hundred men of armes that the said Duke held in ordinary pay: but their drift was other than the King supposed, as hereafter you shall here. The King bicause he would seeme to proceede with due aduise and deepe consideration, called a Parliament of the three estates of his realme at Tours, in the moneths of March and Aprill in the yeere 1470. which was the first and last Parliament that euer he assembled. But to this Parliament came onely such as were purposely named, and such as the King knew would not gainesay him in any point. There he caused diuers enterprises to be discovered, that the Duke of Burgundy had attempted against the crowne, and made the Earle of Eu openly to complaine of him, laying, that the Duke detained from him contrary to all lawe and equity Saint Valery and certaine other lands, that he the said Earle held of the Duke as parcels of the Seignorie of Abbeuille, and the county of Ponthieu, the onely cause whereof was, for that a little ship of war of Eu had taken a Flemmish hoy laden with marchandise, the losse whereof the Earle offered to repair, further adding, that the Duke would constraine him to doe him homage, and giue him his faith against all men none excepted, which he would neuer doe, because it should be prejudiciale to the Kings estate. At this assemblie were diuers lawyers as well of the Parliament of Paris as other places, who concluded according to the Kings pleasure, that the Duke should be summoned to appeare in the Parliament at Paris. The King knew well that he would answere disdainfully, or do somewhat prejudiciale to the authority of the court, wherby he should haue the iuster pretence of war against him. Thus the Duke being in Gaunt was sommoned as he wcnt to masse by a purseuant of the Parliament to appeare at Paris: wherewith he was much abashed and discontended, and caused the purseuant foorthwith to be apprehended and committed to warde, where hee remained certeine daies, but in the end was dismissed and sent home. Thus you see what preparation was made to inuade the Duke of Burgundy, who being aduertised thereof, leuied a great band of men paid with home wages (as they termed them) which was a trifle they received to be in a readinesse in their owne houses. Notwithstanding they mustered monethly in the townes where they dwelt, and received their pay. But at three or fower moneths end the Duke waxed wearie of the charge and dismissed these men, banishing all feare bicause the King sent often to him, and so departed into Holland. He enterteined no soldiers in ordinary pay for the safetie of his countrie, neither held any garrisons in the frontire townes, whereof ensued great inconuenience: for there was daily practising in Amiens, Abbeuille, and Saint Quintine to yeeld them againe to the King. The Duke being in Holland was aduertised by John late Duke of Bourbon, that shortly war should be made vpon him as well in Burgundie as in Picardie, and that the King had great intelligence not onely in his dominions but also in his house: with the which message he was maruelously abashed: for he was vtterly vnfurnished of men of war, bicause he had discharged the band aboue mentioned. Wherefore in great haste he passed the sea² and went into Artois, and thence straight to Hedin, where he entred into ielousie both of some of his seruants, and also of those practises that were entertained in the townes aboue mentioned:

¹ This sea was one of the streames of the riuier of Rhene that eniron Holland.

¹This Baldwine was the Duke's base brother: the cause of his departure was for that he had attempted with others corrupted by the King to poison the Duke: notwithstanding afterward he recovered his fauor, and was taken prisoner at the battell of Nancy. Meyer.

tioned: but his preparation for the wars went but slowly forward. For he believed not all that was tolde him. Notwithstanding he commanded two of the chiefe citizens of Amiens whom he suspected for these treaies to repaire vnto him, who so cunningly excused themselues, that he dismissed them without further inquierie. Immediately after, certaine of his seruants fled out of his house, namely the bastard Baldwin 3 and others, which caused him to feare a greater traine to be behinde. Wherefore incontinent he made proclamation that all men should be in a readines, but because winter was begun, and he but newly returned out of Holland few stirred.

How the townes of Saint Quintin and Amiens were yeelded to the King: and for what causes the Constable nourished the war betweene the King and the Duke of Burgundie.

Chap. 2.

Two daies after his seruants departure, which was in the moneth of December the yeere 1470. the Constable entred into Saint Quintine and sware the towne to the King. Then the Duke perceiued his affaires to be in bad estate, for he had no force with him, but had sent all his seruants abroad to muster men in his dominions: Notwithstanding with those fewe he could leuie being fower or fift hundred horse he went to Dourlans, min- ding to keepe Amiens from revolting. There he abode fift or sixe daies: all the which space they in Amiens continually practised. The Kings armie lying not farr off, shewed it selfe before the towne and was once refused: for part of the citizens held for the Duke: wherefore the Duke sent thither to make his lodging, and if he had beene so strong that he might haue aduentured to enter in person, the towne had never beene lost, but he was afraide to go thither weakely accompanied: notwithstanding that diuers of the towne required him so to do. But when they of the contrarie faction sawe his feare that he durst not enter the towne, they executed their enterprise, and received the Kings forces. They of Abbeuille thought to do the like, but the Lord of Cordes entred in thither for the Duke, and prevented their pur- pose. Dourlans distant from Amiens but fift small leagues, wherefore the Duke was forced to depart thence, so soone as he vnderstood of Amiens revolt: from thence therefore he went to Arras in great haste and feare, doubting the execution of diuers other such enterprises, the rather for that he saw himselfe enuironed with the Constables kinsfolkes and friends: farther because the bastard Baldwin was fled, he entred into suspition of his other brother the great bastard of Burgundie: notwithstanding his forces repaired to him by little and little. The King thought now that all had beene his owne, supposing the aduertisements to be true that the Constable and the rest had giuen him of their intelligences, whereupon if he had not hopped, he would haue wished this enterprise vnbegun.

It is meete I should here declare what mooued the Constable and the Duke of Guienne considering the great fauors, courtesies, and benefits the Duke of Guienne had receiued at the Duke of Burgundies hands, to kindle the fire betweene these two Princes that lay at rest in their dominions, and which way this warre could turne to their profit. Somewhat I speake hereof before, saying, that they did it to be in the more assurance of their estates and offices. For they feared if the king liued in peace he would

would keepe some stir among them. Notwithstanding this was not the onely cause that mooued them. But you shall vnderstand that the Duke of Guienne & they had beene earnest suters to conclude a mariage betweene the said Duke of Guienne, and the Duke of Burgundies onely daughter and heire (for sonne he had none) which matter they had often mooued to the Duke, who in words shewed himselfe not unwilling thereunto, yet notwithstanding would nevere conclude it, but entartayned others also in hope thereof. Now marke how these men sought to atchicue their enterprise by constrainyng the Duke of Burgundie to this mariage. Immediately after these two towns were taken, and the Duke gon to Arras to leuy forces with al speed: the Duke of Guienne sent a secret messenger to him, who brought him three lines written with the said Dukes owne hand, foulded vp in a small lumpe of waxe, and conteining these words. *Endeuoy your selfe to appease your subiects, and you shall not faile offriends.* Farther the Duke of Burgundy being at the first in exceeding great feare, sent to the Constable, desiring him to shew himselfe fauourable, & not to preesse forward this war begun without any defiance made. At the which message the Constable greatly rejoiced, supposing that he now held the Duke in such feare as he desired, which to increase, he sent him a speedy & uncomfortable answere, the effect wherof was, that his state stode in maruellous danger, so far foorth that he saw no way for him to winde himselfe out of these troubles but one. Namely by giuing his daughter in mariage to the D. of Guienne, which if he would do, he should than be succoured with great forces: for both the Duke of Guienne and diuers other Lords would declare themselves for him against the King, and he also would restore him Saint Quintine and take his part, otherwise he said he durst do nothing, considering how strong the K. was, hauing both his army very wel appointed, & also great intelligence in the Dukes dominions. This was the answere he sent, with diuers other fearefull messages. But I never knew man in my life come to good ende that sought to put in feare and hold in subiection his master, or any other great Prince with whom he had to do, as in the end the Constables example shall well declare. For notwithstanding that the King were then his master, and that the greatest part of his reuenues lay, and all his children were resident in the Duke of Burgundies dominions: yet continued he these practises against both these Princes, with intent to hold them both in feare each by other, which cost him deere in the end, and no maruel. For notwithstanding that at euery man desire to liue out of subiection and feare, and that all men naturally hate those that hold them in awe: yet none so extremely as Princes. For I never knew Prince that hated not mortally all those that sought to put him in feare.

After the D. of Burgundy had received the Constables answere, he perceiued well no friendhip to be in him, & farther that he was the only author of this war. Whereupon he conceiued so extreme hatred against him, that after this he could never brooke him, especially bicause by these fearful messages he sought to constraine him to marie his daughter at his pleasure: a vaine attempt. For before the retурne of the Constables answere, the Duke had recovered his spirits, and had a great army with him. You may easily perceiue both by the message sent by the Duke of Guienne first, and the Constables answere afterward, that this was a compact matter betweene them, and the rather for that the like message or a more dreadfull came soone after from the Duke of Britaine, who sent also to the Kings seruice a hundred Britons, all men of armes vnder the leading of the Lord of Lescut. Wherefore we may boldly say that this war was mooued onely to constraine the Duke of Burgundie to conclude this mariage, and that they did but abuse the King in persuading him to begin war: for they were all in manner lies that they told him of their intelligences in the

Dukes dominions. Notwithstanding, in this voyage the Constable did the King great seruice, and shewed extreme malice against the Duke of Burgundie, knowing that the Duke had conceiued mortall hatred against him. The Duke of Guienne also serued the King in these wars verie well accompanied, so that the Duke of Burgundie stood vpon hard tearmes. But if at the first he would haue assured his daughter to the Duke of Guienne, both the said Duke of Guienne, the Constable, and diuers other noble men with all their adherents would haue revolted to him against the King, and done their endeuour to haue pulled him vpon his knees. But whatsoeuer man purposeth in such cases, God disposteth afterward of them at his pleasure.

*How the Duke of Burgundie tooke Piquigny, and afterward found
meanes to make truce with the King for a yeere
to the Constables great griefe.*

Chap. 3.

VY haue heard at large the cause of this war, at the beginning whereof both the Princes were blinded, inuading each other and neither of them knowing the cause why, which was a maruellous cunning of the contrivers of this enterprise. For a man might haue pronounced the old Proverb of these two Princes: that the one part of the world was not acquainted with the others maners nor actions. All these affaires aboue rehersed since the beginning of these wars, chanced in very short space, for within lesse then fiftene daies after the taking of Amiens, the Duke put himselfe into the field neere to Arras, (for farther he retired not,) and from thence marched toward the riuier of Somme, and so straight to Piquigny, but vpon the way thither he met with a messenger of the Duke of Britaine on foote, who aduertised him from the Duke his Master, that the King had giuen his said Master to vnderstand of diuers secrets, and among others of intelligences he had in many great townes of his dominions: namely Andwerp, Bruges, and Bruxelles, adding also that the King was determined to come and besiege him into what towne soeuer he should retire, were it euen into Gaunt. At the which aduertisements I suppose the Duke of Britaine sent in fauour of the Duke of Guienne, hoping thereby to further much the mariage aboue mentioned. But the Duke of Burgundie tooke this message in euill part, and soorthwith dispatched the messenger, willing him to tell his master that he was misinformed by some euill seruants about him, who put these feares and doubts into his head, to the end he should not aide him as he was bound by their league. And farther that he knew not what townes Gaunt and the other cities were: in the which he said the King would come to besiege him: for they were too great to be besieged. He bad him farther to informe his Master in what sort he found him accompanied, and to aduertise him that the world went otherwise with him than he supposed, for he was determined to passe the riuier of Somme, and to fight with the King, if he would come to stop him vpon the way. Last of all, he willed him to desire his Master on his behalfe to ioyne with him against the King, and to shew himselfe a friend to the Duke of Burgundie, as he had shewed himselfe to him by the treatie of Peronne. The next day the Duke of Burgundie approached neere to a towne vpon the riuier of Somme called Piquigny, the seat whereof was maruellous strong. There he determined to make a bridge to passe the said riuier, but fower or fve hundred franke archers, and certaine gentlemen, who by chancelodged at that present in the towne,

towne, seeing the Duke passe by, salied out to the skirmish vpon a long causey, and issued foorth so far from the place, that thereby they gaue the Dukes men occasion to pursue them, who folowed them so speedily that they slue a great number of them, before they could retire into the towne, and tooke the suburbs into the which the causey lead. Then fower or fve peeces of artillerie were bent against the towne, notwithstanding that it were impregnable on that side, for that the riuier ran between the towne and the Dukes batterie. But these franke archers fearing (because they saw the bridge in hand) to be besieged also on the other side, abandoned the place and fled. The castle held two or three daies and then yeelded by composition, and the soldiers departed in their doblets and their hose. The good successe of this small exploit so much encouraged the Duke that he led his armie before Amiens, where he built two or three lodgings, saying that he would keepe the field, to see if the King durst come to fight with him, and in the end approached with his artillery so neare the towne, that it shot at random ouer and into it: in the which estate he lay there at the least sixe weekes. Within the towne was the Constable and all the great officers of the realine: namely the Lord great Master, Admirall, Marshall, Seneschals, and others accompanied with foureteene hundred men of armes, and foure thousand franke archers. The King in the meane time lying at Beauvais made a great muster, being accompanied with the Duke of Guienne his brother, and *Nicholas* Duke of Calabria, sonne and heire to *John* Duke of Calabria and Lorraine, and onely heire of the house of Aniou. Farther all the nobles of the realine subiect to the Arriereban were come thither to him, who trauelled earnestly (as I haue beene since informed) to vnderstand the bottom of this enterprise, for they saw the troubles so farre from pacification that the King was now more busied with wars than euer. They within Amiens determined to aslaile the Duke of Burgundie and his armie, if the King would send his forces being at Beauvais to ioyne with them. But the King being aduertised of this enterprise, sent soorthwith to counteraund it: for notwithstanding that in all appearance the successe thereof was like to be good: yet was it not altogether voide of danger, especially for those that should haue salied: for considering that they must all haue issued foorth on foote, and at two gates one of the which was hard by the Dukes campe: if happily they had beene repulsed, they should haue put both the towne and themselues in great hazard. In the meane time the Duke sent one of his Pages to the King called *Simon* of Quingy, afterward Bailife of Troy with a letter of sixe lines written with his owne hand, wherein he humbled himselfe to him, saying that he was verie sorie he had thus inuaded him for other mens pleasures, which he supposed he would not haue done, if he had beene well informed of their practises. The Kings army sent into Burgundy ¹ had defeated all the force of the countrie in battell, and taken many prisoners. The number of the slaine was not great, but the discomfiture was great, in such sort that the Kings forces had already taken some places, and besieged other some, wherewith the Duke was somewhat abashed, notwithstanding he made the contrarie to be bruted in his campe, saying that his armie had obtayned the victorie.

When the King had read the Dukes letter aboue mentioned, he rejoiceth much thereat, both because of the reason aboue alleaged ², and also for that he soone waxed weary of all long enterprises. Wherefore he gaue him a speedy answer, and directed a commission to certaine in Amiens authorising them thereby to treat of truce. Whereupon diuers truces were concluded one after another for fower and fve daies: and in the ende one so far as I remember for a yeere, to the Constables great discontentation: for vndoubtedly whatsoeuer men haue thought or can thinke to

*Of this ar-
my he speake
somewhat in
the Duke of
Bourbons ad-
vertisement
sent to the
Duke of Bur-
gundy men-
tioned in the
first chapter
of this booke,
it was led by
the Earle
Dauphin d'
Auvergne
sonne to the
Earle of
Montpensier.*

*Of this dis-
comfiture
read Amael
Burgund. pag.
945.*

*The reason
was because
he perceiued
the intelligen-
ces of the
Constable
and the rest to
be vniue.*

the contrarie, he was then mortall enimy to the Duke, and many haue words passed betweene them in such sort, that after this they never were friends as the sequelle well declared. True it is that they sent afterward one to another, but all for practise sake, and each to make his profit by the other. For all that the Duke did was onely to recouer Saint Quintine, which the Constable ever when he stood in feare of the king promised to restore, and some of these treatise betweene them I haue knownen so far aduanced, that the Dukes men vpon the Constables promise to be received, haue come within two or three leagues of the towne. But when the matter should be executed, he ever continued in his accustomed dissimulation, and sent a countermaund, which his double dealing cost him deere in the end. He thought because of the seale of the towne, the great number of men he had vnder his charge paid out of the Kings cosers, and the variance betweene these two Princes (which himselfe nourished) to hold them both in feare, but his enterprise was to to dangerous: for they were both to great, to strong, and to subtile.

When these armes were dismisset, the King returned into the countrie of Touraine, the Duke of Guienne into his owne countrie, and the Duke of Burgundy into his: in the which estate these affaires remained awhile. The said Duke of Burgundy assembled all the estates of his dominions ³, and declared vnto them what damage he had received by not hauing soldiers in ordinarie pay as the King had: alleging that if there had beene but fiftie hundred men in a readines to defend the frontiers, the King would never haue mooued this war, but they should haue liued in peace. He shewed further what great dangers they were like to fall into if this inconuenience were not speedily redressed: and pressed them earnestly for the payment of eight hundred light horse. In the end they agreed to give him a subsidie of sixefore thousand crowns ⁴ ouer and aboue all other duties they yearly paid him, in the which

¹ This affem-
bly was held
the 16. of June
Meyer.

⁴ But this sub-
sidie of 120000
crownes was
granted but
for three
yeeres. Meyer.
pag. 348 and
367.

⁵ The Duke
desired no
sonne, because
then his
daughters
marriage
could not
haue stood
him in such
read as now
it did.

subsidie Burgundie was not comprehended. But his said subiects for diuers respects feared to put themselves into such subiection and slauerie, as they saw the realme of Fraunce in by reason of these men of armes: which their feare was not without cause: for after the Duke had obtained fiftie or sixe hundred men of armes in ordinarie, he sought continually to encrease the number, and began to attempt more boldly against his neighbours in such sort, that in the end these 120000. crownes grew to 500000. & the number of his men of armes augmented so excessiuely, that his subiects were greatly charged for their maintenance. To say my fancies of these ordinary men of armes, I thinke vnder a wise Prince they be well imployed, but if he be otherwise, or happily at his death leaue his children in their minoritie, the seruice wherein their governors employ them is not alwaies profitable neither for the King, nor for his subiects. The hatred betweene the King and the Duke diminished not but still endured. Further the Duke of Guienne being returned into his countrie, sent often to the Duke of Burgundy, entreteining still his sute for his daughters marriage, who fed him continually with faire words, as he did every other man that required her. And I thinke verily that he neither was desirous of a sonne ⁵, neither would haue married his daughter during his life: but haue kept her to intetaine men, thereby to obtaine their friendship and aide. For he had so many great enterprises in his head, that all his life time could not suffice to atchieue them, and those, aduentures almost impossible to be compassed: for hale Europe would not haue contented him. He had courage vnoough to attempt any thing, his bodie was able to endure as much labour and trauell as was needfull, he was furnished both of men and mony, but he lacked finenes and cunning sufficient for the managing of his affaires. And what Prince soever desireth to be great (notwithstanding that he be accomplished with all other good

good parts:) yet if he lacke an excellent wit all is to no purpose, which vndoubtedly proceedeth of the meere grace of God. To be short, if part of the Dukes vertues and part of the King our masters had beene tempered together, they would haue made a perfect Prince: for vndoubtedly in wit the King far exceeded him, as well appeared in the end.

*Of the wars among the Princes of England during the fe-
bles betweene King Lewis and Charles*

Duke of Burgundy.

Chap. 4.



Must now discourse of Edward King of England, because these three great Princes, namely our King, the King of England, and the Duke of Burgundy, liued all in one age: in the which discourse, I will not obserue the Historiographers vsuall order in writing, who set downe the certaine yeeres and daies when each thing hapned, neither will I vouch examples out of the ancient histories, for you know them better than my selfe, and in so doing I should but seeme to reason of Diuinitie before a Doctor thereof. But I will rudely aduertise you of all that I haue seene, knownen or heard, of these Princes of whom I write. You liue in the selfesame age that all these things hapned, wherefore me thinke it needesle to exactly to note the howers and seasons.

I haue before rehearsed what occasion mooued the Duke of Burgundy to mary King Edwards sister, and said it was principally to fortifie himselfe against the King, otherwise he would never haue done it, for the great affection he bare to the house of Lancaster, whereof he was descended by his mother: for she was daughter to the King of Portugall, and her mother daughter to the Duke of Lancaster ¹, so that as ^{Philipa} daughter to ^{John} Duke of Lancaster, as extremely hated he the house of Yorke. But you shall vnderstand that at the time of this mariage, the house of Lancaster was vtterly destroied, and the house of Yorke no more spoken of. For King Edward being both King and Duke of Yorke raigned peaceably. During the civill wars betweene these two houses, were fought in England seauen or eight cruell battels, and in them slaine three or fower score Princes and Lords of the blood royll, as before is rehearsed in this history. The rest that escaped being all young Lords, whose fathers died in these battels aboue mentioned, liued as banished men in the Duke of Burgundies court, who received them as his kinsmen of the house of Lancaster, before his mariage with King Edwards sister. I haue seene them in so great misery before they came to the Dukes knowle ²ge, that those that beg from dore to dore were not in poorer estate then they: for I once saw a Duke of Exeter, whose wife was Anne sister to King Edward the fourth, and his grandmother was Elizabeth daughter to John Duke of Lancaster by his first wife, but he died without issue. Yet men say,

<sup>Note that from
the place till the
7. Chapter, all
these English
affaires, fall in-
to the yeeres
1469. & 1470.</sup>

say, that God punisheth not now as he did in the children of Israels time, but suffereth euill men and euill Princes to liue vnpunished.

True it is that he threatneth not now by expresse messengers as he did then: for he hath left examples ynoch to instruct vs: Notwithstanding you may perceve by these discourses, ioyning thereto the great knowledge you haue besides; that of euill Princes and such as haue authoritie in this world, and abuse it to cruelty or tyranny, few or none escape vnpunished though it happen not by and by after the fault committed, neither so soone happily as those that are afflicted desire. But to retorne to King *Edward*, the chiefe man in England that maintained the house of Yorke was the Earle of Warwicke. And on the other side the greatest champion of the house of Lancaster was the Duke of Sommerset. The said Earle of Warwicke might justly be called King *Edward*s father, as well for the training of him vp, as also for the great seruices he did him, for the which the King had also highly aduaunced him, for besides his owne inheritance which was great, he held goodly lands of the Kings gift, as well crowne lands, as lands forfeited by attendor. Farther he was deputie of Calais, and had diuers other great offices, so that I haue heard his yeerely reuenewes valued at fowerscore thousand crownes, besides his owne inheritance. But in the ende he fell at variance with the King his master, about a yeere (as I gesse) before the Duke of Burgundie comming before Amiens: which breach the said Duke furthered to the vitermost of his power. For the Earles great authoritie in England much disconterted him, besides that they two were not friends, for the Earle had continuall intelligence with the King our master. To be short, about this present or not long before, the Earle of Warwicke force was so great, that he seafed the King his master into his hands, and put to death diuers personages that he highly favoured, namely the Lord Scales the Queenses father³, and two of his sonnes, (the third being also in great danger) and with them diuers other knights. He entertained the King his master for a season verie honourably, and placed new seruants about him, supposing that through simplicitie he would soone forget the olde. The Duke of Burgundie being not a little troubled with this aduenture, practised secretly how King *Edward* might escape, and they two communitte together, which enterprise had so good successe, that the King escaped in deede, and leuied men, and defeated certaine of the Earles bands. He was a fortunate Prince in the field: for he wan at the least nine great battles, fighting himselfe on foote in every one of them. The Earle of Warwicke vnable to make resistance, aduertised his friends what they shold do, and embarked at leisure, being accompanied with the Duke of Clarence, who had married his daughter and tooke part with him, notwithstanding that he were King *Edward*s brother. They transported with them both wiues and children, and a great band of men, and sailed straight towards Calais: within the which was the Earles lieutenant named the Lord of Vaucler⁴, and diuers of the said Earles household seruants, who in stead of receiving their Master presented him the canon. Further you shall vnderstand, that as they lay at anchor before the towne, the Dutchesse of Clarence daughter to the Earle of Warwicke was deliuered of a sonne, and great intreatie was made, before Vaucler and the rest of the towne would suffer two flaggons of wine to be brought foorth to hir, which was great extremitie of the seruant towards the master. For it is to be supposed that the Earle thought himselfe well assured of this place, which is the verie key of England: and the goodliest captainship in mine opinion in the world, at the least in Christendome: which I dare boldly auow, because I was there diuers times during these wars, and heard also the Maior of the staple report, that he would wil-

³ Our chronicles name the Queenses father Earle of Rivers, and so doth afterward also our Author lib. 5. cap. 15.

⁴ This Vaucler was a Gascoigne borne.

lingly

lingly farme yeerely the deputiehip of Calais of the King of England for fifteene thousand crownes. For the deputie receiueth the profits of all that they haue on this side the sea, and of all safe conducts, and placeth also the greatest part of the garrison at his pleasure.

The King of England fauored highly the Lord of Vaucler for this resuall made to his Captaine, and granted him by his letters patents the deputiehip of Calais for himselfe, which the Earle his master before held: for he was a wise and an ancient knight, and one of the order of the garter. The D. of Burgundie also who then lay at Saint Omer, conceived a maruellous good opinion of him, so far foorth that he sent me to him, granting him a yeerely pension of a thousand crownes, & desiring him to continue a true and faithfull seruant to the King his Master as he had begunne: which at my comming thither, I found him fully determined to doe, so that he sware in Staple Inne in Calais, (laying his hand within mine) to be faithfull and true to King *Edward*, and to serue him against all men. The like oth all the towne and all the garrison sware also. Farther I was by the space of two months almost continually resident at Calais, at the least posting dailey betwene Calais and bul- len to entertaine the said *Vaucler*: for you shall vnderstand that during these English troubles, the Duke of Burgundie came to Bullen where he prepared a great army by sea against the Earle of Warwicke, who at his departure from Calais, tooke many shippes of the Dukes subiects, which aduanced forward the war betwene the King of Fraunce and vs. For the Earles men fould the bootie in Normandie: whereupon the Duke of Burgundie arrested all the French Marchants that came to the Mart at Andwerp. Now because it is meete to understand as well the cunning and subtil, as the iult and vpright dealings of the world, (not to practise them, but to know how to auoide them,) I will rehearse vnto you a sleight or subtiltie (terme it as you list) that was cunningly conueighed. Farther I would that men shold understand the practises as wel of our neighbours as of our selues, to the end it may appear that in all places are both good and bad. When the Earle of Warwicke came before Calais, thinking to enter into it as his onely refuge: the Lord of Vaucler being a very wise gentleman, sent him word that if he entred the towne he shold cast away himselfe: considering that all England, the Duke of Burgundie, the people of the towne, and a great part of the garrison: namely the Lord of Duras Marshall there for the King of England, and diuers others that had men in the towne were his enimes: wherefore his best way shold be to retire into Fraunce, and as touching the towne of Calais he willed him not to trouble himselfe: for he would yeeld him good accouut thereof when time and occasion should serue. He did his Captaine good seruice by giuing him this aduise, but shewed himselfe thereby a verie *Judas* to the King his Master. For vndoubtedly a more traitorous part was never plaied, considering both that the King of England had made him deputie of the towne of Calais, and the Duke of Burgundy giuen him so large a pension.

How by King Lewis his aide, the Earle of Warwicke chased King Edward out of England, to the Duke of Burgundies great grieve, who received him into his countries.

Chapier 5.

EHE Earle of Warwicke followed *Vauclers* aduise, and landed in Normandie, where the King honorably receiued him, and furnished him largely of mony for his mens expences, & appointed also the bastard of Bourbon Admirall of Fraunce being well accompanied, to defend the Englishmen and their shippes against the Duke of Burgundies nauie, which was so mighty and strong that no man durst stir in these narrow seas for feare of it, making war vpon the Kings subiects both by sea and land, and threatening them every where. All this happened the sommer before the King surprised Saint Quintine and Amiens, which was (as before you haue heard) in the yere 1470. The Duke of Burgundies nauie aboue mentioned was stronger than the Kings and the Earles iointed together. For he had taken at Sluse many great shippes of Spaine, Portugall and Genua, and diuers hulks of Almaine. King Edward was a man of no great forecast, but verie valiant, and the beautifullest Prince that liued in his time. He tooke no care for the Earle of Warwicke's landing as the Duke of Burgundie did, who perceiuing great tumults already arising in England in the Earles fauour, aduertised the King often thereof. But he made small account of any danger, nether seemed to feare his enemy: which sure was great folly considering the great preparation he saw made against him. For the King armed all the shippes to the sea that he could get, and manned them well, and prouided furniture also for the English men.

Besides this, he made a mariage betweene the Prince of Wales and the Earle of Warwicke's second daughter. The said Prince was onely sonne and heire to King Henry of England, who liued yet prisoner in the Tower of London. This was a strange mariage when the Earle had deposed and imprisoned the Princes father, to cause him to mary his daughter, and to entertaine also the Duke of Clarence, brother to the King of the other faction, who had iust cause to feare his owne estate, if the house of Lancaster recovered the crowne. Thus we see that such enterprises are not atchieued without dissimulation. At the selfe same time that this army aboue mentioned lay in a readines to saile into England, I was at Calais to entertaine the Lord of Vaucler, whose double dealing till that verie instant I never perceiued, notwithstanding that it had now continued the space of three months. But at that present, I desired him (because of the newes we heard) to put all the Earle of Warwicke's houehold seruants being to the number of twenty or thirty out of the towne, alledging that I was sure the Kings army and the Earles were ready to depart out of Normandy where they lay, and if the Earle should happen sodainly to land in England, some such tumult might arise in the towne of Calais by meanes of his seruants, that he should not be master thereof. Wherfore I pressed him earnestly in al haste to put them out of the towne, which he alwaies heretofore promised me to doe, but now he drew me aside saying, that he would be master of the towne wel inough, and required me to do this message to the Duke of Burgundy, that if he would be a friend to the Realme of England he shoulde endeuour himselfe to make peace and not war: which words he spake because of the nauie the Duke had on the sea against the Earle of Warwicke. He told me farther, that peace might easly be made, because that day a gentle-

gentlewoman passed through Calice to go into Fraunce to the Dutches of Clarence with certaine ouertures of peace from King Edward. And he said true indeed, but as he abused others, even so was himselfe deceiued by this gentlewoman: for she went about a great enterprise, which also she atchieued to the prejudice of the Earle of Warwicke, and his whole faction. Of this fine practise, and all other that haue beene managed on this side the sea, I write the more at large because I am well assured that no man is able to make truer report of them then my selfe, at the least of those that haue hapned within these twenty yeeres.

The secret deliuered to this woman, was to counsell the Duke of Clarence not to cause the destruction of his owne house, by setting vp againe the house of Lancaster, but to remember their ancient hatred and diuision, adding that he might well assure himselfe that the Earle of Warwicke having married his daughter to the Prince of Wales, and alreadie done homage to him, would by all meanes possible seeke to make him King. This gentlewoman so wisely executed the charge committed vnto hir, that she wan the Duke of Clarence, who promised to renolt to the King his brother immediately after his retурne into England. Shee was a woman well aduised and of few words, and because of her sexe, had leaue granted her to passe to her Meistres easilier then a man shoulde, and as craftie a foxe as this *Vaucler* was, this woman went beyond him, and was the onely contriuer of the enterprise, whereby the Earle of Warwicke and his whole faction were vitterly destroied: wherfore it is no shame to be suspicioous, and to haue an eie vpon those that passe to & fro, but great shame it is to be deceiued, and vndone through our owne folly. Notwithstanding suspicions ought to be grounded vpon some good presumption, for to be too suspicioous is naught.

You haue heard already how the Earle of Warwicke's army, and the Kings shippes appointed to waite him ouer were in a readines to take sea, and how the Duke of Burgundies nauie being at Hancy lay prepared to fight with them. But it pleased God so to dispose of this voyage, that the selfe same night so great a tempest arose that the Dukes nauie was forced to seuer: part wherof ran vpon the cost of Scotland, and part into Holland: and not long after, the Earle having a good gale of wind, passed into England without all danger. The Duke of Burgundie had aduertised King Edward in what port the Earle would land, and had sent men purposly to him to sollicite him to looke to himselfe: but he little regarding the danger, passed foorth the time in hunting, hauing none so neere him as the Archbisshop of Yorke, and the Marquesse of Montagu, the Earle of Warwicks bretheren, who had promised and solemnly sworne to serue him against their brother and all others, whereunto he gaue credit. Immediately after the Earles landing, great forces ioyned with him: wherewith the King being much abashed, began then, (but all too late) to looke about him, and sent word to the Duke of Burgundie, desiring him that his nauie might still keepe the Sea to stop the Earle from retiring againe into France (for vpon the land he would match him well ynough) which message pleased no man that heard it: for it had beene much better to haue kept him from landing, then to be constrained to hazard his estate in battell when he was landed. Five or sixe daies after the Earles arriuall his power was so great, that he encamped within three leagues of King Edward. Notwithstanding the Kings force was greater then his, if all his men had beene faithfull and true, and lay also in campe to fight with him. Further you shall vnderstand that the King lodged (as himselfe told me) in a strong village, at the least a strong house into the which no man could enter but by a draw bridge, which was a happy chance for him: the rest of his armie lay in other villages round about. But as

he

he sat at dinner, suddenly one came running in, and brought newes that the Marques of Montague the Earles brother and certaine other were mounted on horsebacke, and had caused all their men to crie, God sau King *Henrie*. Which message the King at the first beleued not, but in all haste sent other messengers foorth, and armed himselfe, and set men also at the barriers of his lodging to defend it. He was accompanied with the Lord *Hastings* Lord Chamberlain of England, a wise Knight and of the greatest authoritie about him, who was maried to the Earle of *Warwickes* sister, yet notwithstanding was true and faithfull to his Master, and had three thousand horse vnder his charge in the Kings armie as himselfe told me. With the King was also the Lord *Scales* the Queene of Englands brother, and diuers other valiant Knights and Esquiers, who all perceiued that this busines went not well: for the messengers brought word that the report was true, and that the enemies assembled to assault the King.

But God so prouided for the King that he lodged hard by the sea side, neere to a place where a little ship laden with victuals that followed his armie, and two hulls of Holland fraughted with merchandise lay at anchor: he had no other shifft but to run to sauve himselfe in one of them¹. The Lord Chamberlaine staied a while behinde him, & talked with the lieutenant of his band and diuers other particular men in the Kings armie, willing them to go to the enemies, but to beare true and faithfull harts to the King and him: which talke ended: he went aboord to the rest being ready to depart. Now you shall vnderstand that the custome in England is, after the victory obtained, neither to kill nor raunsome any man, especially of the vulgar sort: knowing all men then to be ready to obey them, because of their good successe. Wherfore these soldiers after the Kings departure received no harme. Notwithstanding *K. Edward* himselfe told me, that in all battels that he wan, so soon as he had obtained victory he vsed to mount on horsebacke, and cry to *Sauve the people and kill the nobles*; for of them few or none escaped. Thus fled *King Edward* the yeere 1470. with two hulls and a little bote of his owne countrey, accompanied with seuen or eight hundred persons, hauing none other apparell than that they ware in the wars, vtterly vnfurnished of mony, and hardly knowing whether they went. Strange it was to see this poore King (for so might he now well be called) to flie after this sort pursued by his owne seruants, and the rather, for that he had by the space of twelue or thirteene yeeres liued in greater pleasures and delicacies than any Prince in his time: for he had wholy giuen himselfe to dames, hunting, hawking, and banqueting, in such sort that he vsed when he went a hunting in the sommer season, to cause many pavilions to be pitched to solace himselfe there with the Ladies. And to say the truth his personage serued awel to make court as any mans that euer I knew: for he was yong, & as goodly a gentleman as liued in our age, I meane in this time of his aduersitie: for afterward he grew maruellous grosse. But behold now how he fel into the troubles and misfortunes of the world. He sailed straight towards Holland, and at that time the Easterlings were enemies both to the English men and the French, and had many ships of war vpon the sea, wherefore they were much feared of the English men, and not without cause: for they were very good soldiers, and had done them great harme that yeere, and taken many prises. These Easterlings discried a far off the ships wherin the King fled, and seuen or eight of them began to make saile after him, but in vaine: for he was far before them, and fell vpon the coast of Holland or somewhat lower: for he arrived in Freezeland by a little towne called *Alquemare*², as neere the which as was possible his mariners cast anchor: for because it was ebbing water they could not enter the hauen. The Easterlings came in like manner and anchored hard by them,

¹ The King
embarked at
Lyn.

² Alquemare
Meyernameth
Tessela.

minding

minding to boord them the next tide. Thus we see that one mischiefe neuer commeth without company.

King *Edward* good successe was now cleane altered, and his thoughts quite chan ged: for not past fiftene daies before this misfortune, he would little haue beleued him that had told him that the Earle of *Warwick* should chase him out of England, and subdue the whole Realme in eleuen daies: for in that smal space he brought it to due obedience. Further, he mocked the Duke of Burgundie for spending his treasure in defending the sea: and wished that the Earle were already landed in England. But what excuse could he make now for himselfe receiuing so great a blow through his owne fault, sauve this, that such a mishap was not to be doubted: of which excuse a Prince growen to mans estate ought to be ashamed, for it will not serue. Wherfore let King *Edward* example teach all Princes that thinke it shame to feare their enimies, to be wise in time: for notwithstanding that the greatest part of their seruants through flatterie vphold their sayings, and that themselves also by such words suppose to purchase an opinion of greare courage: yet sure (whatsoever is said to their face) wise men account such language but meere folly: for it is great honor to feare that which is to be feared, and to prouide for it accordingly. Further, a wise man in a Princes companie is a great treasure and iewell, if he may be beleued and haue leaue to speake the truth.

By chance the Lord of *Grutese* the Duke of Burgundies lieutenant in Holland was at that present in the place where King *Edward* arrived, who being aduertised by certaine that the King sent to land, both of his arriuall, and of the danger he was in of the Easterlings, gaue commandement foorthwith to the said Easterlings not to touch him: and went also himselfe into the Kings ship to welcomme him. And thus he landed³ being accompanied with his brother the Duke of *Glocester* (who afterward named himselfe King *Richard*) and a traine of fiftene hundred persons. The King had not one penny abour him, but gaue the Master of the ship for his passage a goodly gowne furred with martins, promissing one day to do him a good turne: and as touching his traine neuer so poore a company was seene. But the Lord of *Grutese* dealt very honorably with them: for he gaue much apparell among them, & defraied the King to *La Haye* in Holland whither himselfe also waited vpon him. Afterward he aduertised the Duke of Burgundie of this aduenture, who was maruellously abashed at the newes, and had much rather haue heard of the Kings death: for he feared the Earle of *Warwick*, who was his mortall enemy, and bare now the whole sway in England. The said Earle soone after he was landed, found infinite numbers to take his part. For the army that King *Edward* left behinde him, what for loue, what for feare yelded to him, in such sort that euery day his forces encreased. And in this estate went he to London, where a great number of Knights and Esquiers (who afterward did King *Edward* good seruice) tooke sanctuarie, as also did the Queene his wife, who was there deliuered of a sonne in very poore estate.

³ King *Edward*
landed
in Holland
in the 9 of Octo-
ber Meyer.



How the Earle of Warwicke tooke out of prison
King Henry of England.
Chap. 6.

He Earle immediately after his attial at London, went foorth with to the tower and tooke King *Henry* out of prison, whom himselfe many yeers before had lead thither crying before him, Traitor, Traitor: but now he called him his soueraigne Lord, & conueighed him to his palace at Westmynster, where he set him vnder the cloth of estate in the Duke of Clarences presence, who little liked that sight. Farther he sent forthwith three or four hundred men to Calais to spoile and forray the countrey of Boulonois, whom the Lord of *Vaucer* (so often aboue mentioned) friendly received, and made then open declaration of the good will he had alwaies borne the Earle his Master. The same day that the Duke received newes of the Kings arrivall in Holland: I was come from Calais to Boulen (where the Duke then lay,) vnderstanding nothing of this aduerture, nor of the Kings flight. The Duke was first aduertised that he was dead, whereof he forced not greatly, for he loued the house of Lancaster much better then the house of Yorke. Besides that he had with him the Dukes of Excester and Sommerset and diuers others of King *Henries* faction, by whose meanes he thought himselfe assured of peace with the house of Lancaster. But he feared the Earle of Warwicke, neither knew he how to entertaine him that was come to him¹, I meane King *Edward* who was his brother in law, and they both of one order: for the King ware the golden Fleese, and the Duke the Garter.

¹ He meaneith
whether he
should aide
the King or
no.

The Duke foorthwith sent me backe againe to Calais, accompanied with a gentleman or two of this newe King *Henries* faction, and gaue me instructions how to deale with this new world, pressing me earnestly to go, because it stood him vpon to be well serued in this busines. I went as far as Tournchan a castell neere to Guisnes, and further durst not pasle, bycause I found the people flying for feare of the English men, who were abroad and spoiled all the countrey. But I sent foorthwith to the Lord of *Vaucer* desiring a safe conduct: for before I was accustomed to go without any, and was alwaies honorably received: for the English men are very courteous and honorable in their entertainment. Al this seemed strange to me: for I never had seen such sudden alterations in the world. I aduertised the Duke the same night of the danger I should be in if I passed further, making no mention of the safe conduct I had sent for, because I doubted what answer I should receiue thereof. The Duke sent me a ring from his finger bidding me go forward, and if I were taken prisoner he would redeeme me: for he cared not greatly to endanger one of his seruants at his neede. But I had prouided well for my selfe: for I received a safe conduct with very courteous letters from the Lord of *Vaucer*. Wherin he sent me word that I might go and come after my woonted maner. Wherupon I went to Guisnes, and founde the capaine at the castell gate, who offered me a cup of wine, without that he led me into the castell as he was accustomed, but he feasted and entertained honorably these gentlemen of King *Henries* faction that accompanied me. From thence I went to Calais, where no man came foorth to receive me after their woonted sort, but al men ware the Earle of Warwicks liuerie. Further, vpon the gate of my lodging they made aboue an hundred white crosses and rimes, signifying that the King of Fraunce and the Earle of Warwick were all one: all the which seemed strange to me. Soone after

my

my coining to Calais, I sent to Graueling, being but ffe leagues thence, commanding all English merchants and merchandises to be staied, because the Englishmen had so spoiled the countrey. The Lord of *Vaucer* sent for me to dinner, being well accompanied, and wearing on his cap a white ragged staffe of gold enamiled², being the Earles cognisance, which all the rest that were with him ware likewise, and he that could not haue it of gold, had it of cloth. It was told me there at dinner, that within lesse than a quarter of an hower after these newes came out of England, euery man ware the saide cognisance: so speedie and sudden was the change. This was the first time that I began to consider how vnstable and vncertaine all worldly things are. The said *Vaucer* gaue me very courteous language, and made certaine excuses in the Earle his captaines behalfe, rehearsing also what great benefits he had received at his hands. But as touching the rest that were with him, I neuer saw men so far out of frame: for those that I tooke to haue bin the Kings trustiest seruants, were they that most threatened him: some I thinke for feare, but others in good earnest. Those household seruants of the Earles, whom I had required the Lord of *Vaucer* heerto fore to put out of the towne, were now in great credit. Notwithstanding they never vnderstood that I had mooued the said *Vaucer* to any such purpose. In all communication that passed betweene them and me, I euer told them that King *Edward* was dead, whereof I said I was well assured, notwithstanding that I knew the contrary, adding further, that though it were not so, yet was the league betweene the Duke of Burgundie and the King and realme of England such, that this accident could not infringe it: for we would account him King whom they did. I said moreouer, that because of the alterations that had hapned in times past, these words, *With the King and the Realme*, were inserted into the league, for performance also whereof fower of the best townes in England were in pledge to the Duke. The merchants required in any wise to haue me staied, because their goods were taken at Graueling by my commandement as they said. In the end peace was thus concluded betweene them & me, that they should pay for al the cattel they had taken, or restore it againe: for by agreement between the house of Burgundie and them, they might go into certain pastures thereabout, and take cattell for the prouision of the towne, at a price which they now paide, and prisoners they had taken none. Thus it was agreed that the league should remaine firme and vnuiolable betweene vs and the King and realme of England, saue that for *Edward* we named *Henrie*.

This agreement pleased well the Duke of Burgundie, for the Earle of Warwicke was sending fower thousand English men to Calais to make sharpe war vpon his dominions, neither could the Duke pacifie him by any meanes. Notwithstanding the rich merchants of London, diuers of the which were then at Calais, in the end perswaded him to peace, because their staple of wools is there, which is a far goodlier thing than a man would beleue: for it is almost incredible of how great value the wooll is that is transported thither twise a yeere, and lieth there till merchants come to buy it. The chiefe vent whereof is into Flaunders and Holland, which was the principall cause that mooued these merchants to labour so earnestly for peace, and for stay of the soldiers the Earle was sending ouer: which was a happy chance for the Duke of Burgundie, for it was euuen at the very same instant that the King tooke Amiens and Saint Quintine: and if both the realmes had made war vpon him at once, vndoubtedly he had been vndone. He trauelled to appease the Earle of Warwicke by all meanes possible, alledging that he would attempt nothing against King *Henry*, seeing he was himselfe of the house of Lancaster, and vsing such words as might best serue for his purpose.

² Our author reporteth this ragged staffe to be blacke, but because the Earles of Warwicke never gaue it blacke but the Earles of Kent, I have translated it white, no whit doubting but that either the printer hath faulted here, or our authors memory failed him.

Now to retorne to King *Edward*, he came to Saint Paule to the Duke of Burgundie, and pressed him earnestly for aide to return home, assuring him that he had great intelligence in England, and desiring him for Gods loue not to abandon him, considering he had maried his sister, and that they were brethren of one order. The Dukes of Somerset and Excester labored him to the contrarie, to wit, to take part with King *Henry*. The Duke could not tell whom to please, and either partie he feared to displease. But in the end because sharpe war was already begun vpon him, even at his very nose ³, he inclined to the Duke of Somerset and the others aboue named, accepting their promises against the Earle of Warwick their ancient enemy. Wherewith King *Edward* there present was woonderfully disquieted. But the Dukes seruants alleged the best reasons they could in excuse therof, saying that the Duke vled this dissimulation to aviod war with both the realmes at once, adding thereto, that if he should be ouerthrowne, he could not after aide him at his ease. Notwithstanding the Duke seeing that he could no longer stay the King there, but that needs he would retorne into England, and fearing for diuers considerations altogether to discontent him: pretended openly that he would not aide him, and made proclamation that no man should go to his seruice: but couertly he deliuered him 50000. gildons of the Saint Andrewes crosse, and caused three or fower great ships to be armed for him at La Vere in Zeland ⁴, which is a hauen where al nations are received. Besides this, he entertained for him secretly fourteen ships of the Easterlings well appointed, who promised to serue him till he were landed in England and fifteene daies after, which was great aide considering the time.

How King *Edward* returned into England, where he flied in battell first
the Earle of Warwick, and then the Prince of Wales.

Chap. 7.

Heere our En-
glish affaires
begin the yere,
1471.

 King *Edward* departed out of Flanders the yere 1471. at the selfe same instant that the D. of Burgundie went to Amiens against the King. The said Duke thought now howsoeuer the world went in England he could not speede amisse, because he had friends on both sides: King *Edward* immediatly after his landing, marched straight towards London, because three or fower hundred Knights and Esquires of his faction, together with

others of the meaner sort, to the number of two thousand and better had retired themselues into the Sanctuaries of the citie, which was a happy chance for him, for he landed with small force. The Earle of Warwick being in the north parts with a great armie, hearing these newes made haste to be at London before him, rather for other respects than for that he greatly feared the revolt of the towne, notwithstanding the contrarie happened. For King *Edward* was received into the citie with great ioy and triumph the tuesday before Easter, contrarie to the expectation of most men, for all the world accounted him as vtterly vndone. And vndoubtedly if they had shut the gates against him, he had been past all recoverie; for the Earle of Warwick was but a daies iourney behind him. There were three things especially (as I haue heard) that caused the towne to revolt. First, the gentlemen that were in the sanctuaries and the yoong Prince lately borne. The second, the great debts that the King owed in the towne, in respect whereof the merchants to whom he was indebted thought it their best way to take part with him. The third, a great many women of honor and rich merchants wiues, with whom in times past he had

had been familiar, perswaded their husbands and friends to incline to him. He staied not past two or three daies in the towne: for vpon Easter euen he departed with all the force he could leuy, and marched against the Earle of Warwick, whom he met the next morning being Easter day: and as they stood in order of battell, the one in face of the other, suddenly the D. of Clarence the Kings brother (who was reconciled to the King as before you haue heard) revolted to the King with twelue thousand men and better ¹, which no lesse astonied the Earle than encouraged the King, whose force was not great. But all this notwithstanding the battell was cruell and bloody. They were all footeemen on both sides, of the Kings vaward a great number were slaine: then his battell and the Earles met, and iointed so fiercely together, that the King himselfe fought in person more valiantly then any man of either army. The Earle of Warwick vled neuer to fight on foote, but his maner was when he had led his men to the charge, to take horse, and if the victorie fell on his side to fight among his soldiers, otherwise to depart in time. But at this battell he was constrained by his brother the Marques of Mountacute, a valiant Knight, to light on foote and fende away his horse. To conclude, in this battell died the Earle and his brother, with a great number of gentlemen, the slaughter also of the poore people was great. For King *Edward* at his departure out of Flanders, resolued to cry no more to sauie the people and kill the nobles: but he had conceiued extreme hatred against the communaltie of England, both for the great fauour they bare the Earle of Warwick, and for other respects also: wherfore at this battell he spared them not. Of the Kings side died about fifteene hundred, and the field was valiantly fought.

At the time of this battell the Duke of Burgundie lay before Amiens where he received letters from the Dutches his wife, that King *Edward* her brother was not a little discontented with him, alleging that the aide he gaue him, was giuen in euill sort, and with euill will, so far foorth that he was almost vtterly forsaken of him: and to say the truth the King and he after this neuer loued one an other. Notwithstanding the Duke supposing that this victorie would greatly further his affaires, caused the newes to be published in all places.

I had forgotten to tell you how King *Edward* finding King *Henry* at London, lead him with him into the battell aboue mentioned. This King *Henry* was a very simple man, and almost an innocent: and if I haue not heard a lie, incontinent after the battell the Duke of Gloucester K. *Edwards* brother, (who afterward named himselfe King *Richard*) flied this holy man K. *Henry* with his owne hands, or caused him to be slaine in his presence in some secret place ². The Prince of Wales was landed in England when this battell aboue mentioned was fought, hauing in his company the Dukes of Excester and Somerset, with diuers others of his kinsfolkes and ancient followers of his house. His army was to the number of forty thousand, as I haue been informed by diuers that were with him: and if the Earle of Warwick would haue staied for him, it is very like the victory should haue been theirs. But the Earle feared both the Duke of Somerset, whose father and brother he had slaine: and also Queen *Margaret* the Princes mother: wherfore he fought alone and would not tarie for them ³. Marke heere by this example how long ancient factions and partialities endure, how much they are to be feared, and what great damage ensueth thereof. So soone as King *Edward* had obtained this victory, he marched incontinent against the Prince of Wales, where another cruell battell was fought: for the Princes force was greater than the Kings, notwithstanding the lot of the victorie fell to the King, and the Prince was slaine vpon the place ⁴ with diuers other great Lords, and a maruellous number of common soldiers. The Duke of Somerset was taken, and the

¹ Our Chron-
icles report
that the Duke
turned on the
Kings side at
Coutencie be-
fore the Kings
comming to
London: and
they vary also
in other cir-
cumstances
from our au-
thor.

² Our histo-
ries report
otherwise of
King *Henry*
death, for he
was slain in
the Tower,
and not so
soone after
the battell.

³ Our Chron-
icles report
that the Duke
of Somerset
was at Barne
field with the
Earle of War-
wick, and re-
paired afterward
to the Queen,
and was taken in
the second
battell, and
then beheaded.

⁴ Our histo-
ries write that
the Prince
was not slain
in the battell
but soone af-
ter, hauing
had commu-
nication with
King *Edward*.

next day beheaded. In eleuen daies the Earle of Warwick subdued the whole realme of England, at the least brought it to obediency: and in one & twenty King Edward recovered it, hauing fought two great and cruell battels. Thus you see what sudden mutations haue beeene in England. K. Edward caused many of the people to be put to death in many places, especially such as had made assemblies against him. And from that day forward raigned peaceably in England till his death, though not without great trouble and vexation of minde. I will here end my discourse of these English affaires, till time and occasion serue in some other place, onely adding this, that of all the nations in the world, the English men are most desirous to trie their quarrels by dint of sword.

How the wars reviued berweene King Lewis and Charles Duke of Burgundie, by the sollicitation of the Dukes of Guienne and Britaine.

Chap. 8.

Will now retorne to our affaires on this side the sea, whereof I haue made no mention since the Duke of Burgundies departure from before Ainiens, the Kings retурne into the countrey of Touraine, and the Duke of Guienne his brothers into Guienne. The said Duke of Guienne continued still his sute aboue mentioned for his mariage with the Duke of Burgundies daughter, whereunto the Duke in word euer shewed himselfe willing, but in deede meant nothing lesse, both because he purposed to vse hir as an instrument whereby to entertaine all the world, and a marchandise to put every man in hope of, and also for that he stomacked the euill practises they had contriued to constraine him to this mariage perforce. The Earle of Saint Paul Constable of Fraunce busied himselfe in this treatie very earnestly, desiring that the mariage might seeme to be effected by his onely meanes and procurement. On the other side the Duke of Britaine traueld therein, to the end the whole honor thereof might redound to him. The King was as busie as the best to breake it off, though needlessly, as wel for the two reasons aboue alleged, as also because the Duke of Burgundie was not desirous of so great a sonne in law, wherefore in vaine the King troubled himselfe, but he could not see another mans thoughts. And sure he had iust cause of feare, for if this mariage had taken effect, his brother should haue beeene so mighty, that he and the Duke of Britaine iointed together, might haue put the Kings estate and his childrens in great danger. In the meane time about these affaires many ambassadors passed to and fro as well secretly as openly.

This often passing to and fro of ambassadors is a thing very dangerous: for vnder colour thereof many times euil practises are entertained: yet notwithstanding ambassadors must of force both be sent and received. They that shall reade this historie will aske peraduenture what remedie I can devise against this inconuenience, because it seemeth almost remediless. For answere whereunto I will shew mine advise, notwithstanding that I know a number far better able to discourse heeroft than my selfe. Ambassadors that come from perfect friends, with whom no occasion of quarrell can arise, must be well entertained, and permitted to come often to the Princes presence, I meane if the Prince be wise and of comely personage, otherwise the less he be seene the better. Notwithstanding when he must of necessitie be seene, let him be well apparellled, and well instructed what to say, and vse short speech according to

Princes

Princes amitie, which vsually is but short. But if ambassadors be sent openly or secretly betweene Princes that are in continual hatred and war, as all those haue beeene that I haue knownen or beeene conuersant with in my time, sure there is great danger therein. Notwithstanding mine advise is, that ambassadors be well entertained and honorably received: for to send to meeete them, to lodge them well, to appoint trusty and wise men to accompanie them, are not onely points of great curtesie, but also of great safetie. For thereby you shall both vnderstand who they are that resort to them, and also stay such as be light headed and discontented with the present estate, from bringing them intelligence: for there is no Princes court wherein all haue contented mindes. Further, they must haue speedie audience, and soone be dispatched. For me thinke it a perilous matter for a man to harbor his enimie in his house, but to defray them, to lodge them well, and to giue them presents is but curtesie. Further, in time of open war no practise nor ouverture of peace must be altogether broken off (because peraduenture the least of them may serue vs to good purpose) but all must be continued and entertained, and all ambassadors heard, vsing them as before is said, and appointing sure watch to espie who go to beare them intelligence, and are sent to them either by day or night: but this must be done as secretly as may be. Further, for one ambassador they send to you, send you two to them: and though they be wearie of your ambassadors, and forbid any more to come: yet send still when time & occasion serueth. For no spie shall haue such libertie to inquire and vnderstand of all matters as they. And if you send two or three together, it is impossible for your enimy to haue so good watch (I meane vsing them with good termes as ambassadors are to be vsed) but that some of them shall haue conference and intelligence with one or other. Lastly, a wise Prince must alwaies endeuor hirselfe to haue some secret friend or friends about his enimie, and beware as neere as he may (for in such cases men cannot alway do as they would) that his enimie haue not the like abouthim. You will say peraduenture that by such often sending I shall increase mine enimies insolencie and pride. But I force not thereof: for by this meanes I shall vnderstande his secrets, and in the end all the profit and honor shall redound to me. And notwithstanding that mine enimy may deale with me after the same sort, yet wold I not cease from sending, but intertwaine all ouvertures and breake off none, to the end I may alwaies haue occasion to send. For all men haue not like wisedome, like cunning, nor like experiance in these affaires, neither like occasion to trauell for experiance, and in these cases the wifest win the garland: whereof I will giue you a manifest example. In all treaties of peace concluded betweene the English and French nations, the French haue alwaies shewed more finenes, subtiltie, and cunning than the English, so far foorth that the said English men haue a common prouerbe, as once they told me, when I treated with them: that in all battels fought with the French, euer or for the most part they haue obtained honor and victorie, but in all treaties that haue been concluded betweene them they haue euer received losse and dammage. And sure in mine opinion I haue knownen in this realme (especially of King Lewis his training vp) men as sufficient to negotiate in a treatie of peace as any in the world. For those that are imployed in these affaires must be milde men, and such as can beare patiently all rude words to compasse their purposes for their Masters profit, and such onely would King Lewis imploy. I haue beeene somewhat long in discoursing how ambassadors actions must diligently be obserued, but not without cause: for I haue seen and knownen so great falsehood and treacherie vsed vnder colour thereof, that I could no sooner end my discourse.

This mariage betweene the Duke of Guienne and the Duke of Burgundies daughter

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ter was so earnestly laboured, that in the end some promise was made therof both by mouth and letter. But I haue knownen the like done to *Nicholas* Duke of Calabria and *Loraine*¹ sonne to *John* Duke of Calabria so often aboue mentioned, and to *Philibert* Duke of Sauoy that last died, and to *Maximilian* Duke of Austrich now King of Romans onely sonne of *Frederike* the Emperor, who also received a letter written with the damsels owne hand by her fathers commandement, and a diamond therewith. All which promises were made in lesse than three yeeres space: yet am I well assured that during the Dukes life, none of them should haue beene accomplished, at the least with his consent. But this letter aboue mentioned furthered much Duke *Maximilians* sute, as heereafter you shall heare. I write not this to charge thereby the Duke of Burgundie, or any of those aboue mentioned, but onely to rehearse the course of these affaires. Further, I perswade my selfe that rude and simple men will not busie their braines about the reading of this historic: but Princes and Couriers shall finde in it good lessons and aduertisements in mine opinion. During this treatie of marriage diuers new enterprises against the King were in communication. With the Duke of Burgundie was the Lord of *Vrfé*, *Poncet* of *Riviere*, and certeine other meane personages that ran to and fro, for the Duke of *Guennes* affaires. In like maner the Abbot of *Begarde* afterward Bishop of *Leon* was resident with him, for the Duke of *Britaine*. These aduertised the Duke of Burgundie that the King practised to corrupt the Duke of *Guens* seruants, and to withdraw them from him, partly by loue, partly by force: adding also that he had already razed a certeine place belonging to the Lord of *Estissac*, the Duke of *Guennes* seruant, and had begun diuers other attempts against his brother, so far foorth, that he had withdrawne from him certeine of his houesold seruants: whereby appeered manifestly (as they said) that he meant to take *Guienne* from him now as in times past he had done *Normandy*, once granted him for his partage as before is mentioned. The Duke of Burgundie sent diuers ambassadors to the King about these affaires, who euer excused himselfe², and accused his brother, saying that for his part he minded not to touch his brothers partage: but that his brother by seeking to inlarge his limits, was author of all these troubles.

¹ The King made war vpon his brother because he had restored the Earle of *Armignac* to all his possessions in *Guienne*, whom the King before had banished. *Amal. Aquit.*

We haue here to consider how troublesom, dangerous, and far from all good end the affaires of this Realme are, when it is in discord and ciuill dissencion: for notwithstanding that at the beginning of the troubles all men hope shortly to see them at an end: yet is the contrary greatly to be feared, for though the fire be kindled at the first, but betweene two or three Princes or men of meaner estate: yet before two yecres be expsired, all our neighbours shall be bidden to the banquer, as plainly may appeere by this that followeth. At this very instant that I now write of, the D. of *Guienne* at the least his seruants, and the D. of *Britaine* desired the Duke of Burgundie in no wise to call the Englishmen to his aide: for seeing all that they did was for the good and benefite of the realme, they would not bring the ancient enimies of the crowne into the realme: adding farther that if he would be in aera diunes they should be strong ynoch of themselues, aswell because of their great forces as also of the good intelligence they had in the realme with diuers Capraines and others. And once it was my chance to be present when the Lord of *Vrfé* had communication with the Duke to this effect, and withall pressed him earnestly with all speede to leauy his army. The Duke stooode at a window and called me to him and said: Heere is my Lord of *Vrfé* that presseth me earnestly to leauy the greatest force that possibly I may, alleging that it shall be greatly for the benefite of the realme: what thinke you of this motion if I enter into the realme with my army, shal

¹ This *Nicholas* is named in other histories *Marques du Pount.*

I do any great good there? I answered him merily that I thought no: then said he: I loue the realme of Fraunce better than my Lord of *Vrfé* weeneth, for where it hath one King I would it had six.

During the treatie of mariage aboue mentioned, *Edward* King of England who thought verily that the mariage shoulde haue bin accomplished: (wherein he was deceiued, as was also the King) trauelled earnestly with the Duke of Burgundie to breake it off, alleging that the K. had no issue male, wherfore if he hapned to die the crowne shoulde descend to his brother, whereby (if this marriage tooke effect) the realme of England shoulde stand in great danger, so many seignories being vnted to the crowne. This matter troubled maruellously though needlesly, not onely the King of England, but his whole Councell also in such sort, that they would give no credit to the Duke of Burgundie what promise soeuer he made to the contrary. The said Duke notwithstanding the request aboue mentioned made vnto him by the Dukes of *Guinne* and *Britaine*, for not calling in strangers to his aide, was very desirous that the King of England shoulde inuade some part of the realme, and himselfe would have pleaded ignorance therein. But the Englishmen would not be woon thereunto: for they so much feared the annexing of the house of Burgundie by this mariage to the crowne of Fraunce, that they would at that time rather haue aided the King, than inuaded him. You see heere all these Princes strongly busied and accompanied with a number of wise men, who (as the sequele well declared) forefaw a far of more by the one halfe than in their life time tooke effect: for they all through this continuall toile and trauell, in short space one after another ended their liues, each man rejoicing at others death as of a thing most desired. Soone after also followed their masters, leauing their successors troubles enow, all sauе the King our master who left his realme to his sonne, quiet both from foraine wars and ciuill dissencion, so that he did more for him than euer he either woulde or could doe for himselfe: for I never knew him in peace sauë onely a little before his death.

The Duke of *Guinne* at this present lay sicke and in danger of death as som said, but others affirmed the contrarie: his men pressed earnestly the Duke of Burgundie to put himselfe into the field, because the time of the yecre serued fitly for that purpose, and aduertised him that the Kings armie was abroad, and lay at *Saint John d'Angelie*, or at *Xainctes*, or thereabout. To be short, they labored the Duke so importunately, that he went to *Arras*, and there assembled his forces, and marched towards the townes of *Peronne*, *Roye*, and *Montdidier*: his armie was maruellous great, yea the greatest that euer he had before: for in it were twelve hundred Launcers of his ordinary retinue, euer one of them accompanied with three archers well armed and well mounted: farther in euery company of these Launcers were ten men of armes for a supply, besides the liuetenant and ensine bearer. The gentlemen of the Dukes dominions were likewise in very good order: for they were very well paid and led by valiant knights and esquires. And sure at that time these countries were maruellous rich.

How the final peace treated of betweene the Duke of Burgundie and the King brake off because of the Duke of Guiens deasrh, and how these two great Princes sought to deceiue each other.

Chapter 9

1472.



* The Duke of Guienne died the 12. of May, but *Mey*er saith the 24. *Annal. Aquit.* the 11. Of his death reade *Annal. Bur-* *gund. lib. 3. fol. 946. Meyer. lib. 17. fol. 353.* writeth thus in *Ex fratri venenum inject per jordanum abbatem, Diu-* *Ioannis beene- distini nominis:* where reade also what *Th-* *mas Eustinus Bi-* *shop of Liseux* and Saint Quintine, whereunto the King would never condic- cend: but now partly because of the great preparation he sawe made against him, and partly in hope to compas certaine purposes wherof heerafter you shall heare, he agreed to yeld them. The conditions of this peace were, that the King should restore to the Duke Amiens and Saint Quintine, and whatsoeuer else was in controuersie betweene them. That he should abandon the Earles of Nevers and Saint Paule Constable of Fraunce, and permit the Duke to do with them and all their possessions at his pleasure, and seize them into his owne hands if he could. That the Duke in like maner should abandon the Dukes of Guienne and Britaine, and permit the King to do with them and their seigniories at his pleasure. I was present when the Duke of Burgundie sware this treatie, and likewise the Lord of Cran, and the Chancellor of Fraunce in the Kings name, who also at their departure from the Duke aduised him not to dismisse his armie, but to march still forward, to the end the King their Master might make the speedier deliuerie of the two places aboue named. Further *Simon of Quingy* was sent with them to see the King sware and confirme this treatie, which his ambassadors had concluded: but the King delayed the confirmation a certaine space, and in the meane time happened his brothers death.

The Duke being ready to depart from Arras received two several aduertisements: one that *Nicholas Duke of Calabria and Lorraine, heire of the house of Aniou, and sonne to John Duke of Calabria* was comming to him about his daughters mariage, whom he honorably received, and put in great hope of his sute. But the next day being the 15. of May 1472. (as I remember) came letters from *Simon of Quingy* the Dukes ambassador to the King, whereing he aduertised his Master of the Duke of Guicennes death, and that the K. had alreadie recovered a great part of his countie. The like aduertisements received he also incontinent from others, but reporting diversly of the said Dukes death. Soone after returned *Simon of Quingy* from the King with a cold answer: for he refused to sweare the trearie, which the Duke tooke very disdainfully as a matter tending to his contempt and dishonor. His men also in time of war as well for this as other causes spake very villanous and opprobrious words of the King, and I warrant you the French requited them with the like. The Duke of Burgundie being almost out of his wits bicause of these newes, by the perswasion of certaine no lesle sorie for this accident than himselfe, wrt letters to diuers townes of the realme, charging the King with his brothers death, but little it availeld, for no man stirred¹. Notwithstanding if the Duke of Guicenne had lined vndoub-

Gagnin a French historiographer saith thus: The King was aduertised of his brother Duke Charles his death, who died at Bordeau poisoned by a certeine Abbot, but not without the Kings consent as the report went. Annal. Aquit. written by a Frenchman saies to make King Lewi accessory to his brothers death. The Duke was poisoned as he sat at the table with the Lady of Mountfouren whom he enterained, and who was also poisoned with him. The King commanded the Abbots procelite to cease, and the rest which were suspected: whereby he plainly bewraied his owne guiltie conscience.

redu

tedly the King should haue had ynough to do: for the Britons were in a readines to
inuade him, hauing greater intelligences in the realme than euer before: all the which
failed by the Dukes death.

The Duke of Burgundie in this furie put himselfe into the field, and marched to-wards Nesle in Vermandois, making foule and cruell war, contrarie to his accusto-med maner: for he spoiled and burned all the countrey as he passed. His vaward marched before him, and besieged the said towne of Nesle being of no force: but the Duke himselfe lodged three leagues from it. Within the towne were certaine franke archers that slew a herald of the Dukes comming to summon them. Further, their captaine came foorth to parle vnder suretie, thinking to bring the matter to composition but could not, and as he returned into the towne (the truce yet continuing bicause of his salie) they within the towne (notwithstanding that themselues stood open vpon the wall no man seeking to hurt them) slew yet two other of the Dukes men, wherefore the truce was disallowed, and word sent to the Lady of Nesle being within the towne, to come foorth with all hir household and stuffe, which she did accordingly: and immedately after, the place was assaulted and taken, and the greatest part of them that were within it slaine: all that were taken aliale were hanged, saue a few whom the soldiers for very pitie let go, a number also had their hands cut off. It lotheth me to make mention of this cruetie: but because I was present, some-what I am forced to write thereof. And sure either the Duke was maruellously passionate, in that he committed so cruell an act, or some great cause mooved him thereunto. He alleaged two, the one the Duke of Guiennes death, whereof he spake very strangely vpon other mens report: the other the griefe he had conceiued for the losse of Amiens and Saint Quintin aboue rehearsed.

Some that shall read this that followeth, will thinke happily that there was small faith in these two Princes, or that I misreport them : I would be loth to misreport either of them. And to the King our Master, how much I am bound all the world knoweth. But to continue my historie (right reverend) in such sort as you haue required, I am forced to vtter that I knowe howsoeuer it passed. And I doubt not but these two, being compared with other Princes, shall seeme noble, woorthic, and honorable, and the King our Master wife aboue all the rest, who left his realme enlarged and in peace with all his enimies. Wherefore let vs now consider whether of these two Princes sought to deceiue the other, to the end that if heereafter this historie happen to fall into the hands of some yoong Prince that hath to negotiate in such like affaires, he may by reading thereof be the better instructed how to looke to himselfe. For notwithstanding that neither Princes nor enimies be alwaies alike, nor deale alike, in like affaires : yet it is good to know the histories of times past. To speake therefore vprightly, I thinke both these Princes were fully bent each to deceiue other, and tended both to one end, as you shall heare. Both of them had their armes abroad in a readines. The King had already taken diuers places, and during the treatie, made sharpe war vpon his brother, whom the Lords of Courton, Patris, Foucart and diuers others had already relinquished, & were receiued into the Kings seruice. Further, his army lay about Rochell, hauing great intelligence in the towne, for the citizens practised continually, as well bicause of the rumor of this treatie, as also bicause of the Dukes sicknes. And I thinke the Kings resolution was, if he could atchieue his enterprise there, or his brother hapned to die, not to sweare the treatie : but if he found great resistance, to sweare it, and performe his promise, thereby to auoid all danger. And sure he lost no time, but vsed great diligence, delaying also very cunningly *Simon of Quingy* the space of eight daies, during the which delay, his brother

brother died: further, he knew well the Duke of Burgundie so greatly to desire the restitution of these two townes aboue named, that he durst not flatly fall out with him. Wherefore he meant to delay him, and fad him foorth with faire words fifteen or twenty daies (as he did accordingly) to see in the meane time what would happen. Now that I haue spoken of the King, and shewed how he was purposed to deale with the Duke, it is fit I should also declare how the Duke was minded towards him, and thought to delude him, had not the Duke of Guiennes death happened. *Simon of Quingy* by the Kings request had a commission from the Duke his Master, commanding him immediately after the treatie sworne, and writings deliuered for the confirmation thereof, to go into Britaine to informe the Duke of Britaine of the conditions of the peace, and in like maner the Duke of Guiennes ambassadors resident in Britaine, to the end they might aduertise their Master thereof at Bourdeaux: whereby the King meant to put the Britons into the greater feare, when they should see themselves abandoned of him that was their chiefe anchor hold.

Now you shall vnderstand that *Simon of Quingy* had in his company a rider of the Dukes Escuirie called *Henry*, a Parisian borne, a wise fellow and of good experiance: who had a letter of credit to the said *Simon* written with the Dukes owne hand, but his commission was not to deliuere it till the said *Simons* departure from the King, and his arriuall to the Duke of Britaine at Nantes, where his charge was to deliuere him the letter and this message withall. That he should will the Duke of Britaine not to thinke that his Master would abandon the Duke of Guienne and him, for he would succour them both with body and goods, and that he had concluded his treatie to none other ende but to auoid war, and recover the townes of Saint Quintine and Amiens: which the King in time of peace contrary to his promise had taken from him. And further to aduertise the said Duke, that the Duke his Master would send an honorable ambassage to the King (so soone as he should be feized of that he demanded) humbly to beseech him to end this war, and relinquish his enterprise against the said two Dukes, and not to give credit to the oath he had sworne, which he was no more determined to obserue, than the King had obserued the treatie made before Paris called the treatie of Conflans: and the treatie which he had sworne at Peronne, and long after confirmed also. Further desiring him to call to remeembrance, that he tooke these townes against his faith and promise in time of peace: wherefore he must hold himselfe contented if he recovered them after the same sort. And as touching the Earle of Saint Paul Constable of Fraunce, and the Earle of Nevers whom the King had permitted him to vse at his pleasure, he would protest, that notwithstanding he hated them as he had iust cause to do: yet would he forgiue all their offences, and let them liue in quiet, desiring the King to grant these two Dukes the like: and that it would please him to suffer all men to liue in peace and safety, in such maner & forme as he had sworne at Conflans, when they were all there assembled together: which if he refused to do, he would then succour his confederates. And it was determined that the Duke should be in campe when this ambassage should be sent to the King. But God disposed otherwise of these purposes: for death which departeth all things, and changeth all determinations, set them otherwise a worke, as partly you haue vnderstood already, & shall hereafter perceiue more at large: for the King restored not these two townes, and yet had the Duchie of Guienne by his brothers death, as reason was.

How the Duke of Burgandy seeing that he could not take Beauvais, before the which he had laid his siege, went to Roan.

Chap. 10.

WOW to retorne to the war, you haue heard how certaine poore franke archers were handled at the taking of Nesle: thence the D. departed and went before Roye: within the which were 1500. franke archers and certaine men of armes of the Arriereban. The Dukes force was never so great as at that present. The next day after his arriuall, these franke archers fearing their liues, leapt downe the wals and yeelded themselues: and the third day

the rest that yet remained within rendered both themselves and the towne by composition, leauing behinde them both horse and harnessie, saue that euery man of armes brought foorth a travelling nag. The Duke left men in the towne and went to Mondidier which he began to raze, meaning vtterly to destroy it

The French hath Chastel- lenies, which were places where cer- taine courts of the inferior jurisdiction were held, to the which the country there about was bound to reprise.

& lay it desolate, but because of the good wil he perceiued the people of those parts to bear him, he caused it to be repaired, and left a garrison in it. From thence he departed, meaning to march straight into Normandie: but as he passed hard by Beauvais the Lord of Cordes who led his vaward, rode to the towne, and at his first arriuall the suburbs before the Bishops palace were taken by a covetous Burgundian named Master *James of Montmartin*: who had vnder his charge a hundred launces, and three hundred archers of the Dukes ordinarie retinue. The Lord of Cordes scaled the towne on the other side, but he lacked ladders, and those few he had were too short. He had two canons which shot twice at the towne gate, and brake downe a peice thereof: and if he had beene furnished to haue continued the shot, vndoubtedly he had entred the towne, but he was vnprouided, because he came not for any such exploite. At his first arriuall none were in the towne, but the citizens themselves, and the captaine of the towne called *Loyer of Bailligny*, with certaine soldiers of the Arriereban, but not ynow to defend the place. Notwithstanding it pleased God miraculously to preserue it as he manifestly declared. For the Burgundians that were with the Lord of Cordes fought hand to hand with the French at the breach made in the gate: whereupon the said Cordes sent word diuers times to the D. of Burgundy to make haste thither, assuring him that the towne was his owne. But in the meane time while the Duke was vpon the way, one within deuised to throw flaming fagots in their faces that were about to breake downe the gate: whereof they threw so great plentie, that the gate and the porch tooke fire in such sort, that the Burgundians were forced to retire till the fire ceased. Soone after arriued the Duke himselfe, who in like maner held the towne as taken, the fire being once quenched which was verie great, for all the porch was on fire. And vndoubtedly if he had lodged part of his armie on the other side of the towne towards Paris, no man could haue entred to releeue it. But it pleased God he should make doubt where none was: for because of a little brooke that was to passe he made difficultie so to do then, and yet afterward when a great number of men were entred the towne he would haue done it, and was hardly dissuaded from it: notwithstanding that thereby he should then haue endangered his whole army. All this happened the eight and twentith of Iune in the yeare 1472. The fire aboue mentioned continued all day, and in the euening ten launces onely of the Kings ordinarie retinue entred the towne, as I was afterward informed:

formed: for I serued yet the Duke of Burgundie, but we saw them not enter, both because euery man was busied in making his lodging: and also because we had no force on that side the towne. By breake of day the Dukes batterie was bent against the wals: but soone after we saw two hundred men of armes enter the towne: and had it not beeene for their comming, I thinke the citizens would haue treated of a composition: which notwithstanding the Duke in this fury would never haue granted: for he desired to take the towne by assault, and if he had so done, vndoubtedly he would haue burnt it, which had beeene great pitie: sure it was preferued by very mira- cle. After these men of armes were entred, the Dukes artillerie shot continually the space of fifteene daies, and the place was as well beaten as euer was any, in such sort that the breach was faultable: but the ditch of the one side of the burned gate stoodful of water, so that we were forced to build a bridge ouer it: but on the other side we might come hard to the wals without any danger, saue of one flanker which was so low that our artillerie could not beat it.

It is great danger and folly to assault a towne so well defended as this was: for within it was the Constable ² (as I remember) or lay hard by it, I wot not well whether, the Marshall *Joachin*, the Marshall of Loheac, the Lord of Crussoll, *William of Valleu*, *Mary of Croz*, *Sallezarde*, *Theuenot of Vignoles*, being all ancient capitaines, accompanid with an hundred men of armes of the Kings ordinarie retinue: besides a great number of footemen and others that were come thither with them. Yet the Duke contrarie to the opinion of his whole army, determined to give the assault. And the night before, as he lay on his field bed in his clothes, according to his accustomed maner, he asked certaine there present, whether they thought the towne would abide the assault: who answered that they thought yea, seeing they were suffice-
tient to defend it: at the which answere he scoffed, saying that they should not finde a man there the next day. In the morning by breake of day the assault was giuen vere couragiously, and the breach no lesse valiantly defended. A great number were thonging on our new made bridge in such sort, that an ancient knight of Burgundie called *Despiris* was smothered there, who was the best man that died before the towne. On the other side of the gate certaine of our men got vp to the top of the wall, but some of them never returned. They fought hand to hand a great while, and the assault continued so long, that fresh bands were appointed to succeed, the first being wea-
ried: but because the Duke saw his men to labour in vaine, he caused them to retire: yet notwithstanding they within salied not, for they saw company ynoch ready to reccie them. At this assault were slaine sixescore soldiers ³, and the best man that died there was the abouenamed *Despiris*. It was thought at the first that many more had beeene lost: for aboue a thousand were hurt. The next night they within salied foorth, but because their number was small, and the most of them on horsebacke, and therby encombred with the cords of our tents, they did no great exploit, but lost two or three gentlemen of their company, and hurt one of ours named Master *James d'Orson*, a very honest gentleman, & master of the Dukes Ordinance, who a few daies after died of the said hurt.

Seuen or eight daies after this assault, the Duke would haue diuided his army into two bands, and lodged part thereof at the gate towards Paris, contrary to all mens aduise and to all reason, considering the great number of soldiers within the towne. This should haue beeene done at the beginning, but now it was too late. Wherfore seeing no remedie, he raised his camp in very good order ⁴, hoping that they within would issue foorth to the skirmish, which notwithstanding they did not. From thence he marched into Normandy, because he had promised the Duke of Britaine to

¹ *Gauin* saith, that there were slaine at the assault of Beauvais 1500 men.

² The Duke lay before Beauvais sixe and twenty daies, and leuied his siege the 22. of Iuly Meyer.

to meete him. But because of the Duke of Guiennes death, he altered his minde, and stirred not out of his country. The Duke of Burgundy came before Eu, which was yeelded vnto him, as was also Saint Valery, and he burnt all this quarter even hard to Diepe. He tooke likewise Neuf-chastell, and burnt both it and all the country of Caux, or the greatest part, even hard to Roan gates: further, he presented himselfe in person before the said towne of Roan: he lost many of his foragers, whereby his army was in great distresse of victuals. In the ende because winter approched he departed homeward, and his backe was no sooner turned, but the French recouered Eu and Saint Valery, and tooke prisoners by composition seuen or eight Burgundians that were within them.

How the King made peace with the Duke of Britaine, and truce with the Duke of Burgundy, and how the Earle of Saint Paul escaped for that time a conspiracie that these two Princes made against him.

Chap. II.

 Bout this time I came to the Kings seruice in the yeere 1472. who received also the selfesame yeere, the greatest part of his brother the Duke of Guienne his seruants. He lay then at Pont de See, making war vpon the Duke of Britaine: whither certain ambassadors came to him out of Britaine, and from whence also he sent his ambassadors thither. Among the rest that came to him to the said towne of Pont de See, were *Philip of Effars*, servant to the Duke, and *William of Souplenuille* servant to the Lord of Lescut, the which Lescut seeing his Master the Duke of Guienne at the point of death, tooke sea at Bordeaux and departed into Britaine, fearing to fall into the Kings hands: he embarked in time, and carried away with him the Duke of Guiennes Confessor, ¹ and a rider of his stable, who were charged with the Dukes death, and remained prisoners in Britaine many yeeres after. When these runnings to and fro had indured a while, the King in the end determined to haue peace with the Duke of Britaine, and to deale so liberally with the Lord of Lescut that he would thereby asswage the euill will he bare him, and win him to his seruice. For as he knew the Duke of Britaines forces, being gouerned by so woorthie a man, greatly to be feared: so was he assured if he could win the said Lescut to his seruice, that the Britons would labor for peace, because he was the onely man of wisdome and experience in the coun-try: besides that, generally the Britaines desire nothing more than peace with Fraunce: bicause continually a great number of them haue good entertainment, and be in good estimation in this realme, and not vnwoorthily: for sure in times past they haue done great seruice heere. Wherfore me think the King did very wisely in concluding this treaty, notwithstanding that some not considering so deeply thereof as himselfe, thought otherwise of it. He had a very good opinion of the Lord of Lescut, and knew there was no danger in putting those offices and places of charge that he did into his hands, bicause he was a man of honor, and would neuer during these diuisions haue any intelligence with the English men, nor consent that the townes in Normandie ² should be yeelded to them, but had beeene the onely stay thereof, which was the cause of all his preferment. When the King had well debated this matter, he commanded *Souplenuille* to put in writing all that his Master required, as well for the Duke as himselfe: which done, the King granted him

¹ This Confessor was the Abbot of S. John d' Aigely, who died prifoner at Nantes in Britaine, in the great tow-er du Buffoy, where he confest maruelous matters, and died very strangely.

² *Annal. Aquit.*

³ These places were those that remained in the Lord of Lescuts hands by the treaty of Caen, men-
tioned lib. i. cap. 15.

⁴ all

all his demands being these: A pension of 8000. franks for the Duke: for his master the Lord of Lescut a pension of 6000. franks, the government of Guienne, the two Seneschalships of Launes and Bordelais, the captainship of one of the castles of Bordeaux, the captainship of Blaye, and of the two castles of Bayonne, of Dax, and of Saint Seuer, 24000. crowns in ready mony, the Kings order, and the Earldome of Comminges. All the which the King granted and agreed vnto, saue that the Dukes pension was diminished by the one halfe, and continued but two yeeres. Further, the King gaue the said *Sousplenuille* 6000. crownes (which with the other 24. thousand giuen to his Master were to be paid in fower yeeres) a pension of 1200. franks, the Mayraltie of Bayonne, the Bailywick of Montargis, and certaine other small offices in Guienne. All the which aboue rehearsed estates, his Master and he enioied till the Kings death. *Philip d'Essars* likewise was made Bailife of Meaux, and lieutenant of the waters and forrests throughout the realme of Fraunce, and had also a pension granted him of 1200. franks, and 4000. crownes in ready money: all the which offices and estates from that day till the King our Master his death they quietly enioied, and the Lord of Comminges continued during his life his trustie and faithfull servant.

The King hauing pacified all matters in Britaine marched straight toward Picardie: for he and the Duke of Burgundie vsed alwaies when winter approached, to make truce for sixe moneths, or a yeere, and some time more. After the which their wooned maner they made truce at this present, which the Chancellor of Burgundie with certaine others came to the King to conclude. There the Kings Commissioners read the final peace made with the Duke of Britaine, wherby the said Duke renounced the league he was entred into with the Englishmen and the D. of Burgundie: wherefore the King required the Duke of Burgundies ambassadours not to comprehend the Duke of Britaine in the truce as their confederate: whereunto they would not condescend, but agreed that the Duke of Britaine should be at his choise to declare himself within the time accustomed, either the Kings confederate or theirs: alleging that heeretofore also the said Duke had abandoned them by writing, yet had not departed from their friendship. Further adding, that though he were a Prince wholy led and gouerned by others, and doing little of himselfe: yet in the end he euer yded to that which was best and most necessary for his estate. All this was done in the yeere 1473.

During this treatie they murmured on both sides against the Earle of Saint Paul Constable of Fraunce: for the King and those that were neerest about him had conceived maruellous hatred against him. And the Duke of Burgundie hated him worse than they, as he had iust cause to do: for I know the reasons that mooued them both to beare him ill will. The Duke had not yet forgotten that he was the onely occasion of the losse of Amiens and Saint Quintin, and perceived well that he nourished this war betweene the King and him. For in time of truce he spake him as faire as was possible, but so soone as the war opened, he shewed himselfe his mortall foe. Further, the Earle had sought to constraine him by force to marrie his daughter to the Duke of Guienne, as before you haue heard. Besides all this there was yet another grudge: for while the Duke lay before Amiens, the Constable made a road into Henauk, and among other cruell exploits burned the castell of Seure, belonging to a Knight named Master *Baudouin* of Launay: before the which time they vied on neither side to fire any place. But in reuenge thereof the Duke this last sommer burned the countie all the way his armie passed, as before you haue heard. Thus they began to practise the Constables destruction: for accomplishment whereof diuers of the Kings men conferred with such of the Dukes seruants as they knew to be his mortal enemies: for

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the French had him in as great ialousie as the Duke of Burgundie had, and accused him as the onely occasion of the war: wherefore all his treaties and practises with both parties were ripped vp and discouered, and they both sought his death.

Some man may peraduenture aske heerafter, if the King alone were not of power sufficient to put him to death: whereunto I answer that he was not. For his lands lay iust in the middest betweene the King and the Duke: further, he held Saint Quintin a great and strong towne in Vermandois, and of his owne Han, Bohain, and other very strong places neere to the said Saint Quintin, the which he might man at all times with any nation at his owne pleasure. He had charge vnder the King of fower hundred men of armes well paied, of the which companie himselfe was controller and tooke the muster, which was no small profit to him: for his companies were not complete. Besides all this he had a yeerely pension of 45000. franks, and of euerie tunne of wine that passed through his countie into Flaunders or Henault, he received a crowne for impost. He had also goodly seigniories and possessions of his owne inheritance, and great intelligence as well in Fraunce as in the Dukes dominions, where he had many kinsfolks and allies.

The truce betweene the King and the Duke continued a whole yeere: all the which space this practise endured, and the Kings men addressed themselves wholie to the Lord of Hynbercourt (so often before named,) who of long time had beene the Constables enimie: besides that, their hatred was lately increased. For in an assemblie held at Roye, where the Constable and others were commissioners for the King: and the Chancellor of Burgundie and the Lord of Hymbercourt, with diuers others for the Duke: asthey conferred togither of their affaires, the Constable gaue the lie very shamefully to the said Hymbercourt, who answered thereunto, that he would not beare this reproch at his hands, were it not in respect of the Kings honor, vnder whose safe conduct he was come thither as ambassadour, and of the Duke his Master whose person he represented, and to whom he would make report of this iniurie done vnto him. This onely villanie and outrage so soone done, cost the Constable both lands and life as heereafter shall be declared more at large. Wherefore those that are in authoritie, yea and Princes themselves ought to take great heed how they iniurie any man by word or deed, and whom they iniurie: for the greater they are, the greater greefe and sorrowe is conceived of their words, because they that are iniuried thinke that the great authoritie of the person that iniurie them, will cause them the more to be marked and noted. And if he be their Master or Prince they vtterly dispaire of benefit or good turne at his hands: and most men serue rather for the good they hope to haue, than for that they haue already receiued.

But to returne to the point, the Kings men practised continually with Hynbercourt, and likewise with the Chancellor, as well bicause the words spoken at Roye touched him in part, as also bicause of the neere friendship that was betweene Hymbercourt and him. And the matter was so earnestly pressed, that an assembly was held about it at Bouuines a towne neere to Namur, whither the King sent the Lord of Courton gouernor of Lymosin, and Master *John Heberge* afterward Bishop of Eu-reux: and the Duke the said Chancellor and Hymbercourt, being the yeere 1474.

The Constable being informed that they practised at Bouuines to his cost, sent with all speed to both the Princes, aduertising them that he vnderstood of al their doings, and so cunningly he wrought, that he perswaded the King that the Duke meant nothing but deceit, onely to allure the said Constable to his friendship: whereupon with all speed the King sent to his ambassadours at Bouuines, commanding them to

conclude nothing against the Constable for certaine reasons he would declare unto them, but to prolong the truce according to their instructions, for a yeere or six moneths I wot not well whether. But when the messenger arrived, he found the trea- tie alreadie concluded, and the writings sealed and deliuered the night before. Not- withstanding the ambassadors had so good intelligence togither, and were so great friends each to other, that they deliuered the writings backe againe: the contents whereof were, that the Constable for the reasons therein rehearsed, was declared enemie and traitor to both the Princes: who promised and swarē each to other, that whether of them could first lay hands on him, should either put him to death within eight daies, or deliuere him to the other to do with him at his pleasure. It was also therein concluded, that he should be proclaimed by sound of trumpet enemie to both the Princes, and likewise all that should serue, helpe, aide, or fauour him. Further, the King promised to deliuere to the Duke the towne of Saint Quintin, so often before mentioned, and to give him all the Constables treasure and inouables that should be found in the realine of Fraunce, with all such feignories and lordships as were held of the said Duke, and among the rest Han and Bohain, which, are two very strong places. Lastly, a day was appointed when both the King and the Duke should send their forces to besiege him in Han. Notwithstanding for the reasons above rehearsed, this conclusion was cleane broken off, and a day and place assignd where the Constable should come to commune with the King vnder safe conduct: for he stood in doubt of his person, because of the late treaie held at Bouuines. The place assignd was three leagues from Noyon neere to the towne of La Fere, vpon a pretie riuier which no man could passe, because the Constables men had taken vp all the bridges. In the said place was a narrow causey, ouerthwart the which a strong grate was built, whither the Constable came first, accompanied with all his men of armes, or the greatest part: for he had with him aboue three hundred gentlemen all men of armes: and himselfe ware his quirace vnder a short gowne vngirt. The King came accompanied with the Earle of Dampmartin Lord great Master of Fraunce, the Constables mortall enimie, and with sixe hundred men of armes and better, and sent me before him to make his excuse to the Constable of his long stay: and soone after arrived himselfe, and they communed togither: at which their communication were present fve or sixe of the Kings seruants, and as many of the Constables, who excused his comming thither in armes, because he stood in feare of the Earle of Dampmartin as he said. To be short, in the end it was agreed that all offences past should be forgiuen and forgotten: and the Constable passed through the grate to our side of the riuier, where the Earle of Dampmartin and he were made friends. That night he lodged with the King at Noyon, and the next morning returned to Saint Quintin throughly reconciled as he said. But when the King had well weighed this matter, and heard the murmuring of the people, he accused himselfe of great folly in going after this sort to commune with his seruant, and stomaked not a little, that he found the grate shut betweene them, considering that all the Constables men of armes were his subiects and paid out of his coffers: wherefore if his hatred against the Constable were great before, sure this meeting much increased it: and as touching the Constable, his proud stomacke was no whit abated.

A discourse very fit for this place, of the wisdome of the King and the Constable, with good aduertisement to such as are in credit with Princes.

Chap. 12.

Fa man consider well this action of the Kings, he cannot but judge it to proceed of great wisdome: for I am of opinion that the Duke of Burgundie to recover Saint Quintin would easilly haue pardoned the Constable all his offences, notwithstanding any promise made to the King of the contrarie: Further, as touching the Constable, though he were a gentleman of great wi-
sdom and vnderstanding, yet did he very vnauidedly, and it ap-
peared that God had vtterly bereft him of all good advise, in that he came thus dis-
guised before the King his Master, whose subiects all the men of armes were that accompanied him: and to say the truth, his verie countenance shewed him to be astonished and abashed therat: for when he came in person to the place, and found the grate shut betweene the King and him, he caused it foorthwith to be opened, and passed to our side of the riuier, where vndoubtedly he was in great danger.

This his dooing peraduenture himselfe and his familiar friends accounted a worthy exploit: supposing the King to stand in feare of him, whom also they reputed a timorous Prince. And true it is that he was so at times when there was cause why: but not alwaies when the world so judged of him. For you shall understand, that the ciuill wars with the Princes of his realme, one of the which he had wound himselfe by large gifts and promises, had beaten this lesson into his head, not to put any thing in aduenture if he could compasse his purpose by any other means: which caused a number of men to suppose all his dooings to proeede of feare. But divers that vpon this imagination attempted foolish enterprises against him, found themselves much deceived, namely, the Earle of Armignack and others, whom their fond attempts cost full deere. For the King knew when it was time to feare, and not to feare. Sure this praise I dare boldly give him (which though happily I haue written before, yet deserueth againe to be spoken) that he was the wiest man in aduersitie that euer I knew. But to retorne to my discourse of the Constable, who desired peraduenture to hold the King in feare, at the least I suppose so (for I will not charge him with it, but write this only for an aduertisement to those that are in Princes seruice, and understand not all alike the affaires of this world:) for mine owne part, if I had a friend, I would aduise him to endeuer himselfe that his Master might loue him, not feare him: for I neuer knew man whose authoritie depended of the feare his Master had of him, that sped not euill in the end, and that by his Masters consent. Examples ynow haue beeene seene heereof in our time, or not long before. In this realme of the Lord of Trimouille and others: In England of the Earle of Warwick and his faction. I could name some also in Spaine and in other countries. But those that shall reade this discourse may peraduenture be able to say more therein than my selfe. This their presumption oftentimes proceedeth of their good seruice: for they thinke their experience so great that they cannot be spared, and their deserts such that their Masters ought to beare all things at their hands. But Princes on the contrarie side both say and thinke, that men are bound to do them seruice, and desire nothing more than to be rid of such malapert fellowes. Touching the which point, I must needes speake somewhat of the King our Master: for once he told me in talking

talking of those that do their Prince great seruice (naming withall his author from whom he receiued this opinion) that good seruice somtime vndooeth men : and is recompensed with great ingratitude, not alwaies by the Masters forgetfulness, but many times through the seruants owne fault : who presuming vpon their good seruice behauie themselves arrogantly, either towards their Masters or their fellowes. Further, as touching those that come to preferment in Court, this was his opinion: that he is happier that receiuesth a benefit of the Prince he serueth, without great desert, whereby he standeth bound to his Prince: than he that hath done so great seruice, that his Prince seemeth indebted to him: adding, that he for his part loued those better that were bound to him, than those to whom he was bound. Thus you see how hard it is to liue in this world in any estate: wherefore greatly are they bound to God, whom he hath indued with vnderstanding how to gouerne themselues in their vocation. This enteruiew between the King & the Constable was in the yeare 1474.



How the Duke of Burgundie being seazed of the Duchie of Gueldres, sought to encroch farther vpon the Almaines, and how he laide his siege before Nuz. Chap. 1.



He same sommer (as I remember) that the King and the Constable met, the Duke of Burgundie went to conquer the Duchie of Gueldres, vpon a title woorthe of remembrance, to the end we may thereby consider the woonderrfull iudgements and power of God. There was a yoong Duke of Gueldres named *Adolph*, who married his wife (being of the house of Bourbon, and sister to *Peter Duke of Bourbon* ¹ now living) in the Duke of Burgundies Court, for the which cause he was well fauored there. This Duke *Adolph* committed an horrible fact: for one euening he tooke his father named Duke *Arnold* prisoner as he was going to bed, and led him five Dutch miles on foote bare legged in a maruellous cold night, and laid him in a deep dungeon the space of six moneths ², where he saw no light but through a little hole. Wherfore the Duke of Cleues (whose sister the old Duke being prisoner had married) made sharp war vpon this yoong Duke *Adolph*. The Duke of Burgundy sought diuers meanes to agree them, but no good could be done. Wherfore in the end the Pope and the Emperor began to stir in this matter so far foorth, that the Duke of Burgundy vnder great curses, was commanded to take the old Duke out of prison, which he did accordingly: for the yoong Duke durst not withstand him, both because he saw so many good men against him, and also because of the Dukes great force. I haue often seene them both togither in the Duke of Burgundies chamber, pleading their cause before a great assembly, and once I saw the good old man present the combat to his sonne. The Duke of Burgundy was very desirous to agree them, and offered the yoong Duke (whom he fauored) the title of Gouvernor ³ of Guelderland with all the reuenues thereof, saue of one little towne neere to Brabant called Graue, which should remaine to the father, with the reuenues of three thousand florens, a yeerely pension of as much, and the title of Duke, as was but reason. I with others wiser than my selfe were appointed to make report of these conditions to the yoong Duke, who answered vs, that he had rather throw his father headlong into a Well, and himselfe after, than agree to such an appointment, alleging that his father had been Duke forty fower yeeres, & that it was now time for him to gouerne. Notwithstanding he said that he would willingly agree to give him a yeerely pension of three thousand florens, with condition that he should depart the countrey as a banished man, neuer to returne: & diuers other such like lewd speeches he vsed. This hapned at the very same instant, that the King wan Amiens from the Duke of Burgundie, who was then with these two Dukes at Dourlans, whence bicause of the wars he departed in haste to Hedin, forgetting this matter. This yoong Duke put on French apparel ⁴, and departed with one onely seruant, to repaire home into his countrey. But as he ferried ouer a water neere to Namur, he paied a gildon for his passage, whereupon a yoong Dukes Priest there present mistrusting who he should be, communed thereof with the fetry man,

¹ This Duke *Adolph*, maried Katherine daughter to Charles Duke of Bourbon, and Agnes sister to Philip Duke of Burgundy Meyer. ² Duke *Arnold* lay in prison six yeeres, Meyer, but he misseth the cushion: for other approued authors, and namely *Guicciardini* agree with *Comines*.

³ The French hath *Mambourg* or *Membourg*, which is as much as cap-taine or governor: ⁴ Least it looke more hereof in the pedigree of the Dukes of Gueldres.

see me strange that this yoong Duke, whom our author in this very Chapter reporteth to have been well fauored of the Duke of Burgundy should be stai-ed and im-prisoned in his dominions: you shall understand that the Duke of Burgundy vpon hope to be Duke *Arnold* his selfe, al-ways in haste to Hedin, forgetting this matter. This yoong Duke put on French apparel ⁴, red his minde, and of the ferried ouer a water neere to Namur, he paied a gildon for his passage, whereupon a yoong Dukes Priest there present mistrusting who he should be, communed thereof with the fetry man,

man, and viewed well the yoong Duke and knew him. There he was taken and led to Namur, where he remained prisoner till the Duke of Burgundies death: after the which, the Citizens of Gaunt deliuered him, and would perforce haue constrained the Dukes daughter afterward Dutches of Austrich to marry him. They led him also with them before Tournay, where being weakely accompanied in a certaine skirmish he was miserably slaine, in full reuenge of his impietie against his father. The father during his sonnes imprisonment died: the Duke of Burgundy yet living, whom because of his said sonnes ingratitude and vnnaturalnes he made his heire, by the which title the Duke at this present conquered the said Duchy of Gueldres⁵, where he found some resistance: but because he was mightie and in truce with the King, he easily subdued it, and held it all the daies of his life, and his offspring posseseth it yet at this day, and so shall as long as it pleaseth God. This as I said at the beginning, I haue rehearsed onely to shew, that such crueltie and impietie never remaieb vnpunished.

⁵ The emperor stured not against the Duke of Burgundy, for taking by force the Duchy of Gueldres which was held of the Empire, because the Dukes of Gueldres by the space of thirty yeeres had done no homage to the Empire. The Duke subdued Gueldres, anno 1473. Meyer.

⁶ It was our author himselfe that gaue the King this aduise. Meyer.

⁷ This quarrell began anno 1473. Meyer.

⁸ The Palzgraues name was Robert, his Chapter and he were at variance in such sort, that they had gotten him excommunicated, and chosen Harman the Lantzgrae of Hesses brother to gouerne the church. Then the Duke of Burgundy tooke vpon him to place him againe in his Se, which apperteined not to him, but to the Emperor and the Pope: in the end this Robert was taken and died in prison.

The Duke of Burgundy being returned into his countrey grew woorderfull losse and high minded, because he had gotten this Dutchie into his clawes, and began to finde great sweetenes in these Dutch enterprises, both for that the Emperor was a Prince of an abiect minde, enduring all things rather than he would spend any thing: and also because without aide of the Princes of the Empire his owne force was but small. Wherefore the Duke prolonged the truce with the King. Some of the Kings seruants were of opinion, that the King did vnaudisedly to prolong the truce, and suffer the Duke to grow as he did. And sure they had some apparence of reason to leade them so to say, but because they lacked experience and had not seene the world abroad, they wist not what the matter meant. But others that vnderstood the case better than they, and were able to say more therein, because they had trauelled those countries, aduised the King to prolong the truce, and permit the Duke to weare and weary himselfe against the countrey of Almaine (the greatnes and force whereof is almost incredible)⁶ alleaging that after he had taken one place, or atchiued one enterprise, he would foorthwith attempt another: for one good aduenture could not content his nature, wherein he was of disposition cleane contrarie to the King: for the Duke the more he was busied, the more he sought to busie himselfe. Wherefore they told the King that he could no way better be reuenged of the Duke, than by suffering him to run himselfe out of breath as he did, aduising him withall rather to send him some small aide, than put him in any doubt of breach of the truce: further alleaging, that it could not otherwise happen but that he must of necessitie vterly consume himselfe against the greatnes and force of Almaine, because the Princes of the Empire would make resistance, were the Emperor never so simple a man: and so it came to passe in the end.

There was a quarrel⁷ between two pretensing title to the Bishoprick of Couloin: one of the which was the Lantzgrae of Hesses brother, and the other the Palzgrae of the Rhene his cosen⁸. The Duke of Burgundie tooke part with the Palzgrae, and attempted to place him in the se of Couloin by force, trussting thereby to seaze soime places of the countrey into his owne hands, and to that end went and laid his siege before Nuz, a towne neere to Couloin in the yeere 1474. He had so many great enterprises in his head, that in the ende the burthen thereof pressed him to the ground: for in the selfesame sommer he both trauelled with Edward King of England to passe with his armie into Fraunce, being in a readines by his sute and sollicitation: and purposed also to atchiue his enterprise in Almaine which was this: If he had taken Nuz, he meant to man it well, and two or three other places about

aboue Couloin⁹ whereby the citie of Couloin being at his commandement¹⁰, he might haue gone vp countermount against the riuers of Rhene into the countrey of Ferrette which he then held, and so all the Rhene should haue beeene vnder his subiection even downe to Holland, where it entreth the sea: vpon the which riuer are more strong townes and castels than in any realme chistened except Fraunce. The mentioned truce with the King was prolonged for sixe moneths, which time being now almost expired, the King trauelled to prolong it still, to the end the Duke might do his pleasure in Almaine: whereunto the Duke would not agree because of his promise to the English men.

I would gladly passe ouer this siege of Nuz, because it is out of the course of my historie, for I was not present at it: notwithstanding somewhat I am forced to speake thereof, because of diuers accidents depending thereupon. The said towne of Nuz of luly 1474, was maruellous strong, and within it was the Lantzgrae of Hesse¹¹, with many of his kinsfolkes and friends, to the number of 1800. horsemen as I haue beeue informed (who valiantly behaued themselues,) and of footemen sufficient. The Lantzgrae, as I haue said, was brother to the Bishop elected, against him whom the Duke of Burgundy defended, who laid his siege before Nuz in the yeere 1474.

His force was never so great as then, especially of horsemen: for because he meant to attempt somewhat in Italy, he had in pay a thousand Italian men of armes good and bad, vnder the leading of one called the Earle of Campobache a Neapolitan borne of the house of Anquis faction, a dangerous and a traiterous fellow. In the Dukes campe serued also James Galeot a valiant gentleman of Naples, and diuers others, whose names for breuitie I passe ouer. Further, he had in his armie three thousand English men excellent good soldiers, and of his owne subiects a maruelous number well armed, and who long had been trained vp in the wars, besides great force of goodly peeces of artillerie: all the which preparation he put in a readines to ioine with the English men at their landing, who vsed as great diligence in England as they could. But it is long before an army can be leuied there, because the King may attempt no warre before he haue assembled his court of Parliament, being the same in effect that the three estates in Fraunce, which me thinke is a very good and a laudable custome. For the King by that meanes is the stronger and the better serued in all enterprises he taketh in hand with the consent of his estates, to whom when they are assembled he declareth his intent, and desireth aide of his subiects: for no subiecte is leuied in England, but for inuasion of Fraunce or Scotland, or such like enterprises of great charge, which then the people grant willingly and liberally, especially to passe into Fraunce: wherefore the Kings of England vse often when money faiileth them to leuy an army, and make shew as though they would inuade Scotland or Fraunce. But after they haue received money for a yeere, they lie abroad in campe three months, and then returne home and dismisse their army: which practise King Edward was well acquainted with and vsed often.

It was at the least a yeere before this English army could be in a readines, but when it was furnished of all things necessarie, the King of England aduertised the Duke of Burgundie thereof, who in the beginning of the sommer went before Nuz, trussting in short space to put his Bishop in possession, and to retaine certaine places, as Nuz and others in his owne hands, to what purpose you haue heard before.

I thinke verily that this proceeded of God, who beheld with a pitifull eie this realme of Fraunce: which vndoubtedly the Duke might shrewdly haue shaken, considering that his army was mightie and all of olde soldiers, accustomed by the space of many yeeres to enter and spoile this realme without any resistance, saue onely by

⁹ The league betwene the Duke and the Bishop was, that these places here belonging to the Church of Couloin, should haue remained to the Duke for his charges. Nuz was besieged the 28. of July 1474. Meyer.

¹⁰ Nuz is beneath Couloin, so that if the Duke had held that and three or four places aboue Couloin, in the said city of Couloin being on all tides inuined by him, must perforce have been at his commandement.

¹¹ This Lantzgrae was Lodowicke, grandfather to Philip that last died.

by defence of the strong townes. True it is that this proceeded of the King who would hazard nothing, partly for feare of the Dukes force, and partly for doubt of rebellion in his realme if he should receiue an ouerthrow: for he knew himselfe not to be beloued of all his subiects, especially the nobilitie. And (if I may vtter all) he hath esysoones told me, that he knew his subiects well ynough, and should finde them rebellious if his affaires happened to haue hard successe: wherefore when the Duke of Burgundie entred into the realme, he manned the townes well by the which he passed: whereby in short space the Dukes army brake it selfe, and the King never endangered his estate: which vndoubtedly proceeded of great wisedome. But all this notwithstanding the Dukes force being so great as it was: if the King of Englands army had also entred in the beginning of sommer, (as assuredly it would, had not the Duke so obstinately lien before Nuz,) vndoubtedly the realme had stood in great danger: for neuer King of England passed at once with so great force, nor so well disposed to fight. All the great Lords of England were there none excepted. Their men of armes were 1500. at the least, (which was much for the Englishmen) all wel appointed and well accompanied, and 14000. archers on horseback, besides a great number of footemen that serued in the armie, and in all their campe was not one Page. Further, the King of England had in a readines three thousand men to land in Britaine, to ioine there with the Duke of Britaines forces. I saw my selfe two letters written with the Lord of Vrfes owne hands, (then seruant to the Duke of Britaine, but afterward Master of the horse to King *Charles*:) the one addressed to the King of England, and the other to the Lord *Hastings* Lord great Chamberlaine of England¹². The contents whereof among diuers other things were, that the Duke of Britaine would do more in Fraunce by intelligence in a moneth, than the King of England and the Duke of Burgundie, (notwithstanding their great forces) in halfe a yeere: which words I thinke would haue prooued true, if the matter had come to execution. But God (who hath alwaies loued this realme) disposed of these affaires, as heereafter you shall heare. These letters aboue mentioned, the King bought of one of the King of Englands Secretaries, for three score marks of siluer.

¹² The Lord *Hastings* was indeed but Chamberlaine of the Kings house.

How the towne of Nuz was succoured by the Emperor and the Almaines against the Duke of Burgundie, and of other enemis that the King procured the Duke.
Chap. 2.

¹³ The citie of Coulain tooke part with the Chapter agaist the Duke of Burgundies Bishop.

He Duke of Burgundie as you haue heard, was now busied before Nuz, and found the enterprise of more difficultie than he supposed. The city of Coulain situate vpon the riuier of Rhene, foure leagues aboue Nuz, spent monthly¹³ in the wars 100000. golde gildons for feare of the Duke. And they and certaine other townes aboue them had already put fifteene or sixteene thousand footemen into the field, who encamped on the other side of the riuier, directly ouer against the Duke, and planted great force of artillerie vpon the banke, thinking thereby to cut off his victuals that came vp the stremme out of Guelderland, and to sink the botes by canon shot. Moreouer, the Emperor and the Princes Electors of the Empire assembled togither about this busines, and concluded to leuie an army: wherunto the King sent diuers messengers to sollicite them, to whom also they sent a Chanon of Coulain, of the house of Bauiere, accompanied with another ambassador, who brought him a roll of the armie the Emperour was resolued

resolued to leuy, if he for his part would ioine in the enterprise. It is not to be doubted but that they received a good answer with promise of all they demanded: further, the King assuied by letters as well the Emperor as diuers Princes and townes, that so soon as the Emperor with his army should be come to Coulain, he would send twenty thousand men to ioine with him, vnder the leading of the Lord of Cran and Salicarde. Thus this Dutch army prepared to march, being greater than is almost credible²: for all the Princes of Almaine as well spirituall as temporall, all the Bishoppes, ³ The Emper. ⁴ or had . . . pay in this time 80000.men. townes, and commonalties had men there, yea, so great numbers every one of them, that (as I was informed) the Bishop of Munster, who is none of the richest Bishoppes, had in this armie sixe thousand footeemen, fourteene hundred horsemen, and twelve hundred waggons all couered with greene: true it is that his Bishoppick lieth neare to Nuz³. The Emperor was seuen moneths in leuying this armie; which time ³ But his Bishoppick is on the other side of the riuier of Rhene. expired: he came and encamped within halfe a league of the Duke of Burgundy: by diuers of whose men I haue beene aduertised, that though the King of Englands armie and the Dukes had beene ioined both togither, yet should they not haue beene the third part of the Emperors, neither in men nor in tents and pavilions. Besides the Emperors force, was also this other army aboue mentioned, which lay directly ouer against the Duke on the other side of the riuier, and endamaged greatly his campe, and cut off much of his victuals.

Whan the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire were come before Nuz, they sent to the King a Doctor of great authoritie with them called *Hesuare*, afterward a Cardinal, who came to sollicite the King to performe his promise, and send the forces whereof he had assured the Emperor by letters, otherwise to tell him that the Almaines would conclude peace.

The King put him in good hope that he would so do, and gaue him a present of fower hundred crownes, and sent with him to the Emperor one called *John Tercelin* Lord of Brosse: notwithstanding the Doctor departed nothing well contented. During this siege maruellous practises were enterteined. The King trauelled to conclude peace with the Duke of Burgundie, at the least to prolong the truce, to the end the English men should not passe the seas. The King of England on the other side labored to the vttermost of his power to perswade the Duke to depart from Nuz, and performe his promise by aiding him to make war in Fraunce, alleging that the sommer was far spent. And the Lord *Scalles* a courteous Knight, nephew to the Constable of Fraunce, with diuers others, wastwile sent ambassador to the Duke to sollicite him thereunto: but he was obstinate. Wherby it manifestly appeered, that God had troubled his wits and understanding: for all his life time he had labored the English men to passe into Fraunce, and now when they were in a readines, and all things prepared for the wars as well in Britaine as elsewhere, he lay obstinately before a place impregnable. With the Emperor was a legate sent from the Pope, who rode daily betweene the two camps to treate of peace. The King of Denmarke came also thither, and trauelled to pacifie this controversie, being lodged in a little towne hard by both the armies: so that the Duke might haue departed to the English men with honorable conditions. Notwithstanding he would not, but excused himselfe to the King of England vpon his honor, which he said should be foyled if he leuied his siege, with diuers such like slender excuses. Heere you must note, that these were not those English men that in the time of Duke *Philip* his father had made war so long in this Realme, but these were yoong soildiers vterly vnacquainted with our French affaires. Wherefore the Duke proceeded verie fondly if he meant to vse their helpe: for he should the first sommer haue beene continually with them, leading

¹ These townes were Strasbourg, Sleett, Biail, Colmar, &c. ² Ferrette in Dutch Plat. ³ The to rases the sw. fiers desired paf- fage through were Remsild, Loufenberg, Neult, and Briffie. ⁴ Otheris call him Peter Ha- genbach, but the variance amera bi- cause one na- mache him by his surname, the other by his seigniory: for he was called Peter. Archambault of Hagenbach. ⁵ Others write that he was beheaded at Brulac a to wane necreto Baill. ⁶ The Lord of Blasmon led this army, and in this battell the Burgundians lost 2000. men. Annal. Burgund. leading them from place to place, and instructing them what was to be done.

While the Duke lay thus obstinately before Nuz, war arose against him on two or three sides: for the Duke of Lorraine, who hitherto had been in peace with him, sent to besiege him before Nuz, by the Lord of Crans perswasion, who to further the Kings affaires allured the Duke of Lorraine thereunto, assuring him that it would turne greatly to his profit. Incontinent the said Duke of Lorraine put himselfe into the field, and spoiled all the Duchie of Luxembourg, and razed a place there called Pierre-forte, two leagues from Nancy. Further, by the Kings procurement and certaine of his seruants, a league was made for ten yeeres betweene the Swiflers and certaine townes vpon the riuier of Rhene ⁴ (namely, Basill, Strasbourg, and others) which before had beeene their enimies. Peace was also concluded betweene Duke Sigismund of Austrich and the said Swiflers, the conditions whereof were, that Duke Sigismund should take againe the countie of Ferrette ⁵, which he had engaged to the Duke of Burgundie for 100000. florens. But this one article remained yet in variance betweene Duke Sigismund and them: namely, that the Swiflers required paf- fage through fower townes of the countie of Ferrette ⁶ at their pleasure: which controuersie was referred to the Kings arbitrament, who pronounced sentence for the Swiflers. Hereby you may perceiue what enemies the King stirred vp couerly against the Duke of Burgundie.

As the matter was concluded, so also was it executed: for in a faire moone shone night Peter Archambault ⁷ gouernor of the countie of Ferrette for the Duke of Burgundie, was taken prisoner, accompanied with eight hundred soldiers, who were all dismissed safe and found saue himselfe alone, whom they led to Basill ⁸ and there en- dited of diners extortions and outrages committed in the said countie of Ferrette, and in the ende strake off his head. Immediately after his death all the countie of Ferrette yeeded to Duke Sigismund, and the Swiflers began to make warre in Burgundie, and tooke Blasmon: a towne being the Marshals of Burgundie, who was of the house of Neuf-chastell, and besieged the castell of Hericourt, belonging also to the said house of Neuf-chastell, whither the Burgundians went to leue the siege, but were di-comfited ⁹, and a great number slaine. The said Swiflers maruellously enda- maged the countie, and then returned home for that time.

How the King wan from the Duke of Burgundie the castell of Tronquoy, the townes of Montdidier, Roye, and Corbie, and how he sought to perswade the Emperor Frederick to seiz upon all that the said Duke held of the Empire.
Chap. 3.

1475.

Bout this time the truce ended betweene the King and the Duke, to the Kings great grieve, who gladly would haue prolonged it, but seeing no remedy, he went and besieged a little castel called Tronquoy in the yecre 1475. in the very beginning of sommer, the pleasantest time of the yecre. The castell in stort space was taken by assault. The next day the King sent me to parle with them that were within Montdidier, who yeeded the towne, & de- parted with bag & baggage. Thence I went the third day being accompanied with the Admiral of Fraunce bastard of Bourbon, to parle with them that were within Roye, who in like maner yeeded the place because they were vtterly in despaire of succors, which

which sure if the Duke had been in the countey they would not haue done. Notwith- standing both these townes were burned contrarie to our promise. Thence the King departed, and laid his campe before Corbie which abode the siege. Goodly appro- ches were made to the towne, and the Kings artillerie bet it three daies: within it was the Lord of Contay ¹ and diuers others, who yeeded the place, and departed with bag and baggage: two daies after, this poore towne was also sacked and burned as the two former. Then the King thought to repaire home with his armie, trusting to per- swade the Duke of Burgundy to make truce, considering the distresse he was in. But a certaine Lady whom I know well, yet will not name because she is stil living, writ him a letter, willing him to leade his armie to Arras, and into those parts: whereunto the King agreed, for she was a woman of honor. I commenid hit not in thus doing: for she was in no respect bound to the King. The King sent thither the Lord Admirall bastard of Bourbon with a great band of men, which burned many townes in those quarters, and spoiled all the countrie betweene Abbeville and Arras: whereupon the citizens of Arras, who were puffed vp with pride because of their long prosperity, compelled the garrison of the towne to issue foorth. But being too weake to encounter with the Kings forces they were put to flight, and pursued so speedily that many of them were slaine and taken, togither with all their capaines, namely, Master James of Saint Paule ² the Constables brother, the Lord of Contay, the Lord of Carency, ³ This James is named in other histories Lord of Richebourg. and diuers others: some of the which were neere kinsmen to the Lady hir selfe that had caused this enterprise, so that she receiued great damage by the ouerthowre; but the King for hir sake repaired all in time.

The King sent to the Emperor (as you haue heard) John Tiercelin Lord of Brosse, partly to sollicite him not to make peace with the Duke of Burgundie, and partly to make his excuse for not sending his forces according to his promise: and further, to assure him, that he would shortly send them, and would also continue to spoile and endamage the Dukes dominions, as well in the marches of Burgundie ³, as also in Picardie. Lastly he made him a new ouverture, which was, that they should sweare each to other, not to make peace the one without the other, and that the Emperor should seaze into his hands all the seigniories that the Duke held, and ought to hold of the Empire, and proclaim them forfeited to him, and he would do the like with all those that were held of the crowne of Fraunce, namely Flaunders, Artois, Bur- gundie and the rest. The Emperor though all his life time he had made small shew of any valor, yet was he wise and of great experience, because of his ancient yeeres. Fur- ther, these practises betweene vs and him had continued so long that he waxed weary of the wars, notwithstanding that they cost him neuer a grote. For all the Princes of Almaine lay there vpon their owne charge, as their maner is when the war con- cerneth the state of the empire. The Emperor answered the Kings ambassadours after this sort: There was somtime neere to a certaine city in Germany, a great Beare that much endamaged the countrie, three good fellowes of the which citie being tauerne haunters, came to a tauerne where they were indebted, desiring their host yet once more to giue them credit, promising him within two daies payment of the whole debt: for they would take this Beare that did so much harme in the countrey, whose skin was woorth a great sum of money, besides the presents that good folkes would giue them, whereunto their host agreed: and when they had dined, foorth they went toward this beasts caue, neere to the which when they approached, they met with the Beare vnlooked for, and being stricken with sudden feare fled, one got vp into a tree, the other fled towards the towne, but the third the Beare tooke and ouer- threw, and foiled vnder hir feete, holding hir mussell hard to his eare. The poore

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¹ This Contay is successor to him mentioned in the wars against the Liegeois.

² This James is named in other histories Lord of Richebourg.

³ For in the marches of Burgundie, the Duke of Bourbon had given the Bur- gundians a great ouer- throw, as our author in the next chapter maketh men- tion.

soule lay flat vpon the ground, as though he had been dead. Now you shall understand that the nature of a Beare is such, that whatsoeuer she holdeth in her clauen or beast, so soon as she seeth it leue stirring, she foorthwith forlaketh it, supposing it to be dead, as also this Beare left this poore fellow, not doing him any grete harme, and returned to her den. Then he seeing the danger past, arose and went towards the towne. But his fellow that stood in the tree having beheld all this pageant, came downe and ran crying after him to stay: and when he had ouertaken him, desired him to tell him faithfully what counsell the Beare gave him in his eare, whereof she held her muzzell so long: whereunto his fellow answered, that she bad him never to sell the Beares skin till the Beare were slaine. And with this fable paid the Empereur our King, not giving his ambassadours any further answere, as though he should haue said, come hither according to your promise, and let vs take this Duke if we can, and then make partition of his goods.

This overthrow the Duke of Bourboungau the Burgundians, neere to a place called Grey or Gy, not far from Chausteau-guion, and in the battell was slain the Lord of Conches, others say but taken, and there were taken prisoners the Earle of Roussy, being governour of Burgundie, the Marthall of Burgundie, he Earle of Longny, the Earle of Saint Martins sonne, Monsieur de L'Isle, Monsieur de Longey or Longny, the bailife of Ambois, and the bailife of Auvergne. This battell was fought on twelvday the 20 of June, 1473, and in it two hundred men of armes Lombarde were slaine, Meyer. About this time also the Prince of Orange was taken prisoner, and by meanes there of revolted from the D. to the King. An- nal. Burgund.

How the Constable began to be had in suspition againe, as well of the King as of the Duke of Burgundie.

Chapter 4.

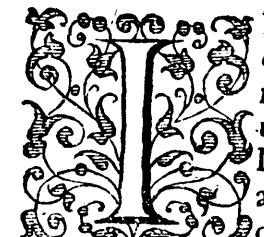
Ou haue heard how Master James of Saint Paule and others were taken prisoners before Arras. Their captivitie was to the Constables great greefe: for the said Master James was a louing and kinde brother to him. But this was not the onely misfortune that fell vpon him: for at this very instant was also taken the Earle of Roussy his sonne, governour of Burgundie for the Duke, and likewise his wife died, which was a vertuous Lady, and sister to the Queene of Fraunce, so that for her sake he had found great friendship and fauor in our court. The practise begun againt him still continued, which as you haue heard was almost concluded at the assembly held thereabout at Bouuines: after the which, the Constable never thought himselfe in assurance, but mistrusted both the Princes, especially the King, who seemed to repent the revoking of his letters there sealed. Further, the Earle of Dampniart & others whom the Constable feared as his enimies, lay with his men of armes neere to Saint Quintins: wherefore he held himselfe within the towne, and put into it three hundred footemen of his owne tenants, hauing but small affiance in his men of arms. He liued in great trouble, for the King had often sent to him to sollicite him to come foorth to do him seruice in the marches of Henault, and to besiege Auennes at the same time that the Admirall with his band went to burne the countrey of Artois as you haue heard, which commandement he obeyed but with great feare: for after he had lien a certaine space before the said towne of Auennes with a continual garde about his person, he retired into his owne places, and sent the King word by one of his seruants (who did his message to me by the Kings commandement) that he had raised his siege, because he was certainly enformed, that there were two in the army purposely hired by the King to kill him: whereof also he told so many apparent tokens, that he seemed indeed to haue some notice thereof, so far foorth that one of them was suspected to haue disclosed somewhat to him, that he ought to haue kept secret: but I will name no man, neither speake further heereof. The Constable sent often to the Duke of Burgundie campe, I suppose to perswade him to relinquish his foolish enterprize, aduertising the King also vseually at his mens retурne of some such newes as he thought would like him well, and withall what was the cause of his sending thither, hoping by this means to entertaine him with faire words. Sometime also

he

he gaue him to vnderstand, that the Dukes affaires had good proceeding, thereby to put him in feare. Further, doubting greatly that the King would inuade him, he desired the Duke to send vnto him his brother Master James of Saint Paul (being at Nuz before he was taken prisoner) and the Lord of Fiennes, with certaine others of his kinsmen, promising to put them and their bands into Saint Quintins (but without the Saint Andrews croffe ²) and to keepe the towne for the Duke, and restore it him shortly after: for performance also wherof he offered to give him his faith in writing. The Duke did as he required, and when the said Master James, the Lord of Fiennes, and the rest of the Constables kinsmen were twise come within a league or two of the towne ready to enter, the Constable thinking the storme past, altered his minde, and sent a countermaunde. This did he thrise: so desirous was he still to liue in dissimulation, and swiue as it were between two streams, fearing maruellously both these Princes. Of this matter I haue beene enformed by diuers, but especially by Master James of Saint Paul himselfe, who thus reported the circumstance thereof to the King, when he was brought prisoner before him, where no man was present but my selfe alone. The said Master James answered frankly and without dissimulation to all the Kings demands, whereby he wan greatly his fauor. First, the King asked him how many men he had with him to enter the towne: whereunto he answered that the last time he had three thousand. Then the King inquired further, if he had entred and had beene Master of the towne, whether he would haue held it for the King or the Constable. Whereunto he likewise answered, that the two first times he came but to comfort his brother, but the last (seeing his dissimulation to his Master and him) if he had entred and had beene Master of the towne, he would haue held it for his Master, not offring his brother any outrage, nor doing any thing to his prejudice, saue onely that he would not haue departed the town at his commandement. Soone after, the King deliuered the said James of Saint Paul out of prison, and gaue him charge of a goodly company of men of armes, and vseid his seruice till his death: of which his pretermittent his wife answere were the onely cause.

How the Duke of Burgundie leuied his siege before Nuz by composition, and how the King of England his confederate sent to defie King Lewis.

Chap. 5.

 Haue discoursed of diuers affaires since I began with the siege of Nuz, bicause they all hapned in that time, for the siege indured a whole yeere. There were two causes especially that moued the Duke to leuy his siege: one the warre the King made in Picardy, where he had burned two proper townes, and destroied a goodly champaine countrey in Artois and Ponthieu. The other, the mighty armie the King of England leuied at his sute and sollicitation: whom till now he could neuer perswade to passe into Fraunce, notwithstanding that he had labored him thereunto all the daies of his life. The said King of England and all his nobles were maruellously discontented with the Dukes deilaies, and besides intreaties vseid threatnings, and not without cause, considering the great charges they had sustaineid, and all to no purpose, the sommer being now almost spent. The Duke gloriid much that this Dutch army being so great that the like hath not beene seene in our age nor many yeeres before: and in the which were so many Princes, Prelates, and free cities ioyned togidher, was not able to raise his

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siege

¹ The Saint Andrews croffe is the Burgundians cognisance, and if they had entred with this croffe vpon their coates, the Constable could haue no longer temporied with the K. of France, but should soorthwith haue beene proclaimed traitor.

Melanthon writeþ, that the Emperor would not hazard a battell neither with *Matthias King of Hungarie*, nor Duke *Charles*: *Quis sibi sciebat*, *Martem in genesi infausti possumus esse*. But *Berlandus* saith, that the Duke fought with the Emperor. *Meyer*, saith, that in a skirmish the Duke overthrew the Marquise *Albert* of Brandenbourg, and slue 120. of his men, and tooke divers prisoners: and another time overthrew the Bishop of Munster, slue sixtie, tooke sixtie, and chased the Bishop hard to the Emperors campe: and likewise another time the Bishops of Mentz, Treves, Munster, and Marquise *Albert*, and slue a great number of their men. And last of all, because the Emperor and the Duke contended whether of them should first depart from before Nuz, their footmen joined, and the Duke slue 1500.

¹ Peace was concluded between the Emperor and the Duke 31. Maij. 1475. ² The Emperor departed from Nuz 29. Junij, leaving the Duke there, who would not leue his siege before the Emperors departure because of his honor, but soone after departed also the Duke. *Meyer*. ³ The Duke lost before Nuz fifteen thousand men, *Annal. Burgund.* wherefore *Meyer* Englishmen see it.

siege ¹. But this glorie cost him full deere: for he that hath the profit of the war, reþpeth also the honour thereof. Notwithstanding the Legate aboue mentioned (who rode continually betweene the two camps) made peace in the ende betweene the Emperor and the Duke ²: and the towne of Nuz was put into the said Legats hands to do therewith according to the determination of the Sea Apostolike. Now consider in how great distresse the Duke of Burgundy was, being on the one side vexed with war by the King, and threatened on the other by the King of England his friend, so that notwithstanding he knew the towne of Nuz to be brought to such extremite, that within leſſe than fifteene daies famine would haue constrained them to yeeld to his mercie, yea within ten daies (as one of the captaines within the towne, who afterward serued the King aduertised me:) yet for the reasons aboue alleged, he was forced to leauie his siege ³ in the yeere 1475.

Let vs now retorne to the K. of England, who led his army to Douer, there to embarte to crosse the seas to Calais. The force that passed with him at this present was the greatest that euer came into France, all of them being on horseback in very good order and well armed. All the nobles of the realme were there, a fewe excepted: they were 1500. men of armes very well mounted, and the most of them barded, and richly trapped after the maner of our wars, and well accompanied with horsemen of their retinue. They were at the least 15000. archers all mounted, and a great number of footemen and others, as well to pitch their tents, (whereof they were well furnished) as also to attende vpon their artillerie and inclose their campe, and in all their army they had not one Page: besides these there were three thousand Englisshmen appointed to land in Britaine. This I haue written before, but rehearſe it heere againe, to the end you may perceiue that God was purposed to trouble the Duke of Burgundies wits and preserue this realme which he hath euer, more fauored than any other: otherwize is it to be thought that the Duke would so obstinately haue lien before Nuz, a place so strong and so well defended, seeing all his life time till now he could neuer finde the English men disposed to invade the realme of France, and knew them to be utterly vnacquainted with our French wars till they be trained therein: for if he would haue done any good with them, he should never haue left them the first sommer, but helped them and taught them to order and leade their battels after the maner of our wars: for there is no nation so ignorant and rude as the English men at their first landing in Fraunce, but in very short space they becom excellent good soldiers, hardie and wise. But the Duke did cleane contrarie: for besides these other his oversights, he made them lose the sommer: and as touching him selfe, his armie was so broken, so poore, and in so euill order, that he durst not present it before them: for he lost before Nuz fower thousand soldiers taking pay: some of the which were the best men he had ⁴. Thus you see how God disposed him in all points to do contrarie both to that his affaires required, and also to the arte of war, wherein himselfe had beene exercised by the space of ten yeeres more than any man living.

When King *Edward* came to Douer, the Duke of Burgundy to further his passage sent fiftie hundred botes of Holland and Zealand called *Scurs*, which are flat and low, built very commodiously for transporting of horses. But notwithstanding all this helpe they had from the Duke, and all the King of England could command him-

selfe, he was aboue three weekes in passing betweene Callice and Douer, yet are they but seuen leagues distant: whereby you may perceiue with how great difficultie a King of England inuadeth Fraunce. And if the King our Master had beene as well acquainted with the wars by sea as by land: King *Edward* had never passed ouer, at the least not that sommer. But the King vnderstood them not, and thole that had charge of them much leſſe. The King of England as I haue said, was three weekes in passing: one ship of Eu tooke two or three of his small passengers.

Before King *Edward* embarked, he sent from Douer to the King one herald alone called *Garter* a Norman borne ⁵, who brought a letter of defiance from the King of England in very good language, and so excellently well penned, that I am verily perswaded it was neuer of English mans dooing. The contents of the letter were, that the King should yeeld vnto him the realme of Fraunce being his inheritance, to the end he might restore the cleargie and nobilitie to their ancient libertie, easse them of the great charges they sustained, and deliuer them from the miseries they liued in: which if he refused to do, he protested what great mischeifes should infue thereof, in maner and forme as in such cases is accustomed. The King read the letter softly to himselfe, and afterward all alone withdrew himselfe into a wardrobe, and commanded the herald to be brought to his presence, to whom he made this answer: First, that he knew well the King of England was not passed the seas of his owne disposition, but by the perswasion of the Duke of Burgundie and the commonaltie of England: secondarily, that the sommer was now almost spent, and that the Duke of Burgundie returned from Nuz, as a man discomfited and vtterly vnfurnished of al things: thirdly, as touching the Constable he knew wel (he said) that he had intelligence with the King of England, bicause he had maried his neece ⁶, but that he would deceiue the King his Master, as he had deceiued him: notwithstanding all the great benefites he had receiued of him, which he there rehearsed, adding therewith, that the saide Constable meant to liue in continual dissimulation and entartaine every man to make his profite of him: last of all, he alleaged to the herald diuers other reasons to perswade the King his Master to peace, and gave him with his owne hands three hundred crownes, promising him a thousand more if peace were concluded: further, openly he gave him for a present a goodly ppeece of crimosin velvet of thirtie ells.

The herald answered, that he would trauell the best he could for peace, and thought the King his Master would easily be woon therewith, but that no mention must be made thereof till he were on this side the sea: and then he willed the King our Master to send a herald to the English campe, to demand a safe conduct for certaine ambassadors that he would send to the King of England, and to address his letters to the Lord *Howard* or the Lord *Stanley*, and to himselfe also to helpe to conuay his herald.

A great number there were without in the hall while the King talked with the herald, very desirous to heare the Kings answer, and to see his countenance at his coming foorth. When he had made an end, he called me to him, bidding me continually to entertaine the herald, till some were appointed to beare him companie, to the end no man might commune with him: and further to give him a ppeece of crimosin velvet of thirtie ells, which I did accordingly. Then the King began to talke with diuers, rehearsing vnto them the contents of these letters of defiance: and seuen or eight he called apart causing the said letters to be read, and shewing a good and assured countenance void of all feare: for he was glad of the comfort the herald had put him in.

Of the trouble the Constable was in, and how he sent letters of credit to the King of England and the Duke of Burgundy, which after were in part cause of his death.

Chapter 6.



Must yet speake a word or two more heere of the Constable, who was not a little troubled, as well for the lewd touch he had plaid the Duke of Burgundy about the restitution of Saint Quintins, as also because he saw himselfe vtterly disfaououred of the King, so far foorth that his principall seruants, namely the Lords of Genly & Mony had already relinquished him, and were in the Kings seruice: notwithstanding the said *de Mory* resorted still to him sometime. Further, the King pressed the Constable earnestly to come to him, offering to make him such recompence for the countie of Guise as he required, and the King had often promised him. The Constable was willing to go, so that the King would sweare by the croffe of S. Lou of Angiers to do him no harme, nor consent that any other should: alleaging that he might as well sweare thereby now as in times past he did to the Lord of Lescut: whereunto the King answered, that he would neuer give that oath to any man^r, but any other he would not refuse to sweare. You may easily gesse how much both the King and the Constable were troubled: for that no day escaped for a certain space but one or other passed betweene them about this oath. Wherefore if we will weigh our estate, mans life is verie miserie: for we toile & trauel our selues to shorten our owne daies, faying & writing a number of things cleane contrary to our thought. To conclude, if these two were troubled on the one side, I warrant you the King of England and the Duke of Burgundy were no lesse troubled on the other.

At one time in a manner, both the King of England landed at Calais² and the Duke of Burgundie departed from before Nuz, who in great haste rode straight to Calais to the said King with a verie small traine: for he had sent his armie in such poore estate, as you haue heard, to spoile the countie of Barrois and Lorraine, to the end they might there make merrie and refresh themselues: which he did, because the Duke of Lorraine had begun war vpon him, and defied him before Nuz. But this sending of his forces into Lorraine, among diuers other his oversights in his actions with the English men was not the least: for they thought at their landing to haue found him with 2500. men of armes well appointed, and great force of other horsemen and footemen (for so he had promised, thereby to allure them to passe the seas:) and further, that he would haue made warre in Fraunce three moneths before their arriuall, to the ende they might finde the King the wearier and the weaker: but God as you haue heard, disposed otherwise of this matter. The King of England departed from Calais in companie of the Duke of Burgundie, and passed thorugh Boloine, and from thence to Peronne, where the Duke gaue the English men but cold entertainment: for he caused the gates to be straightly garded, and would suffer but few to enter, so that the greatest part of them lodged in the fields, as they might well doe: for they were well prouided of all things necessarie for that purpose.

After they were come to Peronne, the Constable sent to the Duke of Burgundy one of his seruants called *Lewis* of Creuille, by whom he excused himselfe: for the withholding of Saint Quintins, alleaging that if he had restored it, he could haue stood

¹ The King would not sweare by the croffe of Saint Lou of Angiers, because who so touched that croffe and forswore himselfe, died miserably within a yeere after.

² The King of England landed at Calais the 4. of July Meyer.

stood him in no stead in the Realme of Fraunce: for he should vtterly haue lost his credit and intelligence there, but now seeing the King of England was come ouer in person, he promised to do hereafter all that the Duke shoulde command him, whereof the better to assure him, he sent him a letter of credit directed to the King of England, but referring the matter of credit to the declaration of the Duke. Further, he gaue the Duke his faith in writing, to serve and succour him, his friends and conederates, as well the King of England as others, against all men none excepted. The Duke deliuered the King of England his letter, and withall the matter of credit, adding somewhat thereto of his own devise: for he assured the King that the Constable would deliuere into his hands both Saint Quintins and all his other places: which the King easily beleueed, partly because he had maried the Constables neccce, and partly because he saw him in so great feare of the King our Master, that he thought he durst not faile of his promise made to the Duke and him, and the Duke beleueed it also. But the Constable meant nothing lesse, for the feare he stood in of the King our Master was not so great that it could force him so far. But he vsed still his woonted dissimulation, hoping by these faire messages to content them, and shew them so apparant reasons of his dooings, that they would not as yet constraine him to declare himselfe. Now you shall vnderstand that King *Edward* and his men were nothing acquainted with our affaires, but went bluntly to worke, so that they could not as yet smell out the cunning vfed heere on this side the sea: for naturally the English men that neuer trauelled abroad are very colerick, as are also al people of cold countries ³.

³ The reason is, Proper croffis humores quibus abundant eorum corpora, qui rehabet tantum affectus, & immutam cariorum que etiam augentur per antiperistasis.

The Realme of Fraunce as you see is situate betweene both: for it is inuironed with Italy, Spaine and Catalonia towards the East ⁴, and with England, Flaunders and Holland towards the west ⁵, and all along the countrey of Champaigne, Almaine bordereth vpon it: so that our countrey taketh part both of heat and cold, wherefore the French are of two complexions: but in mine opinion I neuer saw countrey in my life better seated than the Realme of Fraunce.

⁴ By the east he meaneth all seas to the great Ocean; ⁵ By the west he meaneth all west and north seas.

The King of England who rejoiced maruellously at this message sent by the Constable (although happily he had received some such promise before, but not so large) departed from Peronne with the Duke of Burgundy (who had no force there, for his armie was in Barrois and Lorraine) towards Saint Quintins, whereunto when they approached, a great band of Englishmen ran before, thinking (as I heard it reported a few daies after) that the bels should haue rung at their comming, & that the citizens would haue receiuied them with croffe and holy water. But when they drew neere the towne, the artillery shot, and the soldiers issued foorth to the skirmish, both on horsebacke and foote, so that two or three English men were slaine, and some taken. Further, it rained terribly, and in this estate returned they in great rage to their campe, murmuring against the Constable and calling him traitor.

The next morning the Duke of Burgundy would haue taken his leaue of the King of England to depart to his army into Barrois, promising to do marvels in his favor. But the English men who naturally are suspiciois, and were strangers in these countries, maruelled much at his so sudden departure, (seing they had passed the seas at his request) and were greatly discontented therewith, neither would they beleue that his army was in a readines. Besidz that, the Duke could by no meanes repaire the Constables former credit with them: notwithstanding that he affirmed all his doings to be to a good end. The winter also which drew neare dismayed them, so that they seemed by their words desirous rather of peace than war.

How the King clothed a poore seruant in a cote armor with a scutchin, and sent him to speake with the King of England in his Campe, where he received a very good answer.

Chap. 7.

N the meane time, euен at the very instant that the D. of Burgundie was taking his leaue, the English men tooke prisoner a gentlemans seruant of the Kings house named *James of Grasse*, whom forthwith they led to the King of England and the Duke being togither, and from them into a tent: where when they had examined him, the Duke tooke his leaue to go into Brabant, and from thence to Mazieres, where part of his army lay. The King of England commanded the said seruant to be dismissed, because he was their first prisoner. And at his departure the Lord *Howard* and the Lord *Stanley* gaue him a noble saying: Do our humble commendations to the K. your Master if you can come to his presence. The fellow came in great haste to the King being at Compiegne with these newes, who foorthwith began to suspect him as a spie, because *Gilbert of Grasse* his Masters brother, was then very well entertained in the Duke of Britaines court, wherefore he was committed to warde, and straightly kept that night. Notwithstanding the King commanded diuers to commune with him, by whose report his tale seemed voide of all suspicion and feare. Wherefore they desired the King to vouchsafe to heare him, and according to their request the next morning himselfe spake with him, and when he had heard him, his irons were knocked off, but he remained still in warde. Then the King went to diner debating with himselfe whether he should send to the English men or not. And before he sat downe talked three or fower words thereof with me. For you know (my Lord of Vienna) that oftentimes he communed very familiarly with those that were neere about him, as I was then, and others after, and loued to talke in a mans eare: he called then to mind the herald of Englands aduise, which was, that he shold not faile to send to the King of England so soone as he was landed, to deuaund a safe conduct for certaine ambassadours that he would send to him: and further, to addresse his herald to the aboves named Lord *Howard* and the Lord *Stanley*. After the King was set to diner, and had mused a while, as you know his maner was (which seemed strange to those that knew him not: for vnlesse a man had been wel acquainted with his behauior, he would have iudged him of no great wisedome, notwithstanding that his dooings sufficiently declared the contrarie) he bad me in mine eare to arise and dine in my chamber, and send for a certaine seruant of the Lord of Halles, son to *Merichon of Rochell*, and to commyne with him, to know whether he durst aduenture to go to the K. of Englands campe in a heralds cote: which his commandement I executed foorthwith, maruellung much when I saw the said seruant: for he seemed to me neither of perfornege nor behauior fit for such an enterprise: notwithstanding he had a good wit and a very pleasant toong, as I afterward perceiued: the King had never spoken with him before but once. The said seruant was maruellously astonished with my message, and fell down before me on his knees, as one accounting himselfe a dead man, but I comforted & confirmed him the best I could, promising him an office in the Ile of Ré, & a summe of money, and to cheere him the better, told him that this proceeded of the English men themselues. Then I made him dine with me, none being present but we two, and one of my seruants, and by little and little perswaded him to do as he was required,

required. After I had been at diner a while, the King sent for me, and I told him how I had wrought with this good fellow, naming diuers others, who in mine opinion seemed fitter for this purpose than he, but the King would none but him. Wherefore he came and talked with him himselfe, and confirmed him more with one word, than I had with an hundred. None entered into the chamber with the King saue onely the Lord of Villiers, then Master of the Horse, and now bailife of Caen. When the King perceiued this good fellow to be well perswaded to go: he sent the said Master of the horse to fetch a trumpeter banner, thereof to make this counterfet herald a cote armour: for the King because he was not pompous as other Princes are, had neither herald nor trumpeter with him. Thus the Master of the Horse and one of my men made his cote armor as well as they could: which being finished, the said Master of the Horse fetched a scutchin of a little herald of the Lord Admirals called *Planchemin*, which was fastened to our counterfet herald: his bootes also and his cloke were brought priuily to him, and likewise his horse: whereupon he mounted no man vnderstanding any thing of his iourney. Further, a goodly budget was tied to his fadde bowe, into the which he put his cote armor. Thus being well instructed what to say, he rode straight to the English campe: where when he arriued with his cote armor on his backe, he was staited incontinent, and brought to the King of Englands pavilion. Where being deuaunded the cause of his comming, he said that he came from the King to speake with the King of England, and had commandement to addresse him selfe to the Lord *Howard* and the Lord *Stanley*, whereupon they led him into a tent to diner, and made him good cheere. After the King of England was risen from the table (for he was at diner when the herald arrived) the said herald was brought before him, and the King gaue him audience. His message was chiefly grounded vpon the great desire the King had of long time to be in perfect amitie with the King of England, to the ende both the realnes might liue togither in peace and quietnes: adding further, that since the time he was first crowned King of Fraunce, he never had attempted any thing against the King of Englands or his Realine¹: secondarly, he excused himselfe for receiuing in times past the Earle of Warwicke into his dominions, saying that he did it onely against the Duke of Burgundie and not against him. Further, he declared vnto him that the said Duke of Burgundie had for none other cause called him into Fraunce, but that by the occasion of his comming he might conclude a better peace for himselfe with the King. And if happily any others were furtherers thereof, it was onely to aymede the broken state of their owne affaires, and for their owne priuate commoditie: but as touching the King of Englands good successe, they were altogether carelesse thereof: he put him also in minde of the time of the yeare, alleaging that winter approched, and likewise of the great charges he sustaine: lastly he said, that notwithstanding a great number in Englands, as well gentlemen as merchants desired war with France: yet if the King of England would incline to peace, the King for his part would descend to such conditions, as he doubted not but he and his realme would allow of: lastly, to the ende he might the better be informed of all these matters, he said: that if the King of England would grant a safe conduct for an hundred horse, the King his Master would send ambassadours to him well informed of their Masters pleasure, or if the said King of England should like better to assigne the place of treatie in some village betweene both the armies, and to send Commissioners thither on both sides, the King his Master would willingly agree thereunto: and send the like safe conduct for his part.

The King of England and part of his nobles liked these ouvertures very well, and granted

King Lewis
had forgotten
that before
this time he
had attempted
to restore
Quene Mar-
garet daughter
to King Rene.
Annal. Bur-
gund.

¹ Hall reporteth, that the French herald had giuen him a gilt cup and an hundred an- gels.
² This Chal- lenger our chronicles name Sem- leger.

granted our herald as large a safe conduct as he demanded, and gaue him fower nobles of gold ² in reward. Further, an English herald was sent backe with him to the King, to bring the like safe conduct from him as the King of England had granted. And the next morning in a village neere to Amiens the Commissioners of both Princes met, being these: for the King, the bastard of Bourbon Admiraill of Fraunce, the Lord of Saint Pierre, & the Bishop of Eureux called *Heberge*: and for the King of England the Lord *Howard*, one called *Chalenger* ³, and a Doctor named *Morton*, at this present Chancellor of England and Archibishop of Canterbury.

Some may thinke peraduenture that the King humbled himselfe too much, but those that be wise will easilly perceiue by that I haue aboue rehearsed, in how great danger the realme stood, had not God put to his helping hand, as well in causing the King to take this wise course, as also by troubling the Duke of Burgundies wits, who committed so many errors as you haue heard in this action, & lost now through his owne follie that which so long he had wished for and desired. Many secret practises lay hidden at that time among our selues, as well in Britaine as elsewhere, which would soone haue broken foorth into great inconueniences, had not this peace been speedily concluded. Wherefore I assure my selfe by that I haue seen in my time, that God had then, and yet hath a speciall regard of this realme.

How truce for nine yeeres was treated of betweene the Kings of Fraunce and England, notwithstanding all the lets and impediments that the Constable and the Duke of Burgundie made.

Chap. 8.

¹ Meyer saith thus: *Quin- quaginta millia aureorum pro tributo Aquitanie Septen- ginta quinque millia præterea soluta pre na- tribus Edwardo à Gallorum Re- ge. anal. Aqui- chronicles & Gascon 75000*
But the true saith *Gagum* was con- cluded but for se- uen yeeres.
Introduction de la Marche saith 60000.
crownis the yeerely tribut, but in the sec- ond booke *ea. i. the same* author saith but 36000.

He Commissioners of both the Princes met (as you haue heard) the next day after our heralds returne, for we lay within fower leagues or lesse togither. The said herald was well cheered, and had his office in the Ile of Ré where he was borne, and the sum of money that was promised him. Many conditions of peace were treated of betweene our Commissioners. The English men after their woonted maner, first demanded the Crowne, at the leaft Normandie and Guienne, but they were no more earnestly demanded than stoutly denied. Notwithstanding even at this first meeting the treatie was brought to a reasonable point: for both the parties desired peace: whereupon our ambassadours returned to the King, and the others to their campe. The King heard the English mens demands and last resolutions, which were these: That he shold pay to the King of England presently before his departure out of Fraunce 72000. crownes ¹. That the King that now is then *Daulphin* shold marrie King *Edwards* eldeit daughter at this day Queene of England, and that she shold haue the Duchy of Guienne for her maintenance, or 50000. crownes yeerely to be paid in the Tower of London by the space of nine yeeres: which terme expired: the King that now is and his wife shold peaceably enjoy the reuuenues of the whole Duchie of Guienne, and then the King our Master to be cleerely discharged of all payments to the King of England. Divers other trifling articles there were, touching matter of entercourse, which I ouerpasse. Lastly, this truce was to endure nine yeeres betweene the two realmes: all the confederates of both parties being comprehended therein, and namely on the King of Englands behalfe, the Dukes of Burgundie and Britaine if themselues would. Further, the King of England made a maruellous strange offer, which was, to name in writing certaine noble men, who he said were traitors to the King

King and his crowne. The King rejoiced maruellously at the report that his Commissioners made at their returne, and sat in counsell about these ouertures of peace: where among others my selfe was present. Some supposed all this treatie to bee meere deceit and cunning of the English men, but the King was of a contrarie opinion: for he alleged first the time of the yeere, saying, that winter now approched, and that they had not one place to lodge in: secondarily, he declared the euill turnes the Duke of Burgundy had done them, who was also departed from them. And as touching the Constable he did in maner assure himselfe, that he would put no places into their hands, because he sent howerly to him to entertaine him, to asswage his malice, and to keepe him from doing hatme: lastly, he alleged the King of Englands disposition, whom he knew well to be a Prince wholy giuen to his pleasures and delights. Wherfore he seemed to discourse wiser than any man of the company, and better to vnderstand than any other the matters there debated. He concluded therefore with all speed to pay this summe of money, and devised order how to leue it, and in the ende commanded that euerie man should lend a portion the sooner to furnish it: for the King cared not what he did to rid the King of England out of his Realme, saue onely that he would in no wise consent to put any places into the English mens hands: for rather then he would suffer that, he was fully determined to hazard all.

The Constable who began to smell these practises, was stricken with sudden feare, because he had offended all the three Princes. Further, he doubted much the treatie almost concluded against him at Bouuines. Wherfore he sent often to the King, and euen at this present arriued at the Court one of his gentlemen named *Lewis* of Creuille, with one of his Secretaries called *John Riche* who are both yet living. They deliuered their message to the Lord of Bouchage and me before they spake with the King, as his pleasure was they shold. The newes they brought liked the King well, because he meant to vse them to good purpose as you shall heare. The Lord of Contay (seruant to the Duke of Burgundie) lately taken prisoner before Arras as you haue heard, went to and fro vpon his word betweene the Duke and the King: and the King had promised to release him his rausorne, and to give him a great summe of money if he could perswade his Master to peace. By chance he returned to the King the selfesame day that these two seruants of the Cōstables arriued. Wherfore the King made him and me to stand in a great old presse in his chamber, to the end he might heare and make report to his Master, of the language the Constable and his seruants vsed of him. We being there placed, the King sat downe on a forme hard by the presse, to the end we might the better heare *Lewis* of Creuilles and his companions message. Who began thus, that of late being by their Masters commandement with the Duke of Burgundie, to perswade him to depart from the English mens friendship: they found him in such a rage against the King of England, that they had almost woon him not onely to abandon the English men, but also to helpe to spoile and destroy them in their returne home. And in vttering these words (the better to please the King) the said *Lewis* of Creuille counterfetting the Duke of Burgundies gesture by stamping vpon the ground and swearing *S. George*, rehearsed many reprochfull speeches that (as they said) the Duke vsed of the King of England. To be short, they vitered as many scots and mocks of the Duke as was possible. The King made great sport with this matter, and bad the said *Lewis* of Creuille to speake alowd, faining himselfe to be growen somewhat deafe, and to tell him this tale againe: which the other making no bones therat, did with a good will.

The said *Comay* (who stood with me in the presse) was maruellously astonished

* The King calleth the Constable brother, because the King and he had married two sisters, as our author maketh mention in this booke cap.4.

at this talke, neither would haue beleaved it vnlesse himselfe had heard it. The Constables mens conclusion was this. They counselled the King, for avoideing of all these great dangers he sawe hang ouer his head, to conclude a truce (for the which the said Constable offered to trauell to the vttermost of his power:) and to put into the English mens hands (the better to content them) some small towne or two to lode them in this winter, saying, that were they never so bad, yet the English men would holde themselves contented with them. And it seemed by their talke, though they named no place, that they ment Eu and Saint Valery. By this meanes the Constable trusted to recouer the King of Englands fauor, which he had lost because of the refusall made him of his places. But the King who thought it sufficient to haue plaied his part by bringing the Lord of Contay to heare what language the Constable and his men vsed of the Duke his Master, gaue them no euill answer, but said that he would send to his brother ², to aduertise him of such newes as he knew, and so licenced them to depart. Notwithstanding, one of them before his departure sware to reueale vnto him whatsoeuer he could learne touching him or his estate. The King had much adoo to dissemble any longer when he heard them counsell him to put townes into the English mens hands. Notwithstanding he gaue them no such answer, whereby they might gather their counsell to be taken in euill part (because he feared, that would the more increase the Constables malice:) but sent one backe with them to their Master: it was not farre betweene him and vs, for a man might go and come in very short space. When the others were departed, the Lord of Contay and I came out of the presse: the King laughed maruellously, and was very mery with this pageant. But the said Contay was so farre out of patience to haire such petit companions thus flout and scoffe his Master (especially the Constable) pretending so great friendship to his Master, and treating with him of so many matters) that he thought every hower ten till he were on horsebacke to aduertise the Duke his Master thereof. Wherefore he was dispached with all speede, and wrote his instructions himselfe: he caried also with him a letter of credit, written with the Kings owne hand, and so departed.

The peace with the English men was already concluded as aboue is mentioned, and al these practises were entertained in one instant. The Kings Commissioners had made report of their negotiation as you haue heard, and the King of Englands were also returned to him. Further it was concluded and agreed on both sides by the ambassadors that passed betweene them, that the two Princes should meeet together, and after they had seene one another and sworne the treatie, the King of England should returne home into his countrey, haing first receiued the sum aboue mentioned of 72000. crownes, and leauing in hostage behinde him, till he were passed the seas, the Lord *Howard*, and the Master of his horse called sir *John Cheyne*. Lastly, a pension of 16000. crownes was promised to be diuided among the King of Englands principal seruants, of the which sum the Lord *Hastings* had two thousand. The rest had the Lord *Howard*, the Master of the horse, Master *Chalanger*, Master *Montgomerie* and others: besides this, great sums of money and goodly presents of siluer plate were giuen to King *Edwards* seruants.

The Duke of Burgundy hearing these newes, came in great haste from Luxembourg where he lay, to the King of England, accompanied onely with sixteen horse. The King being much astonished at this his so sudden arriuall, asked him what winde draue him thither, perciuing by his countenance that he was displeased. The Duke answered that he was come to talke with him. The King demanded whether he would speake with him priuately or publikely. Then said the Duke, haue you concluded peace? I haue quoth the King made truce for nine yeeres, wherein both you and

and the Duke of Britaine are comprehended, and I pray you agreee therewith. But the Duke grew maruellous hot, and spake in English (for he could the language) rehearsing what noble acts diuers Kings of England had done in Fraunce, and what great trauell they had sustained to purchase honor and renoume. Afterward he inveighed vehemently against this truce, saying, that he had not desired the English men to passe the seas for any neede he had of their helpe, but to the end they might recouer their owne right. And to the intent they might perceiue that he stood in no neede of their comming: he protested that he would not make truce with the King, till the King of England had been three moneths at home in his realme: which talke ended, he departed and returned from whence he came. The King of England and his Councell tooke these words in euill part: but they that misliked the peace commended much the Dukes speech.

How the King feasted the English men in Amiens, and how there was a place assigned for the interview of the two Kings. Chap. 9.

 He King of England to the end the peace might be fully concluded, came and encamped within halfe a league of Amiens. The King was at the gate, from whence he might behold the English men a far off as they caine. To say the truth they seemed but yong soldiers: for they rode in very euill order. The King sent to the King of England three hundred carts laden with the best wines that might be gotten: the which carriage seemed a far off almost as great as the King of Englands armie. Many English men because of the truce repaired to the towne, where they behaued themselves very vndiscreetly, and without all regard of their Princes honor. They came all in armes, and in great troupes: and if the King our Master would haue dealt fally with them, so great a number might never so easily haue bin destroied. Notwithstanding he meant nothing lesse, but studed to make them good cheere, and to conclude a sure peace with them for his time. He had caused to be set at the entrie of the towne gate two long tables, on each side of the street one, furnished with all kinds of delicate meates, that prouoke drinke, and with the best wines that might be gotten, and then to waite vpon them: of water there was no mention. At each of these tables he had placed sene or sixe great fat gentlemen of good houses, thereby the better to content those that desired to drinke. The gentlemens names were these: Monsieur de Cran, de Brigueber, de Bresnes, de Villiers, and others. So soone as the Englishmen dined neare the gate, they might behold this good cheere. Besides this, men purposely appointed tooke their horses by the bridles, saying that they would drinke a staffe with them, and so led them to the table, where they were feasted according to the varie of the meats: which they tooke in verie good part. After they were within the towne, what house soever they entred into they paid nothing. Further, nine or ten taverne were well furnished at the Kings charge of all things necessarie: whether they went to eate and drinke, and called for what they would, but the King defraied all: and this cheere endured three or four daisies.

You haue heard how the Duke of Burgundy misliked the peace, which howsover he was displeased with, troubled the Constable much more, because he saw he had failed of his enterprise, and purchased himselfe harred on all sides: wherefore he sent his Confessor to the King of England with a loun of credit, desiring him for Gods loue

loue to haue no affiance in the Kings words and promises , but to accept the townes of Eu and S. Valerie , and there to lodge himselfe part of the winter : adding, that within two moneths he would finde meanes to lodge him more commodiously. Other assurance hereof gaue he him none : for his onely meaning was to foade him foorth with these faire words. Last of all, to the end he should not conclude a dishonorable treatie for greedines of a little money , he promised to lend him fiftie thousand crownes, with diuers other large offers. But the King had alreadie caused the twoplaces aboue mentioned to be burned, because he knew the King of England had intelligence that the Constable had perswaded him to put them into the English mens hands. King *Edwards* answer was, that the truce was alreadie concluded, and that he would alter nothing therein , but if he had performed his promise, he would haue made no such appointment: which answere draue the Constable into vetter despaire.

You haue heard of the English mens great cheere in Amiens , but one euening Monsieur de Torcy came to the King and told him , that so great a number of them were in the towne, that it stood in some danger. But the King was displeased with his message : wherefore euery man forbare to bring him any more such newes. The next morrow was one of the daies that represented Childermas day that yeere ¹, on the which the King vsed not to debate any matter, but accounted it a signe of some great misfortune towards him, if any man communed with him of his affaires, and would be maruellously displeased with those that were neere about him and acquainted with his humor, if they troubled him with any matter whatsoeuer. Notwithstanding the same morning I now speake of, as he (being but newly risen) was saying his praiers , one brought me word that there were at the least nine thousand English men within the towne : which newes I hearing , determined to aduertise him thereof. Wherefore I entred againe into his closet, and said vnto him: Sir, though this day represent vnto you Childermas day , yet necessarie inforceth me to inforame you of that I heare. Then I aduertised him at large of the great number of English men that were within the towne , adding that they entred continually all armed , and that no man durst refuse them the gate for feare of displeasing them. The King was content to heare me speake, and foorthwith arose from his praiers, saying, that he would not obserue the ceremony of Innocents that day , and bad me mount on horsebacke to see if I could speake with the English mens capaines , to cause them to depart the towne: further, he commanded me if I met any of his owne capaines , to bid them repaire vnto him , saying also , that himselfe would come to the gate immedately after me. I did as I was commanded, and spake to three or four English capaines with whom I was acquainted , aduertising them what I thought good to be done in this case : but for one they pur forth of the towne, twenty came in. The King sent immedately after me the L. of Gié now Marshall of Fraunce , to take order for this inconuenience : we two entred togither into a tauerne, where were spent that morning cxr. shots , yet was it but nine of the clocke. The house was full , some sang, some slept, and some were drunke : which when I sawe, I perceiued no danger to be of such men, and sent word thereof to the King : who came incontinent with a goodly traine to the gate, and caused two or three hundred soldiers to arme themselues secretly in their capaines houses , and placed some also vpon the gate where the English men entred. Further, he comauhded his dinner to be brought into the porters lodge, where he caused diuers English gentlemen to dine with him. The King of England being aduertised of this disorder, was ashamed thereof, and sent to the King desiring him to giue commandement, that no English man should be suffered to enter the

towne:

towne: whereunto the King answered, that he would never so do : but desired him if it so pleased him, to send certaine of the yomen of his crowne to keepe the gate, and let in such as they should thinke good : and so the King of England did, whereupon a great number of English men departed the towne by his commandement.

It was then determined that for perfect conclusion of peace , Commissioners should be appointed on both sides to assigne a place for the enteriue of the two Kings. For our King, the L. of Bouchage and my selfe were named: and for the King of England, the L. *Howard*, one called *Chalenger*, and a herault. After we had ridden vp and downe and viewed all the riuier , we agreed in the ende the pleasantest, safelt, and most commodious place to be Picquigny, a towne three leagues from Amiens, with a strong castell, belonging to the Vidame of Amiens. Notwithstanding that it were once burned by the Duke of Burgundie. The towne standeth in a bottom, & the riuier of Soin passeth through it, which is deeper there than a mans height, but very narrow. The countrey on both sides of the riuier through the which the two Kings should passe was very open and pleasant, save that when the King of England drew neere to the riuier side , there was a causey at the least two bowe shot long environed with a marishe (a very dangerous passage if we had not meant good faith.) Wherefore without doubt the English men (as before I haue said) are not so subtil and circumspect in these treaties and assemblies as the French. For (whatsoeuer men say of them) they go blantly to worke , but a man must haue patience with them and giue them no croſſe language.

After the place was assignd , we determined to build a strong large bridge ouer the riuier, the worke men and stoffe we furnished. In the midſt of this bridge a wooden grate was made like to a lions cage, the ſpace betweene each bar being no greater than that a man with ease might thrust in his arme : ouer the head it was boorded to keepe off the raine, ſo brode that ten or twelve might ſtand couered vnder it on each ſide: ouer the bridge no man could paſſe : for the grate was framed cleane ouerthwart it, and vpon the riuier was but one bote with two men in it, to ferry ouer ſuch as paſſed from the one ſide to the other.

I will tell you what mooued the King to make this grate in ſuch ſort that no man could paſſe through it, becauſe it may peraduenture ſtand ſome man in ſtead that ſhall haue occaſion to make the like. In King *Charles* the ſeuenths youth, this realme was greeuously plagued by the English men. For King *Henry* the 5. held the ſiege before Roan, and had brought the towne to great extremitie: the moft part of the inhabitants being either ſubiects to *John Duke of Burgundie* then living, or of his faſtion.

Betweene the ſaid Duke *John* of Burgundie and the Duke of Orleans great variance had beene of long time, ſo far foorth, that the whole realme or the greateſt part was rent into two factions, whereby the Kings estate was much weakened: for partilitie neuer arifeth in any realme, but in the end the fire thereof is dangerous and hard to be quenched. This variance grew ſo hot, that the Duke of Orleans was ſlaine at Paris about eleuen yeeres before ². The Duke of Burgundie led a great armie, with the which he marched towards Normandy, minding to leuy the ſiege before Roan ³, in Nouember, Septembre, or Auguft agreed that the King and he ſhould meet at Montreau fault Yonne, where a bridge was made and a grate ouerthwart it, with a little wicket in the middeſt boulted on port the time) but *Commines* maner (as himſelfe writeth) is not to ſtand ſo exactly vpon time. Further, authors agree not among themſelues about this matter. Laſtly, this place may be vnderſtood, that when Duke *John* leuied his armie, his meaning was to raise the ſiege before Roan, though he could not come time ynoough to execute his enterprise. Of the Dukes death reade *Meyer lib. 15. fol. 255. & 256. Chron. Fland. fol. 281. Annal. Burgund. &c.*

⁴ Note that this notwithstanding, he was not K. yet but Dauphin.

¹ The French writers say each of them hauing ten Knights.

² The French to excuse the Dauphin say, that *Taneguy du Chastell* (sometime seruant to the Duke of Orleans that was slaine) slue *D. John* with one blow of a battell axe, bi-

cause of certaine arrogant words vsed at that time to the Dauphin: whereas *Commines* and *Meyer* report that too great ha-
militie was cause of his deeth. *Taneguy du Chastell*, *Oliver Layet*, *Peter Broier*, and *William Baillier* slue *Duke John* and the *Lord of Nouaille* with him, who drew his sword in the Dukes defence. *Annal. Burgund. Introduct. de la Marche. Meyer.* For *Duke Philip of Burgundie* to reuenge his fathers death, entered into league with the English men.

How the two Kings met and sware the treatie before concluded, and how some supposed that the holy Ghost came downe vpon the King of Englands pavilion in the likenes of a white pigeon. Chap. 10.

¹ The old co-
pie saith the
19. day, Meyer
the 31. day,
Gagin the
28. of October.



Ur gracie being finished as you haue heard, the next day the two Kings came thither in the yeere 1475, the 29. of August ¹. The K. had with him about eight hundred men of armes, and arrived first at the gracie: on the King of Englands side stood all his armie in order of battell, which vndoubtedly was great both of horse men and foote men: yet could not we discouer his whole force. We on our side seemed but a handfull to them, and no maruell for the fourth part of the Kings armie was not there. It was appointed that each of the Kings shold be accompanied at the gracie with twelve persons, which were already named, of the noblest personages and such as were next about them. Moreouer, on our side were fower of the King of Englands seruants to view what we did, & as many of ours on their side. The King as I told you, arrived first at the gracie, and twelve of vs waited vpon him, among whom were the late *Duke of Bourbon* and the *Cardinall* his brother. It pleased him that I shold weare that day a sute of apparell like his owne: for he had vsed of long time, and that verie often, to command one or other to be apparelled like himselfe. The King of England came along vpon the causye aboue mentioned with a maruellous goodly traine, as was conuenient for the maestic of a Prince: he was accompanied with the *Duke of Clarence* his brother, the *Earle of Northumberland*, and diuers other noblemen, namely the *Lord Hastings* his Chamberlaine, his Chauncellor, and others. But there were not past three or fower besides himselfe apparelled in cloth of golde. Further, he ware on his head a blacke veluet cap with a maruellous rich iewell, being a Flower de luce set with stones. He was a goodly tall Prince, but inclined now to be somewhat

what grosse, & I had seene him before much beauteuler than at this present for sure when the Earle of Warwicke chased him out of England, he was the goodliest gentleman that euer I set mine eie on. When he came within ffe foote of the gracie, he tooke off his cap, and bowed downe within halfe a foote of the ground: the King in like maner who was leaning vpon the gracie, vsed great reverence towards him: and when they came to embrace each other through the gracie, the King of England againe made low obeisance. Then the King began the talke and saide: *Cofin*, you are most hartily welcom, there is no man in the world whom I haue so much desired to see as you, and praised be God that we are met heere to so good a purpose: heere unto the King of England answered in good French. This talke ended, the Chancellor of England, who was a Prelate and Bishop of Elic, began his oration with a prophesie (whereof the English men are neuer vnfurnished ²) which saide that in this place of Picquigny an honorable peace should be concluded betweene the Realmes of Fraunce and England. The Bishops oration being ended, the letters were opened that the King had deliuered to the King of England touching the conclusion of the treatie: and the said Chancellor asked the King whether they were written by his commandement, and whether he auowed them: whereunto the King answered yea. Then the Bishop asked him againe, if he held himselfe contented in like maner with those letters and writings that were delivered him on the King of Englands behalfe: whereunto the King answered as before. Then was the misfall brought foorth and opened: vpon the which each of the Kings laid one of their hands, and the other vpon the true holy croffe, and swore both of them to keepe and obserue the articles concluded betweene them, namely the truce for nine yeeres, wherein the confederats of both parties were comprehended, and the mariage of their children to be accomplished in maner and forme as was comprehended in the treatie. After they had both sworne, the King (who had his words as commandement) began to enter into pleasant talke with the King of England: saying that he should come to Paris to solace himselfe there with the Ladies, and that he would giue him the *Cardinall of Bourbon* for his confessor, who would easily affoile him of that sinne, if any were committed. The King of England tooke great pleasure in this talke, and answered with a merry countenance: for he knew the *Cardinall* to be a good fellow. After some such like speeches passed betweene them, the King to shew that he had authoritie among his men, commanded those that were with him to withdraw themselves, saying that he would commune with the King of England in secret, which they that accompanied the King of England seeing, retired without commandement. After the two Kings had communed awhile together, the King called me to him, and asked the King of England if he knew me, who answered, that he knew me well, and named the places where he had seene me, adding, that in times past I had taken paines to do him seruice in Calais during the time I was with the Duke of Burgundie. Then the King inquired of him, if the Duke of Burgundy would not be comprehended in the truce (as it was to be presumed because of his froward answere, that he would not) what it would please him that he shold do? The King of England said, that he would offer it him yet once more, and if he refused to accept it, that then they two shold do as they thought good. Afterward the King fell in talke of the *Duke of Britaine* (which was the onely end why he mooued this question) & asked him in like maner of him. The King of England desired him earnestly to attempt nothing against the *D. of Britaine*, saying that in his necessity he neuer found so faithfull a friend: whereupon the King ended this communication: and then calling the company together againe, with the most cuttions and gracious language that

¹ The like reporteth
Jouy of the
French.

that might be, tooke his leaue of the King of England, giuing very good words in like manner to every one of his seruants. And so the two Princes in a manner both at one instant departed from the gate and tooke horse. The King returned to Amiens, and the King of England to his campe, whither we sent from the court all kinde of prouision necessarie for him, so far foorth, that torches and lights were not forgotten. At this enteruiew the Duke of Gloucester King *Edwards* brother, and certaine others were not present, because they misliked the peace. Notwithstanding, afterward they were well ynochough perswaded to allow of it, so far foorth that the said Duke of Gloucester came to Amiens to the King, who gaue him many goodly presents of siluer plate, and horses with all kinde of furniture.

After the King was returned from this meeting, vpon the way he debated two points with me: the one, he found the King of England so willing to come to Paris that it liked him never a whit. For he is, quoth he, a goodly Prince, and much givens to loue: he may peraduenture meete with some daintie dame at Paris, that will enterteine him with so many sugred words, that she may happily make him desirous to retorne thither againe. But his predecessors haue soiourned too long both at Paris and in Normandy. I like not his company on this side the sea, but so long as he keepeth home, I wish to haue him my good friend and louing brother. The other point was this, he was sorie that he found the King of England somewhat hard when he made mention of the D. of Britaine: for the King was so desirous to perswade him to suffer warre to be made in Britaine, that afterward he solicited this matter a new by the Lords of Bouchage and Saint Pierre. But the King of England seeing himselfe thus earnestly pressed, answered in fewe words, that who so should make warre vpon the Duke of Britaine, he would passe the seas yet once againe in his defence: which answer being heard, the matter was no further mentioned. After the King was returned to Amiens, euen as he was going to supper, arriued three or fower noble men of England such as had furthered the peace, and the Lord *Howard* (who was one of them) began to talke with the King in his eare, saying, that if it pleased him, he would finde meanes to bring his Master to Amiens, and peraduenture to Paris, to make merrie with him, which offer though the King liked never a whit, yet made he shew of great good liking thereof, and began to wash, not answering much to that point, but tolde me softly in mine eare, that the thing he most feared was hapned, meaning this offer. After supper they fell againe in communication of the selfesame matter, but with wise words the enterprise was broken off: for the King said, that with all spedde he must depart to go against the Duke of Burgundy. Although these affaires were of great importance and sagely ordered on both sides: yet you see merrie roieshappned also among them which are not to be forgotten. But as touching the K. who will maruell (considering the great haringes the English men haue done in Fraunce but of late yeeres) if he trauelled his body, and spent his money to rid them friendly out of the Realme, to the intent hecreafter he might keepe them his friends, at the least not haue them his foes.

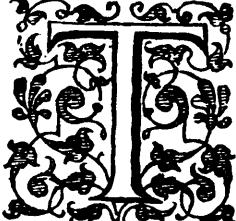
The next day after this meeting, a great number of English men repaireed to Amiens, some of them affirming that the holy Ghost had made this peace (for they grounded all on prophesies.) The reason that mooued them so to say was, for that a white pigeon sate vpon the King of Englands pavilion that day of the enteruiew, and would not remoue thence notwithstanding any noise made in the camp. The caule whereof as some men iudged, was, for that it had rained a little, and afterward the sunne shining very hot, the pigeon lighted vpon this pavilion (being higher than the rest) to drie hir selfe: which reason was giuen by a gentleman of Gascoine seruant

vnto the King of England, named *Lewis* of Bretailles, who was not a little offended with the peace. And bicause he and I were of old acquaintance, he talked familiarly with me: saying that we would deride the King of England for this treatie. I asked him how many battels the said King had woon: he told me nine, in the which himselfe had been in person. Then I demanded of him againe, how many he had lost: and he answered neuert but one, which was this we now bereaued him of: adding, that he receiued greater dishonor by returning home after this sort, than he had obtained honor in winning the other nine. Of this communication I aduertised the King, who said he was a dangerous knaue, and that some meanes must be found to stop his mouth: whereupon he sent for him, and made him dine at his owne table, offering him very large offers and goodly offices if he would tarie in Fraunce. But seeing he would by no meanes be woon thereunto, he gauch him a thousand crownes in monie, promising also a good turne to his brethren that were on this side the sea, and I gaue him a watchword in his eare, to employ his credit to continue the friendship and amitie begun betweene the two Princes.

The King feared especially aboue all things least some word should escape him at vnawares, whereby the English men might gather that he derided them. And by chaunce the next morning after this meeting, as he was in his closet, and not past three or fower of vs with him, he spake a merrie word touching the wines and presents sent to the English campe: and as he turned about espied a merchant of Gascoine that dwelt in England, who was come to mooue a fute to him for a licence to ship certaine Cascoine wines into England without impost, which was a fute that might much benefit the said merchant if he could obtaine it. The King woondered when he saw him how he was gotten in thither, and asked him of what towne he was in Guienne, and whether he were a merchant and inaried in England. The merchant answered yea, but that his wealth was not great. Incontinent before his departure thence, the King appointed one to accompanie him to Bordeaux, and I communed with him by his commandement. Further, a good office in the towne where he was borne was giuen him: the licence for the wines which he demanded was graunted him, and besides this 1000. franks were deliuered him for his wiues charges vpon the way, and he sent a brother of his into England for hir, but went not himselfe. Thus the King imposed this penaltie vpon himselfe for his ouer large speech.

How the Constable after the truce made with the English men, sought to excuse himselfe to the King: and how truce was also concluded for nine yeeres betweene the King and the Duke of Burgundie.

Chap. II.

 He selfesame day aboue mentioned, being the next day after the enteruiew, the Constable sent letters to the King by a seruant of his named *Rapine* (who was a trustie seruant to his Master, and whom also the King preferred afterward) Monsieur de Lude and my selfe were commanded to heare his message. Now you shall vnderstand that Monsieur de *Contry* was alreadie returned from the Duke of Burgundie to the Court, about the practise aboue mentioned devised against the Constable: so that the said Constable knewe not to what Saint he should vow himselfe, but remained in vtre despaire. Rapines message was very humble, tending to excuse his Master of the sundrie evill reports

reports that he knew had been made of him to the King, for that the end sufficiently declared, that he never meant to doe otherwise than dutie required. And to the intent he might the better assure the King of his true dealing, he promised so to practise with the Duke of Burgundy, that he would perswade him to helpe to destroy the King of England and his whole army, if it so pleased the King. And it seemed by his speech that his Master was in vtter despaire. We told him that we were in perfect amity with the English men, and would no war. But Monsieur *de Lude* who was with me, aduentured to aske him if he knew where his Masters treasure lay. I maruelled to heare such a word escape him: for seeing this *Rapine* was a very trustie seruant to his Master, this speech was sufficient to have caused the Constable to fie, and to vnderstand in what estate he was, and what was a brewing for him, especially seeing the danger he had been in not yest a yeere before. But I never knew man in my life neither heere nor elsewhere, that could dislodge in time and shun the danger hanging ouer his head: some because they thinke they shall not be received nor be in safetie in strange countries, and other some because they are too much affectionate to their gonds, wiues and children: which two reasons haue beene the cause of many a good mans vndooing.

After we had made report to the King of *Rapines* message, he called for one of his Secretaries, none being with him but the Lord *Howard* the King of Englands seruant, (who vnderstood nothing of this practise against the Constable,) the Lord of Contay who was returned from the Duke of Burgundie, and we two that had talked with the said *Rapine*. Then he indited a letter to the Constable, wherein he aduertised him of all that was done the day before, namely, the treacie of peace. Further, he sent him word that he was busied with diuers affaires of great importance, and had neede of such a head as his: which word was no sooner vttered, but he turned to the Englishmen, and the Lord of Contay, saying softly to them, I meane not that we should haue the body, but the head without the body. This letter was deliuered to *Rapine*, who liked it maruellous well, especially those words that the King had neede of such a head as his Masters, but he vnderstood not the mysterie thereof. The King of England also sent the King the two letters of credit that the Constable had written to him, and disclosed all the messages that he had sent him, whereby you may perceiue how the Constable had behaued himselfe towards these three great Princes, and in what estate he was: every one of the threc desiring his death.

The King of England vpon the receit of his money departed, and marched in great haste towards Callice, fearing the Duke of Burgundies malice and his subiects, and not without cause: for whensoeuer his men scattered and singled themselues, some of them came short home. At his departure he left for hostages with the King, till his returne into England according to his promise, the Lord *Howard*, and the Master of his horse called Sir *John Chevy*.

You haue heard before at the entrance into these English affaires, that K. *Edward* had no great deuotion to this voyage into Fraunce: for being come to Douver, before he embarked he began to practise with vs. But there were two causes that moued him to passe the seas: one, the desire his whole realme had, according to their naturall inclination, to make war in Fraunce, and the rather at this present, because the Duke of Burgundie pressed the war so earnestly: the other, the hope he had to referre to himselfe a great part of the subsidie leuied in England for this voyage: for as before I haue said, the Kings of England receiveuonely the bare reuenues of their lands, saue when they leuie money to make war in Fraunce. Further, K. *Edward* had devised this subtiltie to appease his subiects: he had brought with him ten or 12 great fat paunches,

ches, as well of the citie of London, as of other townes in England, who were the wealthiest men of the commonaltie, and had beeene the chiefest instruments both in perswading the King to passe into Fraunce, and also in leuying this mightie armie: The King caused them to be lodged in good tents, but that was not the life they were accustomed to lead: wherefore they soone waxed wearie of it. At their first arriall they looked for the battell within three daies after their lading. But the King of England alleged many doubts vnto them, and endeououred to put them in feare of the battell, and to perswade them to allow of the peace, to the ende they might aide him at their returne into England to pacifie the murimuring and grudging of the people that happily might arise because of his returne: for never King of England since King *Arthur*, passed at one time with so great force, & so many noble personages into Fraunce. But after the peace was concluded, the King of England repaired homeward with speed, reseruing to himselfe a great summe of money leuied in England for the paiment of his soldiers; so that he obtained in effect all his purposes. His bodie could not away with such labour as a King of England must endure that mindest to atchieue any great enterprise in Fraunce. Further, the King our Master had made great preparation for resistance, though to say the truth he could not well haue prouided defence sufficient against all his enimies: for he had too monie. Lastly, the King of England had a maruellous great desire to accomplish the mariage of his daughter with King *Charles* the 8. now raigning, which caused him to winke at a number of inconueniences, that turned after to the King our Masters great profit.

After all the English men were returned home sauing the Hostages: the King tooke his iourney towards Laon, and lodged in a little towne vpon the marches of Henault called Veruins, and to Auennes in Henault came the Chauncellor of Burgundie with the Lord of Contay and other ambassadours from the Duke. The King was very desirous at this time to conclude a finall peace: for this mightie English armie had put him in feare, and no maruell: for he had seene in his time of their doings in this Realme, and would in no wise their returne. The said Chauncellor writ to the King, desiring that it would please him to send his Commissioners for the peace to a certaine bridge in the midway betweene Auennes and Veruins, saying, that he and his colleagues would meeet them there. The King sent him answer, that he would come thither himselfe, and notwithstanding that diuers, whose aduise he asked in this matter, perswaded him to the contrarie: yet thither he went, leading also with him the English hostages, who were present when he received the Dukes ambassadours, the which came very well accompanied with other men of war. At this first meeting they did but salute the King, and then went to dinner. One of the English men began to repent him that the treacie was concluded, and said to me at a window, that if they had seene many such men with the Duke of Burgundie, peraduerture they would not haue made peace. Which words the Viceount of Narbonne¹ (now Lord of Fouez) hearing, said: Were you so simple to thinke, that the Duke of Burgundie had not great force of such men? he had sent them onely to refresh themselues: but you were so desirous to returne home, that sixe hundred pipes of wine, and a pension the King giueth you, blew you quickly backe into England. The English man in a great furie answered; I perceiue now their sayings to prooue true, that told vs you would deride vs for making peace. Cal you the moncy the King giueth vs, a pension? It is tribute, and by Saint George you may babble so much that you may soone make vs to returne. But I brake off their talke and turned it to a iest: notwithstanding the Englishman was discontented and cast out a word thereof to

The French hauing onely Monsieur de Narbonne, made Steidan translate it the Bishop of Narbonne, wheras in dede he was Viceount of Narbonne, not Bishop, as other authors affirme: and as these words, Qui au iourd'huys s'appelle Monsieur de Fouez, plainly prooue: wherefore for auotding of Steidans error, I haue put this word (Viceount) into the text, though it be not in the French.

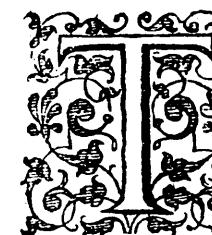
to the King, who was maruellously offended with the Lord of Narbonne for his speech.

The King communed not long at this first meeting with the Chancellor and the other ambassadours: for it was agreed that they should go with him to Veruines, where when they arrived he comanded M. Tanne guy du Chastell, and M. Peter Doriol Chancellor of Fraunce, and others to negotiate with them: much ado there was betweene them, many reasons alledged, and many demands made on each side. The Kings Commissioners made report to him that the Burgundians vsed fierce and stoute language, but that they had paid them with the like, and withall told him what their answers were. Which he much disliked, saying, that the like answers had been made diuers times before, and that they treated not of a final peace, but onely of truce; whereof he woulde haue no more such language vsed, but woulde himselfe commune with them: and thereupon caused the said Chauncellor and the other ambassadours to come into his chamber, out of the which all men were comanded to auoid, saue the late L. Admirall called the bastard of Burbon, Monsieur de Bouchage, and my selfe. There the King concluded truce for nine yeeres, wherein it was agreed, that every man shuld be restored to his former estate. But the ambassadours belought the King that the truce might not yet be proclaimed, to saue the D. their Masters oþ, who had sworne not to make truce before the King of England had beene a certaine space in his Realme, least he shoulde thinke their Master had accepted his truce.

But the King of England (who thought great scorne that the Duke would not be comprehended in his truce) being aduertised that he treated with the King of an other, sent ouer into Fraunce a knight neere about him called Sir Thomas Montgomery, who came to Veruines at the very same instant that the King treated with the Duke of Burgundies ambassadours of this truce aboue mentioned. The said Sir Thomas required the King in the King his Masters name, to make no other truce with the Duke of Burgundy, than that which was already concluded betweene them two. Further desiring him not to deliuer Saint Quintins into the Dukes hands, & offering that if he would continue war with the Duke, his Master would be content the next sommer to passe the seas againe for him, and in his aide, with these condicions. First, that the King should recompence the losse the King of England should sustaine by the wooll cultome of Calais, amounting yeerely to 50000. crownes: which if the war opened with Flaunders were cleerely lost. And secondarily, that the King should pay the one halfe of the English army, and the King of England the other. The King yeelded great thanks to the King of England for this curteous message, and gaue a goodly present of siluer plate to the said Sir Thomas. Notwithstanding, as touching the war he excused himselfe, saying, that the truce was already concluded, being the very same that the King of England and he had made for the terme of nine yeeres, saue that the Duke woulde haue his letters apart. Thus to content the ambassadour he excused the matter the best he could, and the said Sir Thomas returned into England, and the hostages with him. The King maruelled much at the K. of Englands offers, at the report whereof my selfe onely was present. But it seemed to him a dangerous thing, to cause the King of England to passe the seas againe, both because every tride would breed quarrels betweene the French and English being in campe together; and also because it was to be feared that the Burgundians and they would easily reconcile themselues: wherefore he was so much the more desirous to conclude the truce with the Duke of Burgundie.

How

How the Constables death was fully concluded and sworne betweene the King and the Duke of Burgundie, and how he went into the Dukes dominions, where by his commandement he was staled and deliuered to the King, and after put to death. Chap. 12.



He truce being concluded, the old practise against the Constable was reviued: and to the end the processe thereof should be short; they ratified all that was done before at Bouuines, and the writings there made (as before you haue heard) were againe interchangetably deliuered. In the said writings the King promised the Duke Saint Quintins, Han, Bohain, and al the lands that the Constable held of the Duke, and all his moouables wheresoever

they were found ¹. Further, the maner how to besiege him in Han (where he lay) was devised. It was also agreed that whether of the two Princes could first take him, should either put him to death within eight daies, or deliuer him to the other. All men incontinent began to feare this confederacie, so far foorth that the Constables principall seruants forsooke him, namely Monsieur de Genly and diuers others. Fur-
ther, he being aduertised that King Edward had deliuered his letters to the King and

¹ Understan-
d this as well of
the mooua-
bles he had
in the Kings
dominions,
as vnder the
Duke.

discouered all that he knew of him; and seeing also that his enimies had made truce, fell into great feare, and sent to the Duke of Burgundie, humbly beseeching him to giue him a safe conduct to come and speake with him about certaine affaires that greatly imported him. The Duke at the first made daintie to grant a safe conduct, but in the end sent him one. This mightie noble man had oft debated, whither he shoulde flie to saue himselfe: for he was informed of all that was done, and had seene the writings devised against him at Bouuines. Sointime he consulted with certaine of his seruants, being Lorrains, determining to flie with them into Almaine, carying a great sum of money with him (for the way was very safe) therewith to buy some place vpon the riuier of Rhene to remaine in, till he were reconciled to one of the two Princes. Sointime he resolued to put himselfe into his strong castell of Han, which had cost him so much money, and which he had fortifed to serue him at such a pinch, and furnished of all things as well as any castell that euer I knew. But he could not finde men to his minde to put into the place, because all his seruants were borne vnder the Dominions of one of the two Princes. And peraduenture his feare was so great, that he durst not wholy discouer himselfe and his estate to them; for I thinke a great many of them would not haue forsaken him: neither was it so dangerous for him to be besieged of both the Princes as of one, for it had beene impossible for the two armes to agree.

But in the end he concluded to go to the Duke of Burgundie vnder this safe conduct, being accompanied onely with fifteene or twenty horse, and rode to Montz in Hainault, where the Lord Desmerie, great bailife of Hainault and his especiall friend lay. With him he sojourned a certaine space, attending newes from the Duke of Burgundy, who had lately begun war vpon the Duke of Lorraine, because he had defied him when he lay at the siege before Nuz, and done much harme in the countrey of Luxembourg.

The King being aduertised of the Constables departure, purposed so to order the matter, that he shoulde never recover the Duke of Burgundies fauor: for he leuied seuen or eight hundred men of armes, and rode with them in all haste to Saint Quin-

N 1

tins, knowing well what force was within the towne; neere to the which when he ap-
roched, certaine of the Citizens came foorth to receiue him. The King com-
manded me to enter the towne, and appoint every captaine to his quarter, and so I did.
First the soldiers entred, and then the King, who was very honorably received of the
townes men: whereupon certaine of the Constables seruants retired into Hainault.
The King immediately aduertised the Duke by a letter of his own hand, of the taking
of Saint Quintins; thereby to put him vtterly out of hope to recover it by the Con-
stables meanes. Which newes when the Duke vnderstood, he sent word to the
Lord *Desmeriez* great bailife of Hainault, to garde the towne of Montz in such sort,
that the Constable could not depart, and farther to command him to keepe his
lodging: which commandement the bailife executed accordingly, for he durst doe
no lesse. Notwithstanding, the garde was not strong enough for such a personage, if
he had beene disposed to escape. What shall we say heere of Fortune? This noble
man dwelt vpon the frontiers of both these Princes dominions being enimies, ha-
ving strong townes in his hands, and fower hundred men of armes well paide, of the
which he was Compiroller himselfe, and placed whom it pleased him, and had been
their Captaine the space of twelue yeeres. He was a wise and a waliant knight, and of
great experiance, and had great treasure in ready coine: yet notwithstanding at this
last pinch his courage so failed him, that he wist not what shift to make. We may
well say, that fickle Fortune behelde him with a frowning countenance: or rather
(if we will speake like good Christians) we must say, that such great miseries depend
not vpon Fortune: for Fortune is but a phantasticall fiction of Poetrie. Wherefore
wee must thinke if wee well weigh both the reasons aboue alleged, and diuers
other heere vunrehearsed, that God had vtterly forsaken him and giuen him ouer.
And if it were lawfull for man to iudge, as I know it is not (especially for me) I would
say that in mine opinion all this misery fell vpon him, because he trauelled continual-
ly to the vttermost of his power to nourish the war betweene the King and the Duke
of Burgundy, knowing his great authority and estate to depend thereupon: although
to say the truth, the matter needed no great labour, for there was a naturall antipathy
betwene them. Who is so rude or ignorant to thinke that Fortune or any other like
chance was able to cast so wise a man into the disgrace of both these Princes at
once, (who in their liues neuer agreed in any thing saue only this,) especially into
the King of Englands disgrace, who had maried his neece, and loued entirely all his
wiues kinsmen, especially those of this house of Saint Paul. It is like therefore, yea
it is most certaine, that God had withdrawn his grace from him, in that he had pur-
chased himselfe such hatred of all these three Princes, and had not one friend in the
world that durst give him a nights lodging. Neither was it fained Fortune that stike
this stroke, but God alone. The like whereof hath hapned, and shall happen to diuers
others, who after great and long prosperitie fall into great aduersitie and trouble. Af-
ter the Constable was arrested in Hainault by the Duke of Burgundies comande-
ment, the King sent word to the D. either to deliuer him into his hands, or execute
him according to the tenure of the writings aboue mentioned. The Duke answered
that he would so do, and commaunded the Constable to be led to Peronne, and there
straightly kept. Further you shall vnderstand that the Duke had already taken diuers
places in Lorraine and Barrois, and at this present helde the siege before Nancy,
which was valiantly defended. The King had great force of men of armes in Cham-
paigne, which held the Duke in feare: for the King was not bound by the truce to
suffer him to destroy the Duke of Lorraine, who was retired into Fraunce. The Lord
of Bouchage and diuers other ambassadours sent by the King, pressed the Duke ear-
nestly,

nestly, to performe his promise & oth; and he answered euer that he would so do; but
yet delaied it more than a moneth ouer and aboue the eight daies wherein he shold
either haue deliuered the Constable, or put him to death. Notwithstanding in the
end seeing the matter so earnestly pressed, and fearing that the King would hinder
his enterprise in Lorraine, which he so much desired to atchieue, to the end he might
haue the passage open from Luxembourg into Burgundy, and ioine all these Senio-
ries together: for this little Duchy of Lorraine being his, he might come vpon his
owne dominions from Holland, almost as far as Lions ². For these considerations I
say, he wrote to his Chancellor and the Lord of Humbercourt so often already men-
tioned, (which two had absolute authoritie in his absence, and were both of them the
Constables enimies, and euill willers) to go to Peronne and deliuer the Constable at
a day by him prefixed, to those that the King shold there appoint to receive him,
sending word withall to the Lord *Desmeriez* to deliuer him to the said Chancellor
and *Humbercourt*.

The Duke of Burgundy in the meane time beat continually the towne of Nancy: but
there were good soldiers within it which valiantly defended it. Further, one of
the Dukes owne Captaines, called the Earle of Campobache, a Neapolitan ³,
but banished thence for the house of Aniou faction, was lately entred into intelli-
gence with the Duke of Lorraine, heire apparent of the house of Aniou after the
death of King *Rene* his mothers father. This Earle of Campobache promised to
prolong the siege, and finde meanes that such things should be lacking as were ne-
cessary for the taking of the towne ³. Whiche his promise, he was very well able to
performe, being then the greatest man in the Dukes army; but a false traitor to his
Master, as hereafter you shall heare more at large. This was a preparatiue as it were
of all those euils and miseries that fell afterward vpon the Duke of Burgundy. The
said Duke meant as I suppose, if he had taken the towne before the day appointed
for the Constables deliuary, not to deliuer him at all. And on the other side I think,
if the King had had him, he would haue done more in the Duke of Lorraines fauor
than he did: for he was aduertised of the Earle of Campobaches traitorous practises,
but medled not in them: yet was hee not bound to let the Duke of Burgundy doe
what him listed in Lorraine, (notwithstanding for diuers respects he thought it best
so to do:) besides this he had great forces vpon the frontiers of the said countrey of
Lorraine.

The Duke could not take Nancy before the day appointed for the Constables
deliuary ⁴, which being come, the two aboue mentioned executed willingly their
Masters commandement ⁵, and deliuered him at the gate of Peronne to the bastard
of Bourbon Admirall of Fraunce, and to Monsieur de Saint Pierre, who led him to
Paris. Diuers haue told me, that within three howers after his departure, messengers
came in poste from the Duke with a countermaund, to wit, that he should not be de-
liuered before Nancy were taken, but it was too late. At Paris the Constables proces
was made, and the Duke deliuered all his letters that were in his hands, and all such
evidence as serued for the proces. The King pressed the Court earnestly, and Iusti-
ces were appointed for the hearing of his caule, who seeing the evidence that both
the King of England and the Duke gaue against him, condemned him to die ⁶, and
confiscated all his goods.

nem: at hoc isti duo odio gravisimo deflagrantes in comitem stabuli, gratumque volentes facere regi mirum in modum sanguinem latus, set-
ent, non obseruauerunt. Si obseruassent re debabant, fortassis & virum ipsum, & Ducem Dominum suum seque ipsos plane seruassent. Sicut-
dem statim post Caroli interitum ambo apud Gandavum accepere talonem.

⁶ The Constable died the 19. of December 1475.

¹ The Duke
desired Lor-
raine, not
only for the
caue heere
alleged by
our author,
but also to
proclame
humble vnu-
der that co-
jour King of
Siele and
Hierulatem.
² This Cam-
pobache (as
some report)
wrought this
treason, for
that the Duke
had once in
his rage given
him a blow.
Meyer.

³ He tooke
Nancy about
the 19. of No-
vember, but la-
Marche sath
in the end of
Nouember.
Meyer. 28.
Nouemb'r
1475: and the
Constable
was deli-
vered the 30. of
Nouember.

⁴ The Chan-
cellor & Hym-
bercourt deli-
vered him
with such
speed through
cui wil, when-
as they ought
to haue staide
till the second
message had
come from
the Duke:
for as saith
Meyer. Ferrebat
consuetudo ex
ture militari
cuiusq; desum-
ta, re in talibus
gravibus rebus
seundam sim-
per praece. sri-
nifrig; expec-
tare missio-

⁵ The Duke
desired Lor-
raine, not
only for the
caue heere
alleged by
our author,
but also to
proclame
humble vnu-
der that co-
jour King of
Siele and
Hierulatem.
⁶ The Constable died the 19. of December 1475.

A discourse of the fault the Duke of Burgundie committed in delining the Constable to the King contrarie to his safe conduct, and what ensued thereof.

Chapter 13.

His deliuerie of the Constable was maruellous strange; notwithstanding I speake it not to excuse his faults, neither to accuse the Duke, for sure he had iust cause to seeke his death. But me thinke that he being so great a Prince and of so noble and honorable an house, should not haue giuen him a safe conduct, and then arrest him. And vndoubtedly it was great crueltie to deliuere him where he was sure to die, especially for couetousnes. But soone after he had thus dishonored himselfe by this deede, he receiued great losses and began to fall to ruine. So that if we well consider the workes that God hath done in these our daies, and daily doth, we shall easilly perceiue that he will leaue no fault vnpunished, and that these strange punishments are inflicted onely by him, because they surmount far the works of nature. For his punishments are sudden, especially vpon those that vse violence and crueltie: who can not be meane perlons, but mightie men, either in seniories or authoritie. This house of Burgundy had long florished, for by the space of a hundred yceres or thereabout, (during the which time raigned fower of this house) it was more esteemed then any other house in Christendome. For all those that were mightier then it, had suffered great afflictions and aduersities, but it liued continually in perpetual felicity & honor. The first great Prince of this house was *Philip* surnamed the *Hardy*, brother to *Charles* the fift King of Fraunce, who maried the daughter and heire of the Earle of Flaunders, being Countesse not onely of that countrey, but also of Artois, Burgundy ¹, Nevers and Reihell. The second was *John*: the third was the good Duke *Philip*, who ioyned to his house the Duchies of Brabant, Luxembourg, Lambourg, and the counties of Holland, Zeland, Hainault, and Namur. The fourth was this Duke *Charles*, who after his fathers death was one of the richest and most redoubted Princes of Christendome; and had in moueables, namely iewels, plate, tapestrie, booke, and naprie, more than three of the greatest Princes in Christendome. Of treasure in coine I haue seene greater abundance in other Princes Courts: for Duke *Philip* by the space of many yceres leuied neither subsidies nor taskes: yet notwithstanding at his death, he left his sonne aboue three hundred thousand crownes in ready money, and in peace with all his neighbors, which long indured not: notwithstanding I will not impure the whole occasion of the wars to him, for others were as busie as he. His subiects immediatly after his fathers death, vpon a small request graunted him very willingly a subsidie (every countrie a part) for the terme of ten yceres, amounting ycerely to the summe of 35000. crownes: Burgundy not being comprehended therein. Yea and at the time he deliuered the Constable, he leuied ycerely ouer and aboue the former summe more than 30000. crownes, and had aboue 30000. crownes in coine; and all the Constables goods that came to his hands, amounted hardly to the value of 8000. crownes, for he had but 7600. in coine. So that the Duke committed this foule fault for small gaine, yet was the punishment thereof great: for God raised vp an enemie against him of small force, of yoong yceres, and of little experiance in all things, and caused his seruant whom he then most trusted, to become false and traiterous. He made also the Duke himselfe to mistrust his owne subiects & faithfull

¹Understand this of the County of Burgundy, not of the Duchy.

faithfull seruants. Are not these such manifest tokens and preparatiues as God vsed in the olde Testament, against those whose good fortune and prosperitie he meant to change into miserie and aduersitie? Yet he never humbled himselfe before God, but euen till the hower of death attributed all his good successe to his owne wisedome and prowesse: before his death he was mightier then any of his predecessors, and more esteemed through the whole world.

Befote the Constables deliuerie he was fallen into a maruellous mistrust or great disdaine of his owne subiects: for he had sent into Italie for a thousand men of armes Italians. Before *Nuz* also he had great force of Italians in his campe: for the Earle of Campobache had vnder his charge fower hundred men of armes and better. This Earle had no possessions for his maintenancie, for bicause of the wars the house of Aniou had made in the realme of Naples (which house he serued,) he was banished his countrey and lost all his landes, and serued euer since his departure out of Italie, in Prouence or Lorraine vnder King *Rene* of Cicile, or Duke *Nicholas* sonne to Duke *John* of Calabria. After whose death the Duke of Burgundie gaue entertainment to most of his seruants, especially all his Italians: namely this Earle of Campobache, *James Galeot* a valiant honorable and faithfull gentleman, and diuers others. The said Earle of Campobache when he went into Italie to leuie his men, received of the Duke of Burgundie 40000. duckets in prest for his companie. But as he passed through Lions, he fell in acquaintance with a Phisition named Master *Simon* of Pauye, by whome he aduertised the King that if he would grant him certain demands, he would promise him at his retурne to deliuere the Duke of Burgundie into his hands: the like offer made he also to Monsieur de Saint Pray, then Ambassador in Piemont for the King. Againe, at his retурne hauing his men of armes lying in the Countie of Marle, he offered the King that so soone as he should be in campe with his Master, he would not faile either to kill him, or take him prisoner; shewing withall the maner how he would doe it, which was this. The Duke rode often about his campe to viewe it, mounted vpon a little nagge, and very slenderly accompanied, at soone such time this Earle said he would assault him, and execute his enterprise. He made yet also another offer to the King, namely, if the King and the Duke met togither in battell, to turne with his men of armes on the Kings side, vnder condition that the King would grant him certaine demands. The King derested much the treason of this man, and of a noble courage aduertised the Duke of his practises by the Lord of Contay aboue mentioned. Notwithstanding the Duke would not credit the message, (supposing that the King sent him this aduertisement to some other end) but loued the Earle all the better. Wherefore you may see how God had troubled his wits, in that he would give no credit to those manifest demonstrations the King shewed him. Well, this Earle of Campobache was not so false and traiterous: but *James Galeot* was as true and trusty, who liued many yeers, and died with great honor and renowme.



THE FIFT BOOKE.

How the Duke of Burgundie making war upon the Swiſſers, was ouertrowen at the straights of the moun- taines neere to Granson.

Chap. I.



He Duke of Burgundie having conquered the Duchy of Lorraine, and received Saint Quintins, Han & Bohain, with all the Constables goods of the King, treated with him of a final peace: for accomplishment whereof they two resolued to meeke vpon a bridge built ouer a riuere, like to that made at Piquigny, at the enteriue of the Kings of England and Fraunce. About the which meeting messengers passed to and fro, so far foorth that the Duke was once purposed to dismisse the greatest part of his armie, to the end his men (being in very euill order, as well because of the siege of Nuz, as also of this small war in Lorraine) might refresh themſelues: and the rest to put in garrison into certaine of the Earle of Romonts places, neere to the townes of Berne and Fribourg; vpon the which he was fully resolued to make war, because they had invaded his dominions while he was before Nuz, had holpen to take the countie of Ferrette from him (as you haue heard) and had also conquered from the Earle of Romont part of his countrie. The King earnestly pressed him to come to the meeting appointed, to leauie these poore Swiſſers in peace, and to refresh his armie. The Swiſſers also ſeeing him approch ſo neere them, ſent their ambaffadors to him, offering to restore all that they had taken from the Earle of Romont, who on the other ſide pressed him earnestly to ſuccour him in person: whereupon the Duke altered his minde, and determined to march againſt them, leauing that course which in all mens opinions ſeemed beſt, conſidering both the time of the yeere, and the ſtate of his armie. Further, it was agreed betweene the King and him, that for the Duchie of Lorraine they ſhould not fall at variance.

The Duke departed out of Lorraine with this poore, wearie, and defeated armie, and entred into Burgundie, where the ambaffadors of theſe ancient confederates of Almaine commonly called Swiſſers, repaired againe to him, making larger offers than before: for beſides the reſtitution of the Earle of Romonts places, they offered to depart from all leagues that he ſhould not allow of, especially their league with the King, and to enter into confederacie with him, and to ſerue him againſt the King with ſixe thouſand men well armed (and that for very ſmall pay) as often as he ſhould require: which offers he refuſed; for God was fully purpoſed to bring him to deſtruction. In theſe countries are certaine townes called the new confederates, namely, Basill, Strasbourg, and diuers other imperiaſt cities ¹ ſituate neere the riuere of Rhene, which in times paſt had beene enimies to the Swiſſers in fauour of Sigifmond Duke of Auſtrich, whose confederates they were during the wars betweene the ſaid Swiſſers and him. But now all theſe townes ioined with the Swiſſers, and a league was made betweene them for ten yeeres, and peace also betweene Duke Sigifmond and them: which league (as before you haue heard) was concluded by the Kings procurement, earnest ſute, and great expences, at the ſame time that the countie of Ferrette was taken from the Duke of Burgundie, and his lieutenant there called Peter Ar- chambault

¹ These towns were Basill, Strasburg, Slesſtac, Colmar, Sunggau and Brifgau.

chambault beheaded at Basill. The onely cauſe of which inconuenience proceeded of this Archambault himſelfe, which ſure was a ſhrewd check to the Duke of Burgundie, being the very fountain of all his other miseries. Wherefore a Prince that hath lately ioined a ſtrange countrie to his dominions, ought to be circumſpect what gouernors he placeth there. For whereas ſubiects newly conqueſted ought to be curteouſly intreated, to haue Iuſtice truely adminiſtryed, and to be better uſed than vnder their former gouernment: this Archambault did the cleane contrarie, for he uſed great violence and extortiōn; whereupon ensued vtter deſtruction to himſelfe, his Master, and many a good man besides.

This league aboue mentioned made by the Kings onely procurement, turned afterward to his great benefit, yea greater than the world weeneth, ſo far foorth that for my part, I account it one of the wiſeſt deeds that euer he did, and moſt to the damage of his enimies. For the Duke of Burgundie once deſtroyed, the King of France neuer found man afterward of his owne ſubiects that durſt lift vp his finger againſt him: for they failed all with his winde. Wherefore it was a worthy exploit to ioine Duke Sigifmond of Auſtrich and theſe new confederates in league with the Swiſſers, whose ancient enimies they had beene: and I warrant you it was neuer brought to paſſe without great expences and many voiaſes.

After the Duke of Burgundie had put the Swiſſers from all hope of peace, they returned to aduertife their confederates thereof, and to make preparation for deſence. The Duke led his army into the countrey of Vaulx in Sauoy, which the Swiſſers (as you haue heard) had taken from the Lord of Romont. There he wan three or four places belonging to Monſeur de Chasteauguion, which the Swiſſers held, and negligently defended. From thence he remoued, and laid his ſiege before a towne called Granson ², belonging alſo to the ſaid Lord of Chasteauguion, within the which were eight or nine hundred Swiſſers ³ choice men; for because the place was neere their countrey they had manried it well. The Dukes force was reaſonable great, for diuers bands came daily to him out of Lombardy, and the ſubiects alſo of this house of Sauoy were in pay with him. He loued ſtrangers better than his owne ſubiects, notwithstanding that he might haue leuied in his owne dominions great force of good ſoldiers: but the Conſtables death together with certaine other conceits he had in his head, cauſed him to miſtruit his own people. His artillerie was maruellous ſtrong, and he lay in great pompe and triumph in his campe, to ſhew his magnificencie to the ambaffadors that came to him out of Italy and Almaine: for the which purpose alſo he had brought with him all his beſt iewels and plate, and great abouundance of all kinde of furniture. Moreouer he had many phanties in his head touching the Duchie of Milan, where he traſted ſhortly to haue great intelligence. After he had beſieged this towne of Granson, and battered it with the canon certaine daies, they yeelded to his mercy ⁴, and he put them all cruelly to death. The Swiſſers were assembled, but in ſmall number, as diuers of them haue told me: for they are not able to leuie ſo great force in their countrey as the world ſuppoſeth, and at that time much leſſe than now, because ſithence moſt part of them haue forsaken their hufbandry and giuen themſelues to armes. Further, of their confederates fewe were with them, becauſe they were forced to ſuccor the place in haſte; but ſo ſoon as they were abroad in campe, they heard of their compaſſions death. The Duke contrary to their opinion whiche aduife he asked, determined to meeke them at the entrie of the moun- taines where they yet lay, greatly to his owne diſaduantage: for he was encamped in a place very well ſeated for the battel, being fortified on the one ſide with his artillerie, and on the other with a lake; ſo that in all appearance they could not haue endo- maged

² He laid his ſiege before Granson the 12. of Februa- rie 1476, be- ginning the yeere at New yeres tide with 5000. men, and 500. pieces of ar- tillerie. Annal. Burgund.

³ Others write but 400.

⁴ Others write that they would not yeeld, vntiſle the Duke woule receiue them to his mercie which he did, and yet after put them cruelly to death.

maged him. He had sent a hundred archers before him to keepe a strait directly ouer against the mountaine where the Swiflers lay, and marched forward himselfe, and his enemies encouerted him, the greatest part of his armie being yet in the plaine. The first rankes of his men thought to retire to ioyne with the rest; but those that were behinde, supposing these to flee, began to turne their backs, and by little and little the Dukes army retired towards his campe; some of them valiantly behauing themselues. But to be short, when they drew neere to their campe, they never stood to defence, but fled all.⁵ So that the Almaines wan the Dukes campe, his artillery, all his tents and pauilions and his mens also, (whereof there was great abundance) and other riches and treasures infinite⁶: for nothing was saued but the men onely. Moreover the Duke lost heere all his goodly iewels, notwithstanding in this battell were slaine onely seuen men of armes; all the rest fled, and himselfe also. A man may iustlier say of him that he lost this day honor and reputation, than of King *John* of Fraunce, who valiantly defending himselfe, was taken prisoner by the Englishmen at the battell of Poictiers.

⁵ This battell was fought on Saterday the second of Aprill or of March as soin say, the Swiflers at this battell were not aboue 5000, and the most harquebusiers. *Annal. Burgund.*

⁶ All that the Duke lost that day was valued at three millions of crownes. *Annal. Burgund.*

This is the first misfortune that euer happened to this Duke: for all his other enterprises turned him either to honor or profit. But what a deadly wound received he this day by following his owne braine, and despising good aduise? what damage received his house hereby? in how miserable estate is it yet, and shall be we know not how long? how many men became his enemies, and declared themselues against him that the day before spake him faire, and temporized with him? And for what quarrell began this war? forsooth for a lode of sheepe skins taken by the Earle of Romont from a Swifler passing through his countrie. Sure if God had not vtterly abandoned the Duke of Burgundie, it is not to be thought he would haue put himselfe into so great danger for so small a trifle, considering both the offers made him, and the men he had to do with, by vanquishing whom he could obtaine neither riches nor honor. For at that time the Swiflers as touching their valor were not esteemed as they be now, and their pouertie was so great, that a Knight of their countrie, who was one of their first ambassadors to the Duke, told me, that among diuers other reasons he vsed to dissuade him from this warre, this was one: that by conquering them he could gaine nothing, because their countrie was barren and poore, and void of all good prisoners, so far foorth that he thought verily if all their countrie men were taken, they should not be able to pay a rausome to the value of the spurres and bridle bits in his campe.

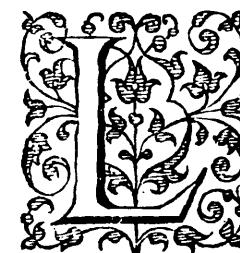
But to retorne to the battell: the King being immediately aduertised of all that was happened, by the sundrie spies and messengers he had abrode in the countrie, most of the which were strangers, reioyced much at these newes, and sorrowed onely that so few were slaine. Further, because of these affaires he lay at Lions, to the end he might the sooner be aduertised of all that happened, and the better countermine all such enterprises as the Duke had in his head. For the King being a wise Prince fearest least he should ioyne the Swiflers to him by force. As touching the house of Sauoy, the Duke disposed thereof as of his owne: the Duke of Milan was in league with him: King *Rene* of Sicilie was fully bent to haue put the countrie of Prouence into his hands. So that if his affaires had received good successe, he should haue held vnder his dominion all that lieth betweene the west and east seas, and haue so bridled the subiects of this realme, that they could haue stirred no way out of Fraunce but by sea without his permission: Sauoy, Prouence, and Lorraine being vnder his subiection. To every one of these Princes the King sent ambassadors. The one, namely the Duches of Sauoy was his sister, but friend to the Duke of Burgundie to the vttre-

most

most of his power. The other, to wit, King *Rene* of Sicilie was his vnkle, who hardly gaue his ambassadors audience, but referred all matters to the Duke of Burgundie. The King sent also to these confederates of Almaine, but with great difficultie; for because the passages were stopped, he was forced to send beggers, pilgrims, and such kinde of men. The said confederates gaue him a proud answer, that vnlesse he would declare himselfe for them, they would make peace with the Duke, and ioyne with the Burgundians against him: which notwithstanding that he greatly feared, yet thought he it not time as yet to discouer himselfe the Dukes enemie, doubting alio least some of his messengers whom he sent about the countrie should be taken, and so all his practises discouered.

Ho. v after the ouerthrow at Granson, the Duke of Milan, King Rene of Sicilie, the Duches of Sauoy and others, departed from their league with the Duke of Burgundy.

Chap. 2.



Et vs now see how the world changed after the battell, and how the courage of the Duke of Burgundie and his confederates altered, and withall how wisely the King governed his affaires. For this shall be a goodly example for yoong Princes that attempt foolish enterprises, not considering what may ensue therof: and despise the counsel of those whose aduise they ought to vse, notwithstanding that themselues be vtterly void of al experiance. First, the Duke himselfe sent the Lord of Contay to the

King with a lowly and humble message, contrarie both to his accustomed maner and to his nature. Marke heere how suddenly he was changed euen in a moment: he desired the King faithfully to keepe the truce, and excused himselfe for not comming to the meeting appointed at Auxerre, promising shortly to meeete him there or else where at his pleasure. The King received the said *Contay* very honorably, assuring him of all his demands: for as yet he thought it not time to declare himselfe, because he knew well the loyalty of the Dukes subiects to be such to their Prince, that he should soone be aflore againe. Wherfore he was desirous to see the end of this war, without giuing occasion to either partie to make peace. But notwithstanding the good entertainment the King gaue the said *Contay*, yet heard he many scoffes and taunts in the towne: for ballads were openly sung in the commendation of the vanquishers, and reproch of his folly that was vanquished.

So soone as *Galeas* Duke of Milan (then living) vnderstood of this aduenture, he reioiced not a little thereat, notwithstanding that he were the D. of Burgundies confederate: for he was entred into league with him for feare onely, seeing the Duke so highly fauored in Italie. Wherfore the said D. of Milan sent in all haste to the King a citizen of Milan, a man of small appearance, who by mediation of others was directed to me, and brought me a letter from the Duke: whereof when I had aduertised the King, he commanded me to heare his message. For he would not giue him audience himselfe, because he was displeased with the Duke of Milan for abandoning his league with him, to enter into confederacie with the Duke of Burgundie, and the rather for that his wife was the Queenes sister. The said ambassadors message was, that his Master the Duke of Milan was aduertised that the King and the Duke of Burgundie should meeete to conclude a finall peace and a league greatly to his Masters discontentment, and diuers slender reasons he alleaged to dissuade the K. from the

the conclusion thereof. But his last perswasion was, that if the King would be bound to make neither peace nor truce with the Duke of Burgundie, his Master would presently give him 100000. ducats. When the King heard the substance of his ambassage, he caused him to come to his presence, my selfe onely being with him, and said thus briefly vnto him: Heere is Monseur d'Argenton that aduertiseth me thus and thus: tell your Master I will none of his inoney; for I leauie once in a yeere thrife as much as he. And as touching peace or war, I will dispose thereof at my pleasure: but if your Master repent him that he hath forsaken his league with me, to enter into confederacie with the Duke of Burgundie, tell him I am contented that the league betweene vs shall continue as it was first concluded. The ambassador gaue him most humble thanks, perceiving him by his answer to be no couctous Prince, and desired that it would please him to cause the said league betweene him and his Master to be proclaimed in manner and forme as it was first concluded, saying that he had power to binde his Master to agree thereunto. The King was contented, and after dinner it was proclaimed, and an ambassador foorthwith dispatched to Milan, where the league was againe proclaimed with great solemnitie. This is one blowe aduersitie gaue the Duke of Burgundie: for heere is one mightie Prince suddenly fallen from him; who had sent a great and solemne ambassage to enter into league with him but three weekes before.

King *Rene* of Sicilie was purposed to make the Duke of Burgundie his heire, & to put Prouence into his hands, so far foorth that Monseur de Chasteauguion that now is, and diuers others were already gone into Piemont with 20000. crownes to leue men to take possession of the said countrey for the Duke of Burgundie: but vpon the newes of this ouerthrow they fled, and hardly saued themselues; and as touching their money, the Lord of Bresse being then in those parts tooke it. The Dukes of Sauoy hearing these newes sent word thereof immediately to King *Rene* of Sicilie, extenuating the ouerthrow, and willing him to be of good cheere, notwithstanding this small losse: but her messengers being Prouincials were intercepted, and thereby King *Rene*'s practise with the Duke of Burgundie discouered. Wherupon the King sent forces to the frontires of Prouence¹, and ambassadors to the King of Sicilie, desiring him to come to him and assuring him of good entertainment, which if he refused to do, he threatened by force to preuent this inconuenience. Wherfore in the ende the King of Sicilie agreed to repaire to Lions to the King, where he was honorably received and well feasted. I was with the King and heard the words that passed betweene them at their first meeting: which being ended, *John Coffe* Seneschal of Prouence, a woorthie gentleman and of a good house in the Realme of Naples, said thus to the King, Sir, you must not maruell if the King my Master your Vnkle offered to make the Duke of Burgundie his heire: for he was counselled thereunto by his seruants, especially by my selfe, because you being his sisters sonne & his nephew, haue done him so great wrong in taking from him the castels of Bar and Angiers, and handled him so ill in all his other attaires. Wherfore we meant to enter into this practise with the Duke of Burgundie, to the ende that you hearing these newes might indeuor your selfe to repaire the iniurie you haue done vs, and acknowledge in the end the King our Master to be your Vnkle: but we never minded to bring this treatie to a full conclusion. The King being a wise Prince tooke this practise in good part, which the said *John Coffe* vttered indeed simply as it was meant; for himselfe was the onely contriuer thereof. In short space all controuersies between them were ended, and money was given to the King of Sicilie and his seruants. Further, the King feasted him with the Ladies, and vsed him in all points according to his owne humor

¹ For Prouence was held of the crowne of Fraunce, and therefore the K. would not suffer his enemie the Duke of Burgundie to possesse it.

humor as neere as he could; and of the Duke of Burgundy no more mention was made, but he was vteirly abandoned of King *Rene*. This is another mishap that ensued this small aduersitie.

The Duches also of Sauoye who of long time was thought great enimie to the King her brother, sent one Monseur *de Montaigny* (who was addresed to me) with a secret message to reconcile her selfe to the King, alleging diuers reasons why shee was fallen out with him, and wherein shee stood in feare of him. Notwithstanding she was a verie wife Ladie and the Kings sister indeed: for it appeared that shee meant to temporize as he did, to see what would happen further to the Duke before shee would abondon him. The King gaue her better words than he was accustomed, and sent the messengers very good answers by me, willing him to desire his Mistres to come into Fraunce; and thus her man was dispatched. See heere another of the Duke of Burgundies confederats practising to forsake him. Besides this, through the whole countrey of Almaine enimies began to declare themselues against him, and all the Imperiall townes, as Nuremberg, Francfort and diuers others, ioined themselues with these old and new confederats of Swisserland: so that all the world seemed to be perswaded the doing of him harne to be good seruice to God.

The spoiles of his campe enriched maruellously these poore Swissers, who at the first knew not what treasures were fallen into their hands, especially those of the ruder sort: one of the goodliest & richest pavilions in the world was borne al to peeces. There were that sold a number of siluer plates and dishes for two soule a pece, supposing them to be pewter. The Dukes great diamond being the goodliest iewell in Christendome, at the which hung a great orient pearle, was taken vp by a Swisser, who put it againe into the boxe where it was kept and threw it vnder a cart; but after returned to lecke it, and sold it to a Priest for a guldron, who sent it to the Lords of their countrey, of whom he received three franks for it. They wan also three goodly ballais rubies, called the three brethren, because they were in all points like, and another great ballais rubie called *La herte*, with a goodly stone called the round ball of Flaunders, the greatest and fairest stones in the world. Other infinite treasures they gained also; which since haue taught them to know what is money woorthe. Further, the victories they obtained, the account the King made of them euer after, and the sumnes of money he bestowed vpon them, haue maruellously enriched them. Every ambassador of theirs that came to him at the beginning of these warres, received goodly presents of him either in money or plate, wherby he allswaged the displeasure they had conceiued against him for not declaring himselfe the Duke of Burgundies enimy: for he sent them home well contented, with full purses and clothed in silkes and veluets. Then began he also to promise them a yeerely pension of 40000. guldons, which afterward he truely paid, but the second battell was past first. Of this pension twenty thousand guldons were for the townes, and the other twenty thousand for the gouernors of the townes. And I thinke verily I should not lie, if I said that betweene the first battell of Granson & the King our Masters death, these townes and gouernors of the Swissers received out of Fraunce aboue a million of florens. When I name townes I meane but these fower: Berne, Lucerne, Friburge, and Zurich, together with their cantons situate in the mountaines. Swisse also is one of their cantons though but a village. Yet haue I seene an ambassador of that village clothed in very simple apparell giue his aduise in every matter as well as any of the rest. The other two cantons are called Soleure and Vnderwalde.

How the Swifvers vanquished the Duke of Burgundie in battell
neere to the towne of Morat.
Chapter 3.

Now to retorne to the Duke of Burgundie, he leuied men on all sides, so that within three weekes he had assembled a mighty armie: for a great number of his souldiers that fled the day of the battell, repaired againe to his campe. He lay at Losanna¹ in Sauoy, (where you my Lord of Vienna) assisted him with your counsell in a dangerous sicknes he was fallen into, for sorow and grieve of the dishonor he had received, which so much altered him that I thinke after this battell of Granson, his wits were never so fresh nor so good as before². Of this new army he now leuied I speake vpon the Prince of Tarentes report, who made relation thereof to the King in my presence. For you shall understand that the said Prince about a yeere before the battell, was come to the Duke of Burgundie with a goodly traine in hope to marrie his daughter and heire. And notwithstanding that his behauour, apparell and traine shewed him indeed to be a Kings sonne, and his father the King of Naples to have spared no cost in setting him foorth: yet did the Duke but dissemble with him, and fed at the selfe same time with faire promises the Duches of Sauoye putting herin hope of this marriage for her sonne. Wherefore the Prince of Tarente called Don Frederick of Arragon and his Counsell misliking these delaies, sent to the King our Master a herault of armes a wise fellow, who humbly besought him to graunt the Prince his safe conduct to passe through his Realme to the King his father who had sent for him, which he easily obtained of the King, because it seemed to tende to the Duke of Burgundies dishonor and discredit. Notwithstanding before the Princes messenger returned to his Master, a great number of these confederated townes were assembled and encamped hard by the Duke of Burgundie. The said Prince obeying the King his fathers commandement tooke his leaue of the Duke the night before the second battell was fought, for at the first he was present, and behaved himselfe like a valiant gentleman. Some say (my Lord of Vienna) that he vedyd your aduise heerein: for when he was heere with the King I haue heard both him and the Duke of Ascoly commonly called the Earle *Julio*, and diuers others affirme, that you wrote in Italy of the first and second battell, and told what should ensue thereof, long before they were fought.

At the Princes departure, great forces of these confederate townes were incamped (as I haue said) hard by the Duke of Burgundie, and came to give him battell, meaning to leuie the siege he held before Morat³ a little towne neere to Berne, belonging to the Earle of Romont. The said townes had in their armie (as some that were at the battell haue informed me) 35000. men, whereof fower thousand were horsemen, the rest fooremen well chosen and well arm'd; that is to say, 11000. pikes, with 4000. men. *Annal. Burgund. & so* had the Swifvers also, *Idem* Meyer saith the Duke had but 24000. & the Swifvers 30000. The Duke of Lorraine arrived at their campe a little before the battell, with a very small traine, which his comming turned afterward to his great profit: for the Duke of Burgundie held then all his countrey, and a happy turne it was for him that they waxed wcarie of him in our Court, as al those that maintaine a noble man ouerthrown vssually do; notwithstanding he never understood thus much. The King gaue him a small summe

¹ The Duke after the battell of Granson retired first to Loingne, fro thence to Noseret, & then to Losanna, La Marche.

² This proo ueth both *Vita animi scatere ad corpus, & animam sequi temperaturam corporis,* which proceedeth of the great sympathy betweene the mind and bodie. *Lime lib. i. decad. i.* write thus; *Longinquus morbus, Tulli mores prorsus inveniuntur.*

³ The Duke laid his siege before Morat (called in Dutch *Murten*) the 9. of June 1476. *Annal. Burgund. & so* had the Swifvers also, *Idem* Meyer saith the Duke had but 24000. & the Swifvers 30000.

summe of money, and sent a good troupe of men of armes to conueigh him safe through Lorraine; who brought him to the frontiers of Almaine, and then returned home. This Duke of Lorraine had not only lost his Duchie of Lorraine, the County of Vaudement, and the greatest part of Barrois (the rest being withheld from him by the King, so that he had nothing left:) but his subiects also, yea his household servants had voluntarily done homage to the Duke of Burgundy: so that his estate seemed almost irrecoverable. Notwithstanding God remaineth alwaies iudge to determine such causes at his pleasure.

After the Duke of Lorraine was passed through Lorraine into Almaine, and had iourneied a few daies, he arrived at the Almaines campe with small force three or fower howers before the battell began: which voyage (as before I haue said) turned to his great honor and profit; for if his successe had beene bad, I thinke he should haue found but cold entertainment in any place. At the very instant that he arrived, the battels marched on both sides. For the confederates had lien in campe three daies or more in a strong place hard by the Duke of Burgundie, who was at the very first discomfited and put to flight⁴: neither had he so good lucke heere as in the former battell, wherein he lost but seven men of armes; which happened because the Swifvers had then no horsemen: but at this battell neere to Morat (whereof I now speake) they had fower thousand horsemen well mounted, the which pursued fiercely the Burgundians that fled. Further, their battell of fooremen ioined also with the Dukes battell, which was mightie and strong: for besides great force of his owne subiects, and certaine English men that serued him; diuers bands were newly come to him out of Piemont and the Duchie of Milan. So that the Prince of Tarente at his being heere with the King told me, that he never saw in his life so goodly an armie: for himselfe and diuers others by his commandement numbring the force as it passed ouer a bridge, had told to the number of 23000. soldiers taking pay, besides those that followed the armie and were appointed to serue at the artillerie; which force me thinke was great, notwithstanding that many talke of millions, and report they wot not what, making armies fife times greater than they are. The Lord of Contay who came to the King immediately after the battell, confessed in my hearing, that the Duke his Master lost there 8000. soldiers taking pay, besides the stragglers: so that the whole number of the dead (for ought I could euer learne to the contrarie) amounted to 18000.⁵ which is not incredible, considering both the great force of horsemen that diuers Princes of Almaine had there; and also the great number of men that were slaine in the Dukes campe, lying still at the siege before Morat⁶. The Duke fled into Burgundie vterly discomfited, and not without cause; and held himselfe close in a towne called La Riuiere, where he assembled all the forces he could. The Swifvers followed the chase but that night, and then retired without further pursute of their enimies.

⁴ Others write 17000. others 22700. others 26000. and of the Swifvers but so. Meyer saith the Duke lost 14000.

⁵ For better understand-

ding of this place, we must know that after the Dukes vaward was ouerthrown, they within Morat issued foorth and iointed with the Duke of Lorraine, and entred perforce the Duke of Burgundies campe lying before the said towne of Morat, where they made a great slaughter, as our Author heere maketh mention.



How after the battell of Morat the Duke of Burgundie tooke the Duchesse of Sauoy, and how she was deliuered and sent home into hir countrie by the Kings meanes.

Chap. 4.



¹ I suppose, yes I assure my selfe that the Printer hath heere made a great fault, & that these three weekes, must be read three moneths. For the battell of Granson was fought the 2. of March or April, and this battell the 22. of June which is much more then three weekes, and agreeeth well with three moneths, and so also Anna les Burgundie report the time.

² The French hath *Vn Commandeur de Rhodes*, what this Commandeur is looke in the notes of the 9. Chapter of the 7. booke.

His misfortune draue the Duke into vtter despaire: for he well perceived by the sequelle of the first battell at Granson (between the which and this second there was but three weekes space ¹) that all his friends would abandon him. Wherefore by the aduise of those that were about him, he made the Duchesse of Sauoy and one of hir children now Duke of Sauoy, to be led by force into Burgundy: but hir eldest sonne was conueied away by certaine of hir seruants; for those that committed this outrage did it in great feare and vpon a sudden. The cause that mooued the Duke heerunto was partly feare, lealt the Duchesse should retire to the King hir brother; and partly because all these misfortunes were happened to him (as he said) for succouring this house of Sauoy. Thus was the Duchesse led to the castell of Rouure neere to Dyon, where a small garde was appointed ouer hir. Notwithstanding every body that would, went to vistir hir, and among others the Lord of Chastcaugion, and the Marquesse of Rotelin that now are, betweene the which two and two of the Duchesses daughters the Duke of Burgundie endeuored to make two marriages, which afterward were accomplished. Hir eldest sonne called *Philibert* then Duke of Sauoy, was led by those that stole him away to Chambery, where the Bishop of Geneua lay, who was also of the house of Sauoy. This Bishop was altogither giuen to sloth and wantonnes, and gouerned wholy by a Knight of the Rhodes ²: but the King so practised with him, and the Knight his gouernor, that they put into his hands the said Duke of Sauoy, and a little brother of his called *Le Prothonostaire*, togither with the castels of Chambery and Montmelian, and held also to the Kings vle another castell where all the Duchesses iewels lay. When the Duchesse was come Rouure accompanied with all hir women, and a great number of hir seruants; she perceiving the Duke of Burgundie to be busied in leuying men, and those that garded hir not to stand in such feare of their Master as they were accustomed: determined to send to the King hir brother to reconcile hir selfe to him, and to desire him to deliuer hir out of this thraldome. For notwithstanding that she feared much to fall into his hands, because of the great and long hatred that had been betweene them: yet the miserie wherein she was, forced hir in the end thereunto. Wherefore she sent to him a gentleman of Piemont called *Riurol* being steward of hir house, who was directed to me. When I had heard his message and aduertised the King thereof, he commanded him to come to his presence: and after he had giuen him audience, answered, that he would not forsake his sister in this extremitie notwithstanding their former variance: and that if she would enter into league with him, he would send for hir by the gouernor of Champaigne, called Master *Charles* of Amboise Lord of Chaumont. The said *Riurol* tooke his leaue of the King, and returned with speede to his Mistres, who rejoiced much at this newes. Notwithstanding she sent yet againe to the King vpon the returne of the first meslage, to desire a safe conduct and assurance therein, that she should depart out of Fraunce into Sauoy, and that the Duke hir sonne and his little brother, togither with the places which the King held, should be restored to hir: and further that he would helpe to maintaine hir authoritie in Sauoy; and she for hir part would forsake all

confed-

confederacies, and enter into league with him. All the which hit request, the King granted, and immediatly sent a man purposely to the said Lord of Chaumont about this enterprise: the which was well deuised and executed accordingly. For the said Lord of Chaumont, went himselfe peaceably through the countrie with a good band of men to Rouure, from whence he led the Duchesse of Sauoy and all hir traine to the next place of the Kings dominions. Before the dispatch of the Duchesses last messenger, the King was departed from Lions, where he had lien halse a yeere to ouerthrow couertly the Duke of Burgundies enterprises without breaking the truce. But if a man consider well the Dukes estate, the King made sharper war vpon him by letting him run hirselfe out of breth, and priuily stirring vp enemies against him, than if he had openly proclaimed war. For immediately vpon the proclamation, the Duke would haue relinquished his enterprise, and then all these mishaps had never fallen vpon him.

The King being departed from Lions continued still his iourney, and from Rouenne went downe the riuer of Loire to Tours, where at his arruall he receiued newes of his sisters libertie; whereat he rejoiced not a little, and sent for hir with all speede to come to him, and gaue order for hir charges vpon the way. Moreouer, when she drew neare, he sent a great company of Gentlemen to waite vpon hir, and went himselfe to receiue hir as far as the gate of Plessis du Parc; where at their first meeting with a merie countenance he said vnto hir: Lady of Burgundy you are hertely welcome. Then she knowing by his countenance that he did but sport, made him a wise answer saying. Sir I am a true French woman, and ready to obey you in all you shall command. The King led hir to hir chamber, where she was very honorably entertained. True it is that he desired to send hir home as speedily as might be, whereof she was no lesse desirous than he: for she was a very wise woman, and they were well acquainted the one with the others conditions. The whole charge of this matter was committed to me, first to prouide money to defray hir in hir returne: secundarily to seeke silkes and veluets for hir: and lastly to put in writing the articles of their new league and amitie. Moreouer, the King indeuored to dissuade hir from the mariage of hir two daughters aboue mentioned; but she made hir excuse by the daughters themselves, who were obstinate therein: which when the King perceiued he yeelded vnto them, and in mine opinion they were well bestowed. After the Duchesse had sojournd at Plessis seauen or eight daies, the King and she sware thence foorth to be friends each to other, and writings touching their amitie were interchangeably deliuered betweene them: which done, the Duchesse tooke hir leaue of the King, who caused hir safely to be conueighed into hir owne countrey, and restored vnto hir, hir children, all the places that were in his hands, all hir iewels, and all that belonged to hir. They were both glad of their departure, and liued euer after as brother and sister euen till their death.

How the Duke of Burgundie liued as it were solitarilie the space of certaine
weeke, during the which time the Duke of Lorraine
reconered his towne of Nancy.

Chap. 5.

But to proceed in this history, I must now retorne to the Duke of Burgundie, who after the battel of Morat, which was in the yeare 1476, fled to the frontiers of Burgundie and kept himselfe close in a towne called La Riuiere; where he lay more than six weeks with intent to leuy yet another army, wherein notwithstanding he proceeded but slowly: for he liued as it were solitarily, in such sort that all his dooings seemed (as you shall heereafter perceiue) rather to proceed of obstinacie than any reason. For the greefe he had conceiued of the first ouerthrow at Granson so inwardly vexed him, that he fell into a dangerous sicknes; which so altered his complexion, that whereas before his choler and naturall heate was so great that he dranke no wine, but Tysan every morning ordinarily, and ate conserue of roses to refresh him: now this sorow and greefe had so much weakned his spirits, that he was forced to drinke the strongest wine without water, that could be gotten. And further, to reduce the blood to the hart, his Phisitions were faine to pur burning flaxe into boxing glasses, and so to set them on his breast neere to the hart. Of this his sicknes (my Lord of Vienna) you can better write than my selfe, because all the time thereof you were continually with him to assist him with your aduise, and caused him also to shauie his beard, which before he ware long. But in mine opinion after this sicknes his wits were neuer so fresh as before, but much weakned and decaied. Such are the passions of those that being fallen into great misfortunes seeke not the true remedies, especially of proud and disdainfull Princes. For in such a case the best and soueraignest remedy is to haue recourse to God, to bethinke our selues if we haue in any point offended him, to humble our selues before him, and to acknowledge our faults: for he it is that determineth these causes, and to him no man may impute any error. The second remedy in such a case is to conserue with some familiar friend, to reueale boldly vnto him all our passions, and not to be ashamed to vter our greefe to our deere friend: for that easeth and comforteth the minde, and by talking thus in counsell with a faithfull friend, the spirits recouer their former vertue and strength. The third remedy in such a case is to fall to some exercise & bodily labor: for seeing we are men such pensiuenes & greefe can not be passed ouer without great passions either publike or priuate¹. But the Duke tooke the cleane contrarie course, for he hid himselfe & kept himselfe solitary; wheras he should haue put to flight al such melancholike austerity. Further, because he was a terrible Prince to his seruants, none durst presume to giue him counsell or comfort, but suffered him to follow his owne sense, fearing if they had gone about to perswade with him, it might haue turned them to displeasure.

¹ cardamus gi-
uenth three na-
tural remedies
or purgations
of sorrow: fa-
sting, wee-
ping, fighting.

During this sixe weeke space or thereabout that he soiorned at La Riuiere with small force, (which was no maruell hauing lost two so great battels) many new enimes arose against him, his friends fell from him, his subiects being defeated and discomfited began to murmur and despise him, which is a thing vsuall (as before I haue said) in such aduersities. Further, many places in Lorraine were either razed or woon from him, namely Vaudemont, Espinall, and diuers others, and on euery side enimies prepared to inuade him, and the miserablest slauves were the hardiest. In this

this harsliburly the Duke of Lorraine assembled a small force & came before Nancy: of the little townes thereabout he held the greatest part; notwithstanding the Burgundians kept still Pont-à-mousson fower leagues distant from Nancy.

Among those that were besieged within the said towne of Nancy, was a worshipfull Knight called Monsieur *de Beures* of the house of Croy, who had vnder him certaine harquebusiers; within the towne was also an English Captaine though but of meane parentage, yet very valiant called *Colpin*², whom my selfe preferred with certaine o:thers of the garrison of Guisnes to the Dukes service. This *Colpin* had within the towne vnder his charge a band of three hundred English men, the which grew wearie of the siege (though they were troubled neither with batterie nor approches) because the Duke made no more haste to succour them. And to say the trath, he committed a foule oversight in that he approached no neerer to Lorraine, but lay thus in a place far off & where he could do no seruice: sith it stood him more vpon to defend that he had already gotten, than to inuade the Swislers in hope to reuenge his losses. But his obstinacie turned him to great inconuenience, in that he would aske no mans aduise, but trusted wholy to his owne braine: for notwithstanding that they that were besieged, continually and earnestly sollicited him to succour the place; yet lay he still vpon no necessitie, at the said towne of Riuiere sixe weeke or thereabout; whereas if he had done otherwise, he might easilly haue releeued the towne. For the Duke of Lorraine had no force before it, and by defending the countrie of Lorraine the passage from his other seniories into Burgundie should euer haue beene open through Luxembourg and Lorraine. Wherefore if his wits had beene such then as before time I had knownen them, he would sure haue vsed greater diligence.

During the time that they within Nancy looked daily for succours, *Colpin* aboue mentioned, Captaine of the English band within the towne, was slaine with a canon shot greatly to the Duke of Burgundies prejudice. For the presence of one man alone endued with vertue and wisedome, though but of base race and parentage, oftentimes deliuereþ his Master from great inconueniences. As touching the which point I commend aboue all others the wisedome of the King our Master: for neuer Prince feared so much the Losse of his men as he did. *Colpin* being thus slaine, the English men within the towne began to mutine and despaire of succours: for neither knew they of how small power the Duke of Lorraine was, nor what goodly meanes the Duke of Burgundie had to leuie new forces. Further, because of long time the English men had made no wars out of their owne Realme, they vnderstood not what the siege of a towne meant. Wherefore they resolued in the ende to parliament, and told Monsieur *de Beures* captaine of the towne, that if he would not fall to composition with the Duke of Lorraine, they would compound without him. He notwithstanding that he were a trustie Knight lacked courage, and fell to intreaties and perswasions; whereas in mine opinion stouter language would better haue prevailed: but God had already disposed hereof. If the towne had beene held but three daies longer, it had been releeued. To conclude, the said *de Beures* agreed to the English men, and yelded the place to the Duke of Lorraine³: and so departed he and all that were within it with bag and baggage.

The next day or at the furthest within two daies after the towne was yelded, the Duke of Burgundie arriued there well accompanied considering his estate: for certaine bands were come to him from Luxembourg, which had beene leuied in his other seniories. Before Nancy the Duke of Lorraine and he met; but no great exploit was done, because the Duke of Lorrains force was small. The said Duke of

¹ This *Colpin*
the new copie
callith thoro-
ughout co-
lin, but the old
Colin, and La-
March, then-
nun *Collepin*,
wherefore I
haue beene
bould to a-
mend it ac-
cording to the
old copie.

² Nancy was
yelded the 6.
of October.
Myer.

Burgundie continuing still his former enterprise, determined to lay his siege againe before Nancy : wherefore better it had beene for him not to haue delaide so long vpon selfewill the succouring of the towne. But God giueth such extraordinarie minds to Princes when he is purposed to alter their good successe. If the Duke would haue followed good aduise, and manned well the small places about the towne, he might easily in short space haue recovered it : for it was vnfurnished of victuals, and he had men ynow, yea too many to haue held it in great distresse. In the meane time he might comodiously haue refreshed and repaired his army, but he tooke the contrary course.

Of the Earle of Campobaches great treasons, and how he kept the Duke of Burgundie from hearing a gentleman that would haue revealed them to him before he was put to death, and how the said Duke made no account of the aduertisement the King sent him.

Chap. 6.

Dring the time the Duke of Burgundie held before Nancy this siege, vnsfortunate to himselfe, to all his subiects, and to many others whom this quarrell no way concerned : diuers of his men began to practise his destruction. For (as you haue heard) many enimies were now risen against him on all sides, and among others *Nicholas* Earle of Campobache in the realm of Naples, whence he was banished for the house of *Anjous* faction. This Earle after the death of *Nicholas* Duke of Calabria whom he serued, hauing as I said before neither lands nor living; was receiuied with diuers others of the said Duke of Calabrias seruants into the Duke of Burgundies house, who at his first comming deliuered him 40000. ducats in prest to goe into Italy to leuy therewith fower hundred launces that were vnder the said Earles charge and paide by himselfe. From the which day forward euен till this present he euer sought his Masters destruction, and now seeing him in this aduersitie began to practise a fresh against him, both with the Duke of Lorraine and also with certaine of the Kings capraines and seruants that lay in Champaigne neere to the Dukes campe. To the Duke of Lorraine he promised so to order the matter, that this siege should take no effect. For he would finde meanes that such things as were necessarie both for the siege and batterie should be lacking; which promise he was well able to perferme, for the principall charge thereof was committed to him; neither had any man so great authoritie in the army vnder the Duke of Burgundy as he. But his practises with the Kings capraines touched the quick neerer : for he continually promised them either to kill his Master or take him prisoner, demaunding for recompence thereof the charge of these fower hundred launces, twenty thousand crownes to be deliuered him in ready money, and some good Earledome in Fraunce.

While this Earle was practising these treasons, certaine of the Duke of Lorraines gentlemen attempted to enter the towne of Nancy. Some of the which entred, and some were taken, among whom was one *Cifron* a gentleman borne in Prouence, who was the onely man that entertained these practises betweene the Earle of Campobache and the said Duke of Lorraine. The D. of Burgundy presently commanded this *Cifron* to be hanged, alleaging that by the law of armes after a Prince hath laide his siege before a place and made his batterie, if any man attempt to enter to com-

fort

fort those that are besieged he ought to dy. Yet is this law not practised in our wars which are much crueller then the wars of Italy or Spaine where it is put in vse. But law or no law, the Duke would that in any wise this gentleman shold die, who seeing no remedy, sent word to the Duke that if it would please him to giue him audience he would reueale a secret to him that touched his life; whereof certaine gentlemen to whom he vttered this speech went to aduertise the Duke : with whom at their arriuall they found the Earle of Campobache, come thither either by chaunce or of purpose to be alwaies at hand, fearing least *Cifron* whom he knew to be taken should reueale all his conspiracies : for he was priuy to them all; and that was indeed the secret he would haue discouered. The Duke made answere to these gentlemen that brought him this message, that he vsed this delay only to saue his life, commanding him to open the matter to them: vpon the which word the Earle of Campobache laid hold, perswading the Duke that it should be best. For you shall vnderstand that none of the Dukes counsell, neither any other persons were present with him at the debating of this matter, but this Earle onely who had charge of the wole army, and a Secretarie that was writing. The prisoner answered that he would vtter it to no man but to the Duke onely: whereupon the Duke commanded him againe to be led to execution, and so he was. But vpon the way thitherward, he desired diuers gentlemen to entreat the Duke their Master for him; affirming this to be such a secret as the Duke would not for a Duchy but know. Many that were acquainted with him pitied him, & went to desire the Duke to vouchsafe him the hearing. But this traitorous Earle, who kept the Dukes chamber (being of timber) so straightly that no man might enter in: refuled the doore to these gentlemen, saying that the Duke had commanded him to be hanged with speed; and further sent diuers messengers to the Provoost to hasten the execution. Thus was this *Cifron* hanged to the Duke of Burgundies great preiudice, and better had it beene for him to haue vsed lesse cruelty, and gently to haue heard this gentleman; which if he had done, peraduenture he had been yet living, his house florishing, his dominions in safety, yea and much enlarged, considering the broiles that haue hapned since in this realme.

But it is to be thought that God had otherwise disposed hereof, because of the dishonorable part the Duke had plaide the Earle of Saint Paule Constable of Fraunce not long before. For you haue already heard in this history how notwithstanding his safe conduct, he tooke him prisoner, deliuered him to the King to put him to death, and sent also all the letters and writings he had of the said Constables seruing for his proccesse. And although the Duke had iust cause to hate him euен to the death, and to procure his death for diuers considerations too long to rehearse, (so that he might haue done it without stayning his honor:) yet all the reasons that may be alleaged on his behalfe, cannot excuse his fault in that contrarie to his promise & honor, hauing giuen him a sufficient safe conduct; he tooke him & sold him for couetousnes, partly to recover the towne of S. Quintin with other the said Constables places, lands and goods; and partly to stay the King from hindering his enterprise at Nancy when he first besieged it. For lying at that siege, after many delaies he deliuered the Constable, fearing least the Kings army being in Champaigne would haue hindered his said enterprise if he had done otherwise. For the King threatened him by his ambassadours, because it was agreed between them, that whether of them could first lay hands vpon him, should deliuere him to the other within eight daies, or put him to death. But the Duke had passed the terme of the Constables deliuerie many daies as you haue heard; so that the onely feare of losing Nancy, and the greedie desire of haing it caused the Duke to deliuere him to the King. But even as in this place of Nancy he committed

committed this foule fault, & afterward also in the same place at the second siege put *Cisron* to death, refusing to heare him speake, as one hauing his eares stopped and wits troubled: even so in the selfe same place was himselfe deceiued, and betraied by him whom he most trusted, and peraduenture iustly punished for his false dealing with the Constable, in deliuering him for couetousnes to haue the said towne. But the iudgement hereof appertaineth to God alone, neither speake I it to any other end but to declare this matter at large, and to shew how much a good Prince ought to eschew such false and faithlesse dealing, what counsell soever be giuen him thereunto. For often times those that giue a Prince such aduise; do it either to flatter him, or because they dare not gainsay him: yet when the fact is committed, they are sorie for it, knowing the punishment both of God & man that is like to ensue. But such counsellors are better far from a Prince than neere about him.

You haue heard how God appointed this Earle of *Campobache* his deputie in this world, to take reuenge of the Constables death committed by the Duke of Burgundie, in the selfesame place, and after the same manner, or rather a crueller. For even as the Duke contraire to his safe conduct and the trust the Constable had repesed in him, deliuered him to death: even so was himselfe betraied by the trustiest man in his army (I meane by him whom he most trusted) and whom he had receiued into his seruice being old, poore, and destitute of liuing, and whom he ycerely entertained with an hundred thousand ducats, wherewith this Earle himselfe paied his men of armes, besides diuers other great benefits that he had receiued at the Dukes hands. And when he first began to conspire his death he was going into Italy with 40000 ducats, which (as you haue heard) he had receiued in prest of the Duke to leuie therewith his men of armes. Moreouer, the better to execute his traitorous enterprise, he practised in two places, first with a phisition dwelling in Lyons called Master *Simon of Pauia*; & afterward with the Kings ambassador in *Sauoy*, as before I haue rehearsed. Againe at his returne out of Italy, his men of armes lying in certaine smal townes in the countie of *Marle* which is in *Lannois*, he began a new to practise against his Master, offering either to deliuere into the Kings hands all the places he held: or when the King should be in battell against his Master, a priuie token to be betweene them; vpon the sight whereof he would turne with all his companie to the King against the Duke his Master. But this last ouverture pleased not the King. He offered yet further, so soone as his Master should be abroad with his army, either to take him prisoner or to kill him, as he went to view the seat of his campe; which last enterprise vndoubtedly he would haue executed. For the Dukes manner was when he alighted from his horse at the place where he encamped, to disarme himselfe all sauing his quirace, and to mount vpon a little nagge, accompanied onely with eight or ten archers on foot, or sometime two or three gentlemen of his chamber; in the which estate he vse to ride about his campe, to see if it were well inclosed: so that the said Earle might with ten horses easily haue executed his enterprise. But the King detesting the continual treasons against his Master, especially this last being attempted in tyme of truce; and further not knowing throughly to what purpose he made these offers: determined of a noble courage to discouer them to the Duke of Burgundie; and accordingly aduertised him at large of them all by the Lord of *Contay* (so often before named) my selfe being present when he declared them to the said *Contay*, who I am sure like a faithfull seruant reuealed them to his Master. But the Duke taking all in euill part, said that if it were so, the King would neuer haue aduertised him therof. This was long afore he laid his siege before *Nancy*; yet thinke I that he neuer spake word therof to the said Earle: for he loued him euer after rather better than woorse.

How

How the Duke of Lorraine being accompanied with good force of Almaines, came to the towne of *Saint Nicholas* during the siege of *Nancy*, and how the King of Portugale who was in Fraunce, came to see the Duke of Burgundie during the said siege.

Chap. 7.



Et vs now returne to our principall matter, I meane the siege the Duke held before *Nancy*, which he began in the middest of winter with small force, euill armed, euill paide, and the most part sicke. The mightiest in his campe practised against him as you haue heard, and generally they murmured all, and despised all his doings, as in aduersitie commonly it happeneth: but none attempted ought against his person or estate, saue this Earle of *Campobache* onely; for in his subiects no disloialtie was found. While he lay there in this poore estate, the Duke of Lorraine treated with the confederated townes before named, to leuie men in their territories to fight with the Duke of Burgundie lying before *Nancy*, whereunto all the townes easily agreed, but the Duke of Lorraine lacked money: wherefore the King sent ambassadours to the Swiessers in his fauor, and lent him also 40000. franks towards the painement of his Almaines. Further, the Lord of *Cran* who was then the Kings lieuetenant in *Champagne*, lay in *Barrois* with seauen or eight hundred launces and certaine franke archers led by very expert captaines. The Duke of Lorraine by meanes of the Kings fauor and money, drew vnto his seruice great force of Almaines as well horsemen as foote men, besides the which the townes also furnished a great number at their owne charge. Moreouer, with the said Duke were many gentlemen of this realme, and the Kings armie as I said before lay in *Barrois*, which made no war, but waited to see to whether part the victorie would incline. The Duke of Lorraine being accompanied with these Almaines aboue mentioned, came and lodged at *Saint Nicholas* two leagues from *Nancy*.

The King of Portugale had beeene in this realme at that present the space of nine moneths: for the King our Master was entred into league with him against the King of Spaine that now is. Wherupon the said King of Portugale came into Fraunce, hoping that the King would lend him a great armie to inuade *Castile* by the frontiers of *Biscay* or *Nauarre*. For the said King of Portugale held certaine places in *Castile* bordering vpon Portugale, and certaine also vpon the confines of Fraunce; namely, the castell of *Bourges*, and diuers others so that if the King had aided him as once he was purposed, it is like his enterprise had taken effect: but the King altered his minde, and foded him foorth with faire words the space of a yeaer or more. During the which time his affaires in *Castile* daily impaired: for at his comming into France all the nobles in maner of the realme of *Castile* tooke part with him, but because of his long absence, by little and little they altered their minds, and made peace with King *Ferrande* and Queen *Isabell* now raigning. The King our Master excused his not aiding him according to his promise by the wars in Lorraine, alleaging that he feared that the Duke of Burgundie (if he reconquered his losses) would foorthwith inuade him. This poore King of Portugale being a good and a iust Prince¹, resolved to go to the Duke of Burgundie his cosin german² to treate of peace betweene the King and him, to the end that then the King might aide him: for he was ashamed to

¹ He meaneth a simple Prince of wit, ² How the King of Portugale and the Duke of Burgundie were cosin german² to degree in the end of the worke will declare.

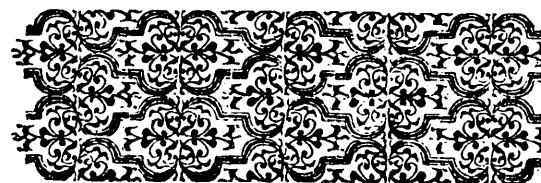
to returme into Castile or Portugale in this estate hauing done no good heere in Fraunce; and the rather because he had taken his iourney vpon him very rashly, and contrarie to the aduise of the most of his counsell. Wherefore he put himselfe vp on the way in the middest of winter to go to the Duke of Burgundie his cosin lying before Nancy: where at his arriuall he began to treat with him according to the Kings instructions. But perceiving it an impossibilitie to agree them because their demands were contrarie in all points; after he had remained there two daies he tooke his leaue of the Duke of Burgundie his cosin, and returned to Paris from whence he came. The Duke desired him to staie a while, and to go to Pont-à-musson fower leagues from Nancy to defend that passage: for the Duke was already aduertised that the Almains army lay at Saint Nicholas. But the King of Portugale excused himselfe, saying: that he was neither armed nor accompanied for such an enterprise; and so returned to Paris, where he remained a long time, till in the ende he entered into ielousie, that the King meant to take him prisoner and deliuered him to his enimie the King of Castile. Whereupon he and two of his seruants disguised themselues, purposing to go to Rome there to enter into religion. But as he iourneied in this disguised attire, he was taken by a Norman called *Robinet le Beuf*. Of this his departure the King our Master was both sorie and ashamed: and thereupon armed diuers ships vpon the coast of Normandie to convoy him into Portugale; of the which fleete *George Leger* was appointed Admirall.

The occasion of his war vpon the King of Castile was for his sisters daughter. For you shall vnderstand that his sister had been wife to Don *Henry* King of Castile that last died; and had issue a goodly daughter which liueth yet in Portugale vnmarried. This daughter *Queene Isabell* sister to the said King *Henry*³, held from the crowne of Castile, saying that she was illegitimate; of the which opinion were also many others, alleaging that King *Henry* was impotent to generation, for a certaine impediment that I ouerpasse. But whether it were so or no; notwithstanding that the said daughter were borne vnder the vaile of mariage: yet remained the crowne of Castile to *Queene Isabell* and hir husband the King of Arragon and Sicilie⁴ now raigning.

The King of Portugall aboue mentioned, labored to make a mariage betwene the said daughter his neece and King *Charles* the eight now raigning, which was the cause of this his voyage into Fraunce, that turned so greatly to his damage and greefe. For soone after his returne into Portugale he died. Wherefore (as I said in the beginning of this historie) a Prince ought to beware what ambassadors he sendeth into a strange countrey. For if they had beene wise that came from the King of Portugale into Fraunce to conclude the league aboue mentioned, (whereat my selfe was present, as one in commission for the King) they would haue informed them selues better of our affaires in these parts before they had counsellel their Master to enter into this voyage, which turned so much to his losse and damage.

³ The Pedegree in the ende of the worke will make this plaine.

⁴ Before he calleth *Rene* King of Sicilie, but King *Rene* had but the title not the possession.



How the Duke of Burgundie refusing the good counsell of diuers of his men, was discomfited and slaine in the battell fought betwene him and the Duke of Lorraine, neere to Nancy. Chap. 8.

Would haue passed ouer this discourse of the King of Portugale, had it not been to shew that a Prince ought to beware how he put himselfe into another Princes hands, or goe in person to demand aide. But now to returme to the principall matter. Within a day after the King of Portugales departure from the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Lorraine and the Almains that serued him, dislodged from Saint Nicholas, and marched to fight with the said Duke; and the selfe same day the Earle of Campobache to accomplish his enterprise departed from the Dukes campe¹, and revolted to his enimies with eight score men of armes, forwring onely that he could do his Master no more harme. They within Nancy had intelligence of this Earles practises, which encouraged them to endure the siege. Further, one that leaped downe the ditches entered the towne and assuréd them of succors, otherwise they were vpon the point to haue yeelded it. And to say the truth had it not been for the said Earles treasons, they could neuer haue held it so long; but God was fully determined to bring the Duke to his end.

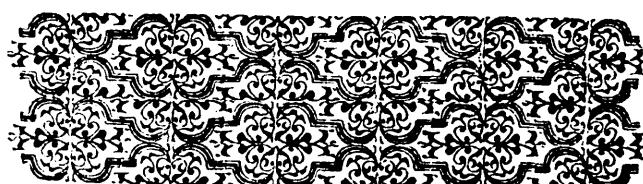
The Duke of Burgundy being aduertised of the Duke of Lorrains arriuall, assembled his counsell contrary to his accustomed maner; for he was neuer woont to aske any mans aduise, but in all matters to follow his own sense. Most of them counselled him to retire to Pont-à-musson, being but fower leagues thence, & to man the places well which he held about Nancy, alleaging that the Almains would depart so soone as they had victualled the towne, and the Duke of Lorrains mony faile him; so that he should not be able in long time to assemble the like force. They said further, that his enimies coule not victuall the towne so well, but that before winter were halfe expired it should be in as great distresse as at that present, and in the meane time, he might leuy men: for I haue been informed by those that perfectly vnderstood it, that he had not in all his armie aboue fower thousand soldiers, of the which hardly twelue hundred were able to fight. Money he lacked not, for in the castell of Luxembourg being not far thence, were at the least 45000. crownes, and men ynochough he might haue recouered. But God would not giue him grace to follow this wifes aduise, nor perceiue how many enimies lodged round about him on euery side: so that he tooke the woorst course, and by the aduise of certaine harebrained fooles determined to hazard the battell with these few terrified and hartlesse men; notwithstanding all the reasons alleaged to him, both of the great force of Almains the Duke of Lorraine had, and also of the Kings armie that lay hard by his campe. When the Earle of Campobache was come to the Duke of Lorraine, the Almains commanded him to depart, saying, that they would haue no traytor among them. Wherefore he retired to Condé a castell and passage neere at hand², which he fortified with carts and other prouisions the best he could, trysting that when the Duke of Burgundy and his men fled, some of them would fall into his hands, as indeede a great many did. But this practise with the Duke of Lorraine was not his greatest treason; for a little before his departure he conspired with diuers in the Dukes army, resoluing with them (because he sawe no hope of killing or taking his Master prisoner) to revolt to the

¹ He departed vpon wensday with 180. Mey er saith almost 200. men of armes, that is 800. horse, and on saturday departed the Lordes of Dauge or Au- gy as Meyer nameth him, and Monfort with 120. men of armes, that is 480. horse, and vpon sunday was the battell.

² Annal. Aquic. Meyer. Annal. Burgund.

³ The castell of Condé was the passage vpon the bridge of the river of Moselle. Meyer.

¹ The Duke lost in the battell of Nancy 3000. men. *Annal. Bur-gund.*
² He had three wounds, one with a halberd in the side of his head, which claue his head downe to the teeth, another with a pike through the haunches, and the thurd a pash also with a pike by the funda-
^{ment. Annal. Burg.} He was borne the 11. of Nouember 1433. and was 34. yeeres old when he began to go-
^{uerne: he li-}
^{ued 43. years, one moneth, and 26. daies: and gouerned}
^{nine yeeres, sixe monethes, and twentie daies. Meyer.} The name of him that slue Duke Charles was *Claude of Bausmone*, capteine of the castell of Saint Dier in Lorraine. The Duke was mounted vpon a blacke courser, and seeing his battells overthrowen, tooke a little riuier supposing to haue sauied himselfe, but in the riuier his horse fell and ouerthrew him: and then this gentleman not knowing him, and by reason he was deafe not hearing the Duke, who cried to him for the saftie of his life, ran vpon him, slue him, stripped him, and left him lying stark naked in the ditch. Where the next day after the battell, his body was found to fast frosten in the ice, that when it was drawn foorth a peice of his cheeke tarried there behinde. The Duke of Lorraine to his great honor solemnly buried him, himselfe and all his nobles accompanying the corps in mourning attire. The place where the Duke was slaine was hard by S. Johns Church without Nancy, where the Duke of Lorraine erected a crofse for a memorall thereof. The gentleman that slue him died soone after of melancholie, when he vnderstood that he had slaine so woorthe and courageous a Prince. *Champier. Annales Burgund.* The battell at Nancy Meyer nameth the battell of Iaruilla. ³ Being sunday, and as others write ann. 1477. but the variance both in this place and diuers others betweene *Commines* and them is, because they end the yeere at Newyeeres tide after the Italian and Dutch Computation, and he not before Easter, according to the French and Flemish account, as by the course of his historie is most plaine. ⁴ 1477 begining the yeere at Newyeeres tide.



A discourse upon certaine vertues of the Duke of Burgundie, and of the time his house flourished in prosperitie. Chap.9.

Saw at Milan since his death a signet that I haue often seene him weare at his brest, which was a ring set with a camée, having very curiously cut into it an iron to strike fire¹, wherein his armes were grauen. This ring was sold at Milan for two ducats, and he that stole it from him was a false knaue, that had beene a groome of his chamber. Many a time haue I seene him made ready and vnready with great reverence and solemnitie, and that by great personages. But now when death came, all these honors fleted away, and both he and his house were destroied as you haue heard, in the selfesame place where a little before he had consented for couetousnes to deliuer the Constable to death. I had knownen him in times past a mighty and honorable Prince; as much yea more esteemed and sought to of his neighbours, then any Prince in Christendome. Further, in mine opinion the greatest cause of Gods indignation against him, was for that he attributed all his good successe, and all the great victories he obtained in this world, to his owne wisedome and vertue; and not to God, as he ought to haue done. And vndoubtedly he was endued with many goodly vertues: for neuer was Prince more desirous to entertaine noble men, and keepe them in good order than he. His liberalitie seemed not great², because he made all men partakers therof. Neuer Prince gave audience more willingly to his seruants and subiects than he³. While I serued him he was not cruell, but grew maruellous cruell towards his end: which was a signe of short life. In his apparell and all other kinde of furniture he was woondershfull pompos, yea somewhat too excessiue. He receiuied very honorably all ambassadours and strangers, feasting them sumptuously, and entertaining them with great solemnitie. Couetous he was of glorie, which was the chiefe cause that made him mooue so many wars: for he desired to imitate those ancient Princes, whose fame continueth till this present. Lastly, hardy he was and valiant, as any man that liued in his time: but all his great enterprises & attempts ended with himselfe, and turned to his owne losse and dishonor; for the honor goeth ever with the victorie. Yet to say the truth, I wot not well whether God powred out greater indignation vpon him, or vpon his subiects: for he died in battel without any long grieve; but they sithence his death neuer liued in peace, but in cōtinual war; against the which they haue not been able to make resistance, because of their owne ciuill troubles and diuisions. Yea and another thing that most grieueth them is, that they that now defend them are strangers, who not long since were their enemies, namely the Almains. To conclude, since the Dukes death neuer man bare them good wil, no not they that defend them. Further, if a man consider well their actions, it seemeth that their wits were as much troubled, as their Princes before his death: for they despised all good counsell, and sought all meanes to hurt themselves. In the which vale of miserie they are stil like to cōtinue; or if happily they wade out of it for a season, like they are to fall into it again.

Wherfore I am of a certaine wise mans opinion of my acquaintance, that God giueth to subiects Princes, according as he wil punish or chastice them; and likewise towards the Prince disposeth the subiects harts, according as he will aduaunce or abase him: and euен so dealt he with the subiects of this house of Burgundie. For after three great, good & sage Princes, who gouerned them the space of 120. yeeres or more, with great wisedome and vertue, he gaue them in the end this D. *Charles*, ⁵ who

¹ Of the de-
^{vice of the Fu-}
^{zill read the}
^{chronicles of}
^{Flanders pag.}
^{345. Claude}
^{Paradin in his}
^{deuises he-}
^{roiques pag.}
^{46. and Annal.}
^{Burgund. lib. 3.}
^{pag. 711. who}
^{saith that he}
^{gaue the stri-}
^{king iron, be-}
^{cause it is}
^{made in the}
^{forme of R,}
^{which is the}
^{f. & B. letter of}
^{Burgundie.}
^{Further he gi-}
^{ueth the laid}
^{iron striking}
^{against the}
^{stone within-}
^{finite sparkles}
^{flying from}
^{them, to signi-}
^{fy that the}
^{cruel wars be-}
^{tweene the D.}
^{of Burgundie}
^{and the realm}
^{of France had}
^{for all their}
^{neighbours}
^{on fire.}

² His mea-
^{ning is that}
^{because he be-}
^{stoweth vpon}
^{euery man, he}
^{could not be-}
^{stow much}
^{vpon any}
^{one, where.}

³ He meaneth

^{in hearing}
^{their sutes; for}
^{as touching}
^{matters of}
^{cōsēl he hath}
^{said before in}
^{diuers places}
^{that he wold}
^{neuer vse any}
^{mans aduise.}

who held them in continual wars, trauell and charges, almost as much in winter as sommier: so that a great number of rich wealthy men were either slaine in these wars, or starued in prison. Their great miseries began before Nuz, and continued with the losse of three or fower battels, till the hower of the Dukes death; who in this last battell wasted and consumed the whole force of his countrie, and lost all his seruants that could or would haue defended the estate and honor of his house. It seemeth therefore (as before I said) that this aduersitie hath counteruailed all the time of their felicitie. For as I say, that I haue scene him a great, mightie and honorable Prince: so may I say also of his subiects: for I haue travelled the best part of Europe in mine opinion, yet saw I never countrey in my life of the like greatness, no nor far greater, abound with such wealth, riches, sumptuous buildings, large expences, feasts, banquets and all kinde of prodigalitie, as these countries of Burgundy did, during the time that I was residēt there. And if those that knew them not during the time that I speake of, thinke my report too large: I am sure others that knew them then as well as my selfe, will thinke it too little. But God with one blow hath laid flat on the ground this sumptuous building, I meane this mightie house that bred and maintained so many worthy men; that was so greatly esteemed both far and neere, and obtained greater victories, and liued in greater honor during the time it flourished than any other: which great felicitie and grace of God towards them continued the space of a hundred and twentie yeeres. During the which time all their neighbours suffered great afflictions, namely, Fraunce, England and Spaine, so far foorth that all these at one time or other haue come to crane helpe and succor of this house of Burgundy, as you haue scene by experience, of the King our Master, who in his youth while his father King *Charles* the seuenth raigned, liued in Burgundy the space of sixe yeeres, with good Duke *Philip*, who louingly received him. As touching the Princes of England, I haue scene in the Duke of Burgundies court King *Edwards* two brethren the Dukes of Clarence, and Gloucester who afterward named himselfe King *Richard* the third: and on the contrarie side of the house of Lancaster that tooke part with King *Henry*, I haue scene in manner all the noble men suring to this house of Burgundy for aide. To be short, as I haue knownen this house honored of all men: so haue I also scene it at one instant fall downe topsy turuy, and become the most desolate and miserable house in the world, both in respect of the Prince & also of the subiects. Such like works hath God brought to passe before we were borne, and will also when we are dead. For this we ought certainly to beleue, that the good or euill successe of Princes dependeth wholly vpon his diuine ordinance.

How the King was aduertised of the Duke of Burgundies last overthrow, and how he governed his affaires after the said Dukes death.

Chap. 10.

BY to proceed in our history, the King who had now laid possesyon in his realm (for before were never any) looked howerly for the certaine newes of this battell of Nancy, because of the occurrents he had alreadie received of the Almaines arriuall, and of all the other circumstancies aboue rehearsed: and was foorthwith aduertised of the Dukes ouerthowre. Diuers there were that waited diligently to beare him the first newes hereof; for alwaies he gaue somwhat to him that first brought him tidings of

of any good newes, withall not forgetting the messengers. Further, his delight was to talke of them before they came, and to promise rewarde to him that could bring him some good newes. Monsieur *de Bouchage* and my selfe being togither, receiued the first word of the battell of Morat, whereof both of vs iointly aduertised the King, who gaue to each of vs two hundred markes of siluer. Monsieur *de Lude* who lodged without Plessis, was the first man that knew of the Courriers arriuall with the letters of this battell of Nancy, and commanded the said Courier to deliuere him his pacquet, who durst not deny it him, because of the Kings great fauour towards him. The next morning by break of day the said *de Lude* came rapping at the doore next to the Kings chamber, which foorthwith was opened to him; and in he went and deliuered these letters sent from the Lord of Cran and diuers others; notwithstanding none of them wrot any certaintie of the Dukes death: but some reported that he was scene flie, and was escaped. This newes at the first so rauished the King with ioy, that he wist not what countenance to shew: notwithstanding two doubts there were that troubled him; the one, least the Almaines, if the Duke were taken, for greedines of monie (whereof the Duke had plentie) would not onely rauisome him, but also conclude some treatie with him, and of his foes become his friends. The other, if the Duke were escaped thus thrise discomfited, whether he should seaze into his hands his seniories of Burgundy or no, knowing them easie to be taken, because in maner all the force of the countrie was slaine in these three battels. Touching the which point, his resolution (whereunto few I thinke but my selfe were priu) was, if the Duke were escaped aliue, to command his army that lay in Champaigne and Barrois to enter incontinent into Burgundie during this great feare and astonishment of the people; and hauing seazed all the countrie into his hands, he meant to aduertise the Duke, that he did it onely to saue it for him, and defend it from the Almaines. For because the said Duchie was held of the crowne, he would for no good that it should be a pray for them: but whatsoeuer he had taken, he would faithfully restore; as undoubtedly he would, though many happily will not credit it. And no maruell; for they know not the reasons that would haue moued him thereunto: but he altered this determination when he vnderstood of the Dukes death. Immediately after the King (being at Tours) had received the letters aboue mentioned, which reported nothing of the Dukes death; he sent into the towne for all his capaines, and diuers noble men, to whom he read these letters; whereat they seemed in appearance greatly to rejoice: but those that looked narrowlier into their behauour, perceiued that a great many of them forced their mirth, and wished with all their harts, notwithstanding their outward shew, that the world had gone otherwise with the Duke. The reason whereof peraduenture was, because the K. heretofore had liued in great feare; but now they doubted, seeing him deliuered of so many enemies, that he would alter many things, especially offices and pensions. For there were a great number in the company, that had borne armes against him both in the warre called THE WEALE P V B L I K E (whereof you haue heard in the beginning of this historie) and in diuers other broiles betweene him and the Duke of Guienne his brother. After he had communed awhile with these noble men and capaines, he went to nasse; which being ended, he caused the table to be couered in his chamber, and made them all dine with him; the Lord Chauncellor, and certaine others of his counsell being also present. All dinner-while he talked of these affaires: but I and diuers others marked with what appetite those that sate at the table dined. And vndoubtedly there was not one of them (I wot not whether for ioy or sorrow) that ate halfe a meales meate; yet were they not ashamed to eate in the Kings presence, for euerie one of them had often

before dined at his table. When the King was risen from dinner, he withdrew him selfe, and gave to diuers, certaine of the Duke of Burgundies lands if he were dead, and soone after dispatched the Admirall of Fraunce, called the bastard of Bourbon, and my selfe, giuing vs commission to receiue into his allegiance as many as would become his subiects; and further: commanding vs to depart incontinent, and to open all couriers packets that we should meeet with, to the end we might be certainly informed whether the Duke were dead or aliue. We departed in great haste, though in the extreamest cold weather that euer I felt: and when he had ridden about halfe a daies iourney, we met with a Poste, whom we commanded to deliuer vs his letters; the contents whereof were, that the Duke was found among the dead bodies¹, and knownen by an Italian Page that serued him, and by his Physition called Master Louppé a Portugaleborne, who sent word to Monsieur de Gran of the Duke his Masters death, who incontinent aduertised the King thereof.

How the King after the Duke of Burgundies death seazed into his hands the towne of Abbeville, and of the answer they of Arras gaue him.
Chap. 11.

 Hen we vnderstood these newes, we rid foorthwith to the suburbs of Abbeville, and were the first that brought word of the Dukes death into those parts. At our arrial we found the towne men in treaty with Monsieur de Torcy, whom they had loued of long time. But the soldiers and those that had beene the Dukes officers, treated with vs about the delivery of the towne by a messenger whom we sent thither before vs, so farre foorth that vpon our promises they caused fower hundred launces to depart the towne, which the townes men seeing, iinmediately opened the gates to Monsieur de Torcy, greatly to the hinderance of the capaines and the other officers of the towne; to seuen or eight of the which we had promised both money and pensions (for we had commission from the King so to do) whereof nothing was performed because the towne was not yeelded by their meanes. This towne of Abbeville was parcell of those lands that King Charles the seventh engaged to Duke Philip of Burgundie at the treatie of Arras, vnder this condition; that for default of heire male they should returne to the crowne. Wherefore it is not to be maruelled if so lightly they opened to vs their gates. From Abbeville we rid to Dourlans, and sent to sommon Arras the chiefe towne of Artois, the ancient inheritance of the Earles of Flaunders, which hath alwaies descended as well to the heires femals as males. Monsieur de Rauastaine and Monsieur de Cordes, who were within the towne condescended to come and treat with vs at an abbey neere the towne called Mont Saint Eloy, bringing with them certaine of the towne. To the which treatie we agreed that I should go and certaine with me; for because we supposed they would not yeeld to our requests, it was thought good that the Admirall should not go. Immediately after my arriall at the place assigned, the Lords of Rauastaine and Cordes being accompanied with diuers gentlemen, and certaine also of the towne repaired thither. Among those that came to negotiate with vs for the towne, was their Recorder, called Master *John de la Vaguerie*, since that time chiefe president in the court Parliament at Paris. We required them at this meeting to open vs the gates and to receiue vs into the towne for the King, saying that he claimed both towne and countrey as his by way of confisca-

¹ By what
markes the
Dukes body
was knowne,
read *Annal.*
Burgund. pag.
988.

sation; adding that if they refused so to do they were like to be forced thereto, seeing both their Prince was slaine and their countrey vterly vnfurnished of men of war, because of these three battels they had lost. The Lords aboue named made vs answer by the said Master *John de la Vaguerie*, that this countie of Artois appertained of right to the Lady of Burgundie, daughter and heire to Duke *Charles*, and descended to her by inheritance from the Lady *Margaret* sometime Countesse of Flaunders, Artois, Burgundie, Neuvers, and Retell, the which married with *Philip* the first, Duke of Burgundie, sonne to King *John* of Fraunce¹, and yoongest brother to King *Charles* the fist: wherefore they humbly besought the King to keepe the truce concluded betweene him and the late Duke *Charles*. Our communication was but short; for we supposed before our meeting, that this shold be our answer. But the chiefe cause of my going into those parts, was to commune with certaine of mine acquaintance there, and to draw them to the Kings seruice: with some of the which I spake, who soone after became his faithfull seruants accordingly. These countries were in maruellous feare and astonishment, and not without cause; for I thinke that in eight daies they could not haue leuied eight men of armes. Further, in all those quarters were not aboue 1500. soldiers, horsemen and footmen, which lay towards Namur & in Henault, & were of those that escaped out of the battel where the Duke was slaine. Their woonted termes and maner of speech were now cleane altered; for they spake lowly and humbly: which I write not to accuse them, as though in times past their words had beeene more arrogant than became them; but the truth is when I was there they thought so well of themselues, that they vised not such reverent language, neither to the King, nor of the King, as they haue done sithence. Wherefore if men were wise, they would vse such faire speech in time of prosperitie, that in aduersitie they should not need to change their termes. I returned to the Admirall, to make report of my negotiation: immediately whereupon we were aduertised that the King was at hand; for he set foorth soone after vs, and commanded letters to be written both in his owne name, and diuers of his seruants names, to cause certaine to repaire to him; by whose meanes he trusted to bring all these seniories vnder his obedience.

*A discourse not appertaining to the principall matter of the great ioye the King
was in to see himselfe deliuered of so many enemies, and of the
error he committed touching the reducing of
these countries of Burgundie to
his obedience.*

Chap. 12.

 He King rejoiced not a little to see himselfe thus deliuered of al those whom he hated and were his principall enemies: of some of the which he had taken the revenge himselfe; namely the Constable of France, the Duke of Nemours, and diuers others, his brother the Duke of Guyenne was dead whose inheritance was fallen to him. In like maner all they of the house of Aniou were dead, namely King *Rene* of Sicilie, the Dukes of Calabria *John* and *Nicholas*, and their cosin the Earle of Maine, and afterward of Prouence: the Earle of Armignac was slaine at Lestore, and all their lands and goods fallen to the King. But because this house of Burgundie was greater and nigher than the rest, and had made sharpe war with the English mens aide vpon his father K. *Charles* the seventh, thirtie two yeers without truce, and had their dominions bordring vpon his,

¹ The pede-
grie in the
end of this
worke will
shew, how all
these titles de-
scended to
this Lady
Margaret.

his, and their subiects alwaies desirous to make war vpon him and his realme: therefore he rejoiced more at their Princes death, than at the death of all the rest. Further, he now fully perswaded himselfe, that during his life, no man neither within his Realme, nor in the countries bordering vpon it, would once lift vp his finger against him. For he was in peace (as you haue heard) with the English men, which hee trauelled to the vttermost of his power to continue. But although he were thus void of all feare: yet did not God permit him to take the wisedome course for the atchieving of this his enterprise being of so great importance. And sure it appeereth both by that God shewed then and hath shewed since, that he meant sharply to punish this house of Burgundy, as wel in the person of the Prince, as of the subiects, and of those that liued amongst them. For if the King our Master had taken the best course, the warres that haue consumed them since had never hapned. For if he had done as he ought to haue done, he should haue sought to ioine to the crowne all those great Seniories whereunto he could pretend no title, either by mariage or by courteous dealing with the subiects; which thing he might then easily haue accomplished, seeing the great feare, miserie, and distresse these countries were in at that time. And if he had thus done, he should both haue rid them of many troubles, and enlarged and enriched his owne Realme through long peace, which by this meanes had beeene easily obtained. He might also hereby haue eased his Realme diuers waies, especially of the charge of men of armes, who continually ride vp and down from one corner of the Realme to another, oftentimes vpon small occasion. While the Duke of Burgundy yet liued, he oftsoones debated with me what were best to be done if the said Duke hapned to die. And then he discoursed matuellous wisely thereof, saying, that he would trauell to make a mariage betweene the King his soone now raiguing, and the Dukes daughter, afterward Duches of Austrich, which if she refused because of the Dauphin his sons yoong age; then he would attempt to win her to mary some yoong Lord of this realme, to obtaine thereby her friendship and her subiects, and recover without blowes that he claimed to be his: in the which minde he continued till eight daies before he vnderstood of the Dukes death. But this wise deliberation he began somwhat to alter the selfe same day he received newes thereof, and the very instant that he dispatched the Admirall and me. Notwithstanding he discovered not his purpose therein, but made promise to diuers of lands and lordships that had beeene in the Dukes possession.

*How Han, Bohain, Saint Quintin and Peronne were yeelded to the King,
and how he sent Master Oliver his Barber to pra-
ctise with them of Gaunt.*

Chap 13.


He King being on the way comming after vs, received good newes from all parts: for the castels of Han and Bohain were yeelded vnto him, and the citizens of Saint Quintins of their own accord received Monsieur de *Maury*, their neighbor into the towne for him. Further he assured himselfe of Peronne, which *William of Bische* held, and was put in hope both by vs and others, that Monsieur de *Cordes* would revolt to him. Further he had sent his Barber called Master *Oliver* to Gaunt, in a village neere to the which he was borne, and had dispatched diuers others into other places, being in greate hope of them all; but the most part of them serued him rather with words then deedes.

When

When he drew neare to Peronne I went to meet him, and found him in a village, whither *William of Bische* and certaine others came & presented him the keies of the towne, whereof he was right glad. The King abode there that day, & I dined with him after mine accustomed maner: for his pleasure was that seuen or eight at the least and somtimes more should ordinarily sit at his owne table. But after dinner he withdrew himselfe, and seemed to be discontented with the small exploit the Admirall and I had done, saying: that he had sent Master *Oliver* his barber to Gaunt to bring that towne to his obedience, and *Robinet Dodenfort* to Saint Omers, who was well friended there: and these he commended as fit men to receiue the keies of a towne, and put his forces into it. Diuers others also he named, whom he had sent to other great townes: and this matter he made Monsieur *de Lude*, and two or three others to debate with me. It became not me to reason against him, nor gainsay his pleasure; but I told him that I feared Master *Oliver* and the others whom he named, would not so easily take these great townes, as they supposed. The King vsed this communication with me, because he had altered his minde, and hoped by reason of his good successe in the beginning, that al the countreie would yeeld vnto him. Moreouer, he was counseled by diuers (and was also of himselfe inclined thereunto) vtterly to destroy this house of Burgundy, and to disperse the seniories thereof among diuers men; some of the which he named, vpon whom he was purposed to bestow the Earldoms, namely, *Henault* and *Namur* that border vpon *Fraunce*: with the greater seniories, as *Brabant*, *Holland*, and the rest, he meant to win certaine Princes of *Almaine* to his friendship, to the end they might aide him in the atchieving of his enterprise. Al the which matters it pleased him to acquaint me with; because I had counseled him before to take the other course aboue rehearsed: wherefore he would that I should vnderstand the reasons, why he followed not mine advise. Further he alleaged, that this course should be most beneficall for his realme, the which had sustained infinite troubles, because of the greatness of this house of Burgundie, and the mighty seniories that it possessed. And sure as touching the world, his reasons carried great shew (though in conscience me thought otherwise;) notwithstanding such was his wisedome, that neither I nor any of his seruants could see so far into his affaires as himselfe did; for vndoubtedly he was one of the wisedome and subtilest Princes that liued in his time. But in such waightie affaires God disposeth the harts of Kings and great Princes, which he holdeth in his hands, and directeth them into those waies that best serue for the executing of his determinations: for vndoubtedly if it had pleased him, that the King should still haue continued in that course which he of himselfe had devised before the Dukes death; the wars that haue been since, and yet are, had never hapned. But we were vnwoorthie on both sides to enjoy that quiet peace that was then offered vs, which sure was the onely cause of the Kings error, not want of wit: for as you haue heard, in wit no man excelled him. I write of these affaires at large, to shew that when a man attempteth any great enterprise, he ought at the first thoroughly to debate it, to the end he may choose the wisedome way; but especially to submit himselfe to God, and humbly to beseech him to direct him into the best course, which is the principall point, as appeereth both by the scriptures and by experience. I minde not heere to blame the King, nor say that he erred in this behalfe: for peraduenture diuers which knew and vnderstood more than my selfe, were then and yet are of his opinion; notwithstanding the matter was not debated there nor elsewhere. Further, those that write *Chronicles*, frame their stile commonly to their commendation of whom they speake, omitting diuers points, somtimes because they know not the truth of them. But as touching my selfe, I minde to write nothing

nothing but that is true, and which myself either haue seene or learned of such parties as are woorthie of credite, not regarding any mans commendation. For no Prince is to be thought so wise, but that he erreth sometime, yea oftentimes if he live long, as should well appeare by their actions, if they were alwaies truly reported. The greatest Senates and Consuls that be or euer haue beeene, haue erred and do erre, as we may reade and daily see.

When the King had reposed himselfe one day in this village neere to Peronne, he determined the next morning to make his entry into the towne; for it was yeelded him as you haue heard. And at his departure he drew me aside, and commanded me to go into the countrey of Poictou and the frontiers of Britaine, telling me in mine care that if neither Master *Oliver*'s enterprise tooke effect, nor Monsieur *de Cordes* revolte to him; he would cause all the countrey of Artois called La Leuée lying vpon the riuier of *Lis*, to be burned; and that done returne againe into Touraine. I desired him to be good to certaine who by my meanes were become his seruants, and to whom I had promised in his name pensions and great rewards: whereupon he tooke their names of me in writing, and performed all that I had promised. Thus I tooke my leaue of him for that time. But euen as I was taking horse, Monsieur *de Lude* cameto me, whom the King for certaine considerations fauored greatly. He was a man much giuen to his owne priuate gaine, and as he cared not to deceiue and abuse any man: so was he also very light of beliefe, and often beguiled himselfe. He had been brought vp with the King from his childhood, & knew which way to feede his humor, and had a very pleasant head. He came and said thus to me (wisely after a iesting maner) what depart you now when you should be made or never; seeing the great things that fall dayly into the Kings hands, wherewith he may enrich those that he loueth? For my part I looke to be gouernor of Flaunders, and to make my selfe all of gold, in vterring the which words, he brake foorth into great laughter: but I had no lust to laugh because I feared that this proceeded of the King. Mine answer was, that I would be right glad if his fortune might be such, and that I trusted the King would not forget me.

A certaine knight of Hainault was come to me not past halse an hower before my departure, who brought me newes of diuers with whom I perswaded by letters to put themselves into the Kings seruice. The said Knight and I are kinsmen, and he is yet liuing, wherfore neither wil I name him, nor those of whom he brought me this aduertisement. His offer in few words was to yeeld vnto the King the chiefe places and townes in Hainault. Wherof I aduertised the King euen as I was taking my leaue; who after he had talked with the said knight, told me that neither he nor those others whom I named were such as he had need of. He misliked one for this point, and another for that, and their offer seemed vnto him nothing: for he thought to obtaine all that he desired without them. Againe, after my departure the King made Monsieur *de Lude* to commune with the same knight, who was much discontented with the said *de Lude*'s words, and departed incontinent without entring into farther treaty, because the said *de Lude* and he would never have agreed in any point. For whereas this knight was come out of Hainalt to get somewhat at the Kings hands whereby to inrich himselfe: the said *de Lude* at the first meeting asked him what the townes would give him to command their cause to the King. I thinke verily that this refusall the King made to these knights proceeded also of God; for since that time he would haue made good account of them if he could haue drawne them to his seruice. But peraduenture God would not accomplish his desire in all points either bicaus of the reasons aboue alledged, or for that he would not suffer him to

vsurpe

vsurpe this countrey of Hainault (which is held of the Empire) both bicaus he had no title thereunto, and also bicaus of the ancient league betweene the Emperors and the Kings of Fraunce, wherof the King himselfe also seemed afterward to take notice. For he held Cambray, le Quesnoy, and Boissi¹ in Hainault, whereof Boissi¹ This Boissi lib.6. cap.3. he calleth Bouchain: and was acquaited, and had beeene brought vp in both these Princes dominions, and haue since also communed with diuers that were the principall managers of these heere. doubt it should be red affaires on both sides.

How Master Oliver the Kings barber failing to execute his enterprise at Gaunt, found meanes to put the Kings forces into Tournay. Chap. 14.

M After *Oliver* (as you haue heard) was gone to Gaunt, and carried letters of credit to the Lady of Burgundie Duke *Charles* his daughter, hauing also commission to perswade with her apart, to put her selfe into the Kings government¹. But this was not his principall charge: for he doubted that he should not obtaine leaue to commune with her apart; and though he did, yet supposed he that he should not frame her to his request. But his hope was to raise some great tumult in this towne of Gaunt, which hath euer beeene inclined to rebellion, and was the easier to be mooued thereunto at this present, bicaus vnder Duke *Philip* and Duke *Charles* they had liued in great awe, and lost diuers priuileges by the treatie made with the said Duke *Philip*, after their wars with him ended. Duke *Charles* also had taken one priuilege from them, concerning the election of their Senate, for an offence made the first day he entred into the towne as Duke: whereof bicaus I haue made mention before, I will heere write no further. All these reasons encouraged Master *Oliver* the Kings barber to proceede in his enterprise, so far foorth that he discouered his purpose to fonda such of the citizens, as he thought would give eare vnto him, offering (besides diuers other promises) to cause the King to restore them their priuileges that they had lost. But notwithstanding that he were not in their Towne-house to speake publikely to their Senate, bicaus he meant first to assay if he could do any good with this yoong Princesse; yet was his enterprise smelt out: wherefore after he had soiourned a few daies in Gaunt, he was sent for to declare his message; whereupon he repaired to the Princes presence, being apparelled much more sumptuouslie than became one of his calling, and deliuered his letters. The said Lady sat in her chaire of estate, hauing about her the Duke of Cleves, and the bishop of Liege, with diuers other noble men, and a great number of her subiects. When she had read her letter, she commanded him to declare his message. But he answered that he had nothing to say but to her selfe alone. Wherupon it was told him, that this was not the maner of their countrey, especially to commune in secret with this yoong Lady being vnmarrid. But he still continued his former answer, that he had nothing to say but to her selfe apart. Wherupon they threatened to make him say somewhat else: which words put him in feare. And I thinke verily, that when he came to deliuere his letter, he had not bethought him what to say: for this was not his principall charge, as you haue heard. Thus Master *Oliver* departed for this tyme without further speech. Some of the Councell

¹ The King claimed this Lady as his warde, bicaus diuers of his dominions, namely Flaunders, Artois, &c. were held of the crowne of Fraunce: besides that, he was his godfather, which was the cause why he commanded this Oliver to mooue this request.

Councell began to scorne him, as well bicause of his base estate, as of his foolish speech and behauisour, but especially they of Gaunt (in a little village neere whereunto he was borne) scoffed and derided him, so far foorth that suddenly he fled thence, being aduertised if he staide there any longer, that he should be thrown into the riuers; which I thinke would haue prooued true. The said Master *Oliver* named himselfe Earle of Melun, a little towne neere to Paris whereof he was captaigne. From Gaunt he fled to Tournay, a towne in that countrey subiect to neither Prince, but maruellously affectioned to the King: for it is his after a sort, and paith him yeerely sixe thousand franks; but in all other respects liueth in libertie, and receiueth all sorts of men: it is a goodly towne and a strong, as all the inhabitants thereabout can testifie. The churchmen and citizens haue all their possessions and reuenues in Henault and Flaunders, in both the which countries it is situate. Wherfore they vsed alwaies during the long wars betweene King *Charles* the seventh and *Philip* Duke of Burgundie, to pay yeerely vnto the said Duke ten thousand franks; the which summe I haue seene them pay also to Duke *Charles*: but at the time that Master *Oliver* came thither, they were quit of all painments, and liued in great wealth and quietnes. Although Master *Olivers* charge aboue mentioned were too waightie for him to deale in, yet was not he so much to be blamed, as they that committed it to him: for notwithstanding that his enterprise had such successe, as it was euer like to haue; yet shewed he himselfe wise in that he afterward did. For perceiuing the said towne of Tournay to be situate vpon the frontiers of both the countries aboue named, and very commodious to endammage them both, if he could put the Kings forces that lay in those parts into it; and knowing further, that the townes men would neuer consent thereunto, bicause they neuer tooke part with either Prince, but shewed themselues friends indifferently to both: he sent word secretly to Monsieur *de May* (whose sonne was bailife of the town, but not resident there) that he should bring his company which he had within S. Quintins, and certaine other bands that lay in those quarters, to the towne of Tournay; who at the hower appointed came to the gate, where he found Master *Oliver* accompanied with thirtie or fortie persons, who partly by fauor, and partly by force caused the gate to be opened, and received the Kings men; wherewith the people of the towne were well ynoch. contented, but not the gouernors: of whom Master *Oliver* sent seuen or eight to Paris, whence they departed not during the Kings life. After these men of armes, entred also diuers other soldiers, who did great harme afterward in the two countries aboue named: for they spoiled and burned many goodly villages and faire farms, more to the daimage of the inhabitants of Tournay, than of any other for the reas ons aboue alleged. To be short, so long they spoiled that the Flemmings arose, and tooke out of prison the Duke of Guelderland (whom Duke *Charles* had held prisoner) and made him their capraine: and in this estate came before the towne of Tournay, where they lay not long, but fled in great disorder; and lost many of their men, and among the rest the Duke of Guelders, who had put himselfe behinde to maintaine the skirmish (being euill followed) was there slaine, as hereafter you shall here more at large. Wherfore this honor and good successe that happened to the King, and the great losse his ennies recceuied, proceeded of the said Master *Oliver* s wisedom and iudgement: so that peraduenture a wiser man, and a greater personage than he, might haue failed to atchieue the like enterprise. I haue spoken ynoch of the great charge this sage Prince committed to this meane person, vnfit to manage so waightie a cause; onely adding, that it seemed that God had troubled the Kings wits in this behalfe. For, as I laid before, if he had not thought this enterprise far easier than indeede it was;

was; but had appeased his wrath, and laid downe his greedy desire of reuenge vpon this house of Burgundie, vndoubtedly he had held at this day all those Seniories vnder his subiection.

Of the ambaffadors the Lady of Burgundy daughter to the late Duke Charles sent to the King, and how by meanes of Monsieur de Cordes the citie of Arras, the townes of Hedin and Bollein, and the towne of Arras it selfe, were yeelded to the King.
Chap. 15.


Ou haue heard how Master *William Bische* yeelded Peronne, to the King. The said *Bische* was a man of base parentage, borne at Molins-Engibers in Niuernois; but inriched and greatly aduanced by Duke *Charles* of Burgundie, who made him captaigne of Peronne, bicause his house called Clery (being a strong and goodly castell that the said *Bische* had purchased) was neere vnto it. But to proceede, after the King had made his entry into the towne, certaine ambaffadors came to him from the Lady of

Burgundie, being all the greatest and noblest personages that were able to do him any seruice: which was vnauidisly done to send so many together; but such was their desolation and feare, that they wist not well what to say or do. The aboue named ambaffadors were these; the Chauncellor of Burgundie called Master *William Hugonet*, a notable wise man, who had beene in great credit with Duke *Charles*, and was highly aduanced by him. The Lord of Humbercourt (so often before mentioned in this historie) was there also, (who was as wife a gentleman, and as able to manage a waightie cause as euer I knew any) togither with the Lord of la Vere, a great Lord in Zeland, and the Lord of Grutuse, and diuers others as well noble men as churchmen, and burgeses of good townes. The King before he gaue them audience, trauelled both generally with them all, and apart with every one of them to draw them to his seruice. They all gaue him humble and lowly words, *as men in great feare*.

Notwithstanding, thos that had their possessions far from his dominions in such countries as they thought to be out of his reach would not binde themselues to him in any respect, vnaesse the mariage betweene his sonne the Dauphin and the said Lady their Mistres tooke effect. But the Chauncellor & the Lord of Humbercourt, who had liued long in great authoritie, wherein they still desired to continue; and had their lands lying neere to the Kings dominions, the one in the Duchy of Burgundie, the other in Picardy neere to Amiens: gaue eare to his offers, and promised both to serue him in furthering this mariage, and also wholy to become his the mariage being accomplished: which course he liked not (though it were simply the best) but was displeased with them, for that they would not then absolutely enter into his seruice. Notwithstanding he shewed them no countenance of displeasure bicause he would vs their helpe as he might. Moreover, the King hauing now good intelligence with Monsieur *de Cordes* captaigne and gouernor of Arras, by his counsell and aduise required these ambaffadors to cause the said *de Cordes* to receiue his men into the city of Arras¹: for at that time there were wals and trenches betweene the towne and the citie, but the towne was then fortifiued against the citie²; and now contrariwise the citie is fortifiued against the towne. After diuers persuasions vsed to the said ambaffadors, that this should be the best and readiest way to obtaine to the towne,

¹ This request
the King made
as Tutor and
Godfather to
the yoong La-
die, in which
respect also
the said am-
baffadors did
as he required

² Arras was
cut in two, to
wit into the
towne and the
under the
city; the town
Dukes of Bur-
gundie was
fortified and
the draw
bridge was
drawen into
the towne:

but the King
beat downe
the fortifica-
tion of the
towne, and
fortified the
citie, and al-
tered also the
draw bridge,
and drew it
up into the ci-
tie, whereas
before it was
drawen up in-

to the towne.
peace

peace in shewing such obedience to the King, they agreed to his demaund, especially the Chauncellor and *Himbercourt*, and sent a letter of discharge to the said *de Cordes*, wherein they aduertised him of their consent to the deliuerie of the citie of Arras. Into the which so soone as the King was entred, he raised bulwarks of earth against the gates of the towne, and diuers other places neere to the towne. Further, bicause of this discharge, Monsieur *de Cordes* and the men of war that were with him, departed out of the towne ³, and went whither them listed, and serued where them best liked. And as touching the said *de Cordes*, he now accounting himselfe discharged of his Mistres seruice, by the ambassadours letters aboue mentioned; determined to do homage to the King, and to enter into his seruice; both bicause his house, name, and armes were on this side the riuier of Somme (for he was called Master *Philip* of *Creuecoeur*, second brother to the Lord of *Creuecoeur*:) and also bicause the territories so often aboue mentioned, which the house of Burgundie had possessed vpon the said riuier of Somme, during the liues of Duke *Philip* and Duke *Charles*, returned now without all controuersie to the crowne. For by the conditions of the treatie of Arras, they were giuen to Duke *Philip*, and his heires males only. Wherefore seeing Duke *Charles* left no issue but his daughter, the said Master *Philip* of *Creuecoeur* became without all doubt the Kings subiect: so that he could commit no fault by entring into the Kings seruice, and restoring to him that which he held of him, vnlesse he had done homage anew to the Lady of Burgundy. Notwithstanding men haue reported, and will report diuersly of him for this fact: wherefore I leaue the matter to other mens iudgements. True it is that he had beeene brought vp, enriched, and aduaunced to great honor by Duke *Charles*, and that his mother for a certaine space was gouernessee of the Lady of Burgundy in his childhood: and further, when the Duke of Burgundy died, he was governor of Picardie, Seneschall of Ponthieu, Captaine of Courtray, governor of Peronne, Montdidier and Roye, and Captaine of Bolloin and Hedin. All the which offices he holdeth yet at this present of the King; in such maner and forme, as after the Dukes death the King our Master confirmed them vnto him.

¹ If the King had demanded the towne of Arras, the ambassadours would never haue granted it, because it was the whole strength of the country: but by obtaining the towne (at that time not greatly accompted bicause it was vtterly vnfortified,) he got the said *de Cordes* discharge, who soone after procured him both the towne of Arras, and the greatest part of the country of Artois.

² For they were willing to yelde it, but because they would depart like soldiers, and without suspition of treason they desired to haue the cannon brought before it.

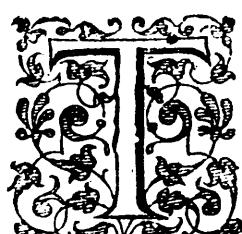
After the King had fortified the citie of Arras (as you haue heard) he departed thence to besiege Hedin, leading thither with him the said *de Cordes*, who had beeene captaine of the place not past three daies before, and his men were yet within it, and made shew as though they would defend it for the Lady of Burgundy, saying; that they had sworne to be true vnto hir: but after the artillerie had beaten it two or three daies they fell to parliament with the said *de Cordes* their late captaine, and yeldeled the towne to the King. But this was indeede a compact matter betweene the King and them. From thence the King went before Bolloin, where the like was also done: but they held, as I remember, a day longer than the others. This was a very dangerous enterprise if there had beeene soldiers in the countrie; and that the King knew well ynoch, as he afterward told me: for diuers in Bolloin, perciuing this to be a meere collusion betweene the soldiers and him, trauelled to put men into the towne, if they could haue leuied them in time, and to haue defended it in good earnest. During the space of fife or sixe daies that the King lay before Bolloin, they of Arras perciuing how they had beeene abused, and considering in what danger they stood, being enironed on every side with a great number of soldiers, and great force of artillery: trauelled to leuy men to put into the town, and writ thereabout to their neighbors of Lisle and Douay. At the said towne of Douay was Monsieur *de Vergy*, and diuers others whose names I remember not, with a fewe horsemen escaped out of the battell of Nancy. These determined to enter the towne of Arras, and leuied all

all the force they could, being to the number of two or three hundred horse good and bad, and fife or sixe hundred footemen: But they of Douay (whose peacockes feathers were not yet all pulled) constrained them spite of their teeths to depart the towne at noone day, which was great folly, and so came of it. For the countrey beyond Arras is as plaine as a mans hand, and betweene Douay and Arras are about fife leagues. If they had taried till night (as they would if they might haue beeene suffered) they had fure accomplished their enterprise. But when they were vpon the way, they whom the King left in the citie of Arras, namely Monsieur *de Lude*, John *de Fou*, and the Marshall of Loheacs companie being aduertised of their comming, determined with all speed to issue foorth and encounter them, and to put all in hazard rather then to suffer them to enter the towne: for they well perceiued that if they entered the towne, the citie could not be defended. Their enterprise was verie dangerous, yet they executed it valiantly, and put to flight this band issued out of Douay; the which also they so speedily pursued, that they were all in a manner either slaine or taken, and amongst the prisoners was Monsieur *de Vergy* himselfe. The next day the King arriuied there in person, rejoicing much because of this discomfiture, and caused all the prisoners to be brought before him, and of the footemen commanded a great number to be slaine, to put thereby those few men of war yet remaining in those quarters, into the greater feare. Moreover, Monsieur *de Vergy* he kept long in prison, because he would by no meanes be brought to do him hotnage; notwithstanding that he lay in close prison & in irons: but in the end hauing been prisoner a yere and more, by his mothers perswasion he yeldeled to the Kings pleasure; wherein he did wisely. For the King restored him to all his lands, and all those he was in fute for. He gaue him farther ten thousand franks of yeerely reuenewes, and diuers other goodly offices. They which escaped out of this discomfiture, being very fewe in number entred the towne, before the which the King brought his artillerie and laid his batterie. The artillerie was goodly and great, and the batterie terrible; but the towne wall and the ditch nothing strong: wherefore they within were in great feare, the rather because the towne was vtterly vnfurished of soldiers. Further, Monsieur *de Cordes* had good intelligence within it; and to say the truth, the citie being in the Kings hands the towne could not be defended: wherefore they fell to parliament and yeldeled it by composition, which notwithstanding was euill obserued; whereof Monsieur *de Lude* was partly to blame. For diuers Burgesses and honest men were slaine in the presence of him and Master *William de Cersay*, who maruellously enriched themselves there: for the said *de Lude* told me that he got during the time of his being there twenty thousand crownes, and two timbers of Martens. Moreover, they of the towne lent the King 60000. crownes, which summe was much too great for their abilitie; but I thinke it was repaireed them, for they of Cambray lent 40000. which I am sure were restored, as I thinke were these also.



How the citizens of Gaunt having vsurped authority ouer their Princeesse after bir
fathers death, came in ambassage to the King, as from the
three estates of their countrey.

Chap. 16.


 H e same time the siege lay before Arras, the Lady of Burgundie was at Gaunt in the hands of hir mutinous subiects greatly to hir losse; but to the Kings profit: for alwaies ones losse is an others gaine. These citizens of Gaunt so soone as they vnderstood of Duke *Charles* his death, thinking themselues thereby cleerely deliuered out of captiuitie: apprehended their Senators being to the number of six and twentie, and put them all or the greatest part to death; pretending that they did it because the said Senators the day before had commaunded one to be beheaded, though not without desert, yet without authority (as they said,) their commission being determined with the Dukes death, by whom they were chosen into that office. They slew also diuers honest men of the towne that had beene the Dukes friends; amongst whom were soone, that when I serued him dissuaded him in my presence from destroying a great part of the towne of Gaunt, which he was fully resolued to haue done. Further, they constrained their Princeesse to confirme all their ancient priuileges, both those they lost in the time of Duke *Philip* by the treatie of Gauures, and those also that Duke *Charles* tooke from them. The said priuileges serued them onely for firebrands of rebellion against their Princes, whom aboue all things they desire to see weake and feeble. Moreouer during their Princes minority, and before they begin to gouerne, they are maruellous tender ouer them; but when they are come to the gouernment they cannot away with them, as appeereth by this Ladie whom they loued deereley and much tendered before hir comming to the state. Further, you shall vnderstand that if after the Dukes death these men of Gaunt had raised no troubles, but had sought to defend the countrey they might easily haue put men into Arras, and peraduenture into Peronne; but they minded onely these domesticall broiles. Notwithstanding while the King laie before the towne of Arras, certaine ambassadours came to him from the three estates of the said Ladies countrey. For at Gaunt were certaine deputies for the three estates, but they of the towne ordered all at their pleasure, because they held their Princes in their hands. The King gaue these ambassadours audience, who among other things, said: that they made no ouverture of peace; but with consent of their Princeesse; who was determined in all matters to follow the aduise and counsell of the three estates of hir countrie. Further, they required the King to end his war in Burgundie and Artois, and to appoint a day when they might meeete to treat friendly togither of peace; and in the meane time that he would cause a surcease of armes. The King had now in a maner obtained al he desired and supposed the successe of the rest would haue answered his expectation otherwise than it did, because he was certainly informed, that most of the men of war in the countrey were dead and slaine, & knew well that a great many others had forsaken the said Ladies seruice, especially Monsieur *de Cordes*, of whom he made great reckoning, and not without cause; for he could not haue taken by force in long time, that which by his intelligence he obtained in few daies, as before you haue heard: wherfore he made smal account of these ambassadours demands. Further, he perceiued these men of Gaunt to be such seditious persons, and so inclined to trouble the state of their countrey, that his enimies

by

by meanes thereof should not be able to aduise, nor giue order how to resist him. For of those that were wise, and had beene in credit with their former Princes, none were called to the debating of any matter of state, but persecuted, and in danger of death: especially the Burgundians whom they hated extremely, because of their great authoritie in times past. Moreover, the King (who saw further into these affaires than any man in his realm) knew well what affection the citizens of Gaunt had euer borne to their Princes, and how much they desired to see them affeebled; so that they in their countrey felt no smart thereof. Wherefore he thought it best to nourish their domesticall contentions, and to set them further by the eares togerher; which was soone done: for these whom he had to do with, were but beasts; most part of them townes men vnaquainted with those subtill practises, wherein he had beene trained vp, and could vse for his purpose, better than any man living.

The King laide holde on these wordes of the ambassadours, that their Princeesse would do nothing without the consent and aduise of the three estates of her countrey, and answered that they were euill informed of her pleasure, and of certaine particular men about her: for he knew very perfectly, that she meant to gouerne all hir affaires by the aduise of certaine particular persons, who desired nothing lesse than peace: and as touching them and their actions, he was well assured they should be disaduowed. Whereunto the ambassadours (being not a little moued, as men vnaquainted with great affaires) made a hot answere, that they were well assured of that they said, and would shew their instructions, if need so required. Whereunto answer was made, that they should see a letter, if it so pleased the King, written by parties woorthie of credit, wherein the King was aduertised, that the said Lady would gouerne her affaires by fower persons only. Whereunto the others replied, that they were sure of the contrarie. Then the King commanded a letter to be brought forth, which the Chancellor of Burgundie, and the Lord of Humbercourt delivered him at their last being with him at Peronne. The said letter was written partly with the yoong Ladies owne hand; partly by the Dowager of Burgundie Duke *Charles* his widow, and sister to King *Edward* of England; and partly by the Lord of Rauastine brother to the Duke of Cleues, and the said yoong Ladies neerest kinsman: so that it was written with three severall hands, but signed with the name of the yoong Lady alone; for the other twaine set to their hands onely to giue it the greater credit. The contents of the letter were, to desire the King to giue credit to those things, whereof the Chauncellor and *Humbercourt* should aduertise him. And further, it was therein signified vnto him, that she was resolued to gouerne all her affaires by fower persons; namely, the Dowager her mother in law, the Lord of Rauastain, & the aboue named Chancellor and *Humbercourt*, by whom only and none others, she humbly besought him to negotiate with her; because vpon them she would repose the whole gouernment of her affaires.

When these citizens of Gaunt, and the other ambassadours had seene this letter, it heated them throughly; and I warrant you those that negotiated with them, failed not to blowe the fire. In the ende the letter was deliuered them, and no other dispatch of importance had they, neither passed they greatly for any other: but thought onely vpon their domesticall diuisions, and how to make a new world, neuer looking further into this busines; notwithstanding that the losse of Arras ought to haue grieved them much more than this letter: but they were townes men (as I said before) vnaquainted with these affaires. They returned straight to Gaunt where they found their Princeesse accompanied with the Duke of Cleues, hir neerest kinsman, and of her blood by his mother¹: he was an ancient man, brought vp continuall

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This Duke of Cleues was called John, whose father Adolph had married Marie sister to Duke Philip of Burgundie. Meyer lib.17.pag.257 but Arral.

Burgundie say that Adolph was borne to one of Duke Philips sisters, but corruptly, as the pidegree in the end of this worke will declare.

ally in this house of Burgundie, where he received a yeerely pension of sixe thousand guildons; wherefore besides that he was their kinsman, he resorted thither ofttimes as a pensioner to do his dutie. The Bishop of Liege and diuers noble men were there also, partly to wait vpon this yoong Lady, and partly for their owne particulares. For the said Bishop entertained a sute there to discharge his countrey of a payment of thirtie thousand guildons or thereabout, which they gaue yericly to Duke Charles by the treatie they made with him, when the wars aboue mentioned ended. All the which wars began for the said Bishops quarrell, so that there was no cause why he should moue this sute; but rather seeke to keepe them still in pouertie for he received no benefit there more than of his spirituall iurisdiction and of his demaines, (which also were but small² in respect of the wealth of his countrey, and the greatness of his dioces.) The said Bishop (brother to the Dukes of Bourbon *John*, and *Peter* now liuing) being a man wholy giuen to pleasures and good cheere, and little knowing what was profitable or vnprofitable for himselfe: received into his seruice Master *William de la Marche*³, a goodly valiant knight, but cruell and of naughtie conditions; who had been enimie of long time both to the said Bishop & also to the house of Burgundie for the Liegeois cause. To this *de la Marche* the Lady of Burgundie gaue fifteene thousand guildons, partly in fauour of the Bishop, and partly to haue him her friend: but he soone after revolte both from her and from the said Bishop his Master, and attempted by force through the Kings fauour to make his owne sonne Bishop. Afterward also he discomfited the said Bishop in battell, slew him with his owne hands, and threw him into the riuier, where his dead corps floted vp and downe three daies. But the Duke of Cleues was come thither in hope to make a mariage betweene his eldest sonne and the said Lady, which seemed to him a verie fit match for diuers respects; and sure I thinke it had taken effect if his sonnes conditions had liked the yoong Lady and her seruants: for he was descended of this house of Burgundie, and held his Duchie of it, and had beene brought vp in it; but peradventure it did him harme that his behauour was so well knownen there.

How they of Gaunt after their ambassadours returne, put to death the Chauncellor Hugonet, and the Lord of Humbercourt against their Princesses will, and how they and other Flemmings were discomfited before Tournay, and their generall the Duke of Gueldres slaine.
Chap. 17.

Now to proceede in the historie. After these ambassadours were returned to Gaunt, the councel was assembled, and the Princesse sat in her chaire of estate, accompanied with all her nobilitie, to giue them audience. Then the ambassadours made rehearsal of the commission she gaue them, touching principally that point that serued for their purpose, and saying that when they aduertised the King, that shee was determined to followe in all points the aduise and counsell of the three estates of her countrey: he soorthwith answered that he was sure of the contrarie, and because they auowed their saying, offered to shew the said Ladies letters in that behalfe. The Princesse being therewith moued, suddenly answered in the presence of them all that it was not so, assuring herselfe that the King had not shewed her letter. Then he that spake being Recorder of Gaunt or Brucels, drew the letter out of his bosome before

before the whole assembly and deliuered it hir. Wherin he shewed himselfe a lewde fellow and an vnciuill in dishonoring openly after such a sort this yoong Ladie, who ought not so rudely to haue beene dealt with: for though she had committed an eror; yet was it not publikely to be reformed. It is no maruell if he were greatly ashamed thereof; for she had protested the contrarie to the whole world. The Dowager of Burgundy, the Lord of Rauastain, the Chauncellor, and the Lord of Humbercourt were all fower there present also.

The Duke of Cleues and diuers others who had beene put in hope of this yoong Ladies marriage, stormed maruellously at this letter, and then began their factious to breake foorth. The said Duke was euer perswaded heeretofore that *Humbercourt* would further his sute for his sonne: but now perceiuing by this letter his hope to be frustrate, he became his mortall foe¹. The Bishop of Liege, and his minion Master *William de la Marche* who was there with him, loued him not for the things done at Liege, whereof the said *Humbercourt* had beene the chiefe instrument. The Earle of Saint Paule sonne to the Constable of Fraunce, hated both him and the Chauncellor; because they two deliuered his father at Peronne to the Kings seruants, as before you haue heard at large. They of Gaunt also hated them both, not for any offence made, but because of the great authoritie they had borne: whereof vndoubtedly they were as worthy as any man that liued in their time, either heere or there; for they were euer true and faithfull seruants to their Master.

To be short, the same day at night that this letter was shewed, the aboue named Chancellor and *Humbercourt* through the furtherance as I am perswaded of their enimies aboue named, were apprehended by the citizens of Gaunt, which danger notwithstanding that they were forewarned of by their friends; yet had they not power to auoid, as it hath often happened to diuers others. With them was also apprehended M. *William of Clugny* then Bishop of Therouenne, & since of Poictiers; and all three imprisoned in one place. They of Gaunt proceeded against them by colour of processe (contrarie to their accustomed manner in their reuenge) and appointed certaine of their Senate to heare their cause: with whom they ioined in commission one of this house of La Marche, deadly enimie to the said *Humbercourt*. First they demaunded of them, why they caused Monsieur *de Cordes* to deliuere the citie of Arras to the King, but thereupon they stood not long; notwithstanding that they had nothing else iustly to charge them with. But this was not it that grieved them: for neither cared they to see their Prince affeebled by the losse of such a towne; neither had they the wit to consider what great damage might ensue thereof to themselues in tract of time. Wherfore they rested chiefly vpon two points²; the first, they charged them that they had received bribes of the towne of Gaunt, namely for a sute in law, which of late the said towne had obtained by their sentence pronounced by the said Chauncellor, against a particular man whom they had in sute. But of all this matter of briberie, they acquited themselves very honorably; and as concerning that particular point where they of Gaunt charged them, that they had sold iustice, and taken monie of them to pronounce sentence on their behalfe: they answered, that the towne of Gaunt obtained their sute, because their cause was good; and as touching the monie they tooke, they never demanded it, nor caused it to be demaunded, but received it being offered. The second point was, that during the time they were with the late Duke *Charles* their Master, and also being his lieutenants in his absence, they had done diuers things against the priuileges and state of their towne, and that whosoeuer doth against the priuileges of Gaunt, ought to die. But this point touched them no whit: for they were neither their subiects nor citizens,

* The Bishop of Lieges renewes are nine thousand pound starling *Guichiar*.
† This de la Marche was named *Arenberg*, how he died after this *Berlandus*, fol. 77.

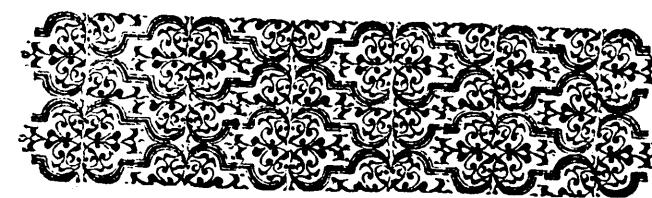
¹With the letter the King had also vicered the message, that the Chauncellor and Humbercourt brought, which was to treat of a mariage between the Dauphin and this Lady, which also they offered the King to further; and this was the cause why the Duke of Cleues became Humbercourts enimie.

²The causes of the Chancellors and Humbercourts death, read in *Berlandus* fol.

citizens, neither able to infringe their priuileges; and if the Duke or his father tooke any of their priuileges from them, they did it by the treatie made betweene them, after their long wars and diuisions: but the other priuileges that were left them (being in truth more than were conuenient for their profit) were neuer broken, but kept and obserued. Well, notwithstanding the answers these two notable men made to these two points (for of the principall matter first objected against them, no word was spoken) yet the Senate of the towne condemned them to die as they stood at the barre, because (as they said) they had broken their priuileges, & received bribes after iudgement giuen vpon the matter in law aboue mentioned. These two worthy personages hearing this cruell sentence, were not a little astonisched, and no manuel: for they saw no way how to escape, being in their enimies hands: notwithstanding they appealed to the King & his court of Parliament, trusting by this meanes to delay their death, to the end their friends in the meane time might devise some way to saue them. Before their arraignment, they racked them extremely against all order of law. Their processe endured but sixe daies, and (notwithstanding theirappeale) after sentence pronounced, they gave them but three howers respite to confess them, and bethinke them of their soules health. Which time expited: they led them into their market place, and set them vpon a scaffold. The Ladie of Burgundie (afterward Duchesse of Austrich) being aduertised of their condemnation, went to the townehouse to make request and supplication for their liues: but perceiving that she could do no good there, she went to the market place, where all the people were assembled together in armes, and there saw the two noble men aboue named, standing vpon the scaffold. The said Ladie was in her mourning apparell, hauing nothing on her head but a kerchiefe, which was an humble and simple attire, and ought of right to haue moued them to pitie. There she desired the people with weeping eies, and her haire loose about her shoulders, to haue pitie vpon these her two seruants, and to restore them vnto her. A great part of the people were willing that her pleasure shoulde be done, and that they shoulde not die; but others would in no wise giue eare vnto her: whereupon they bent their pikes the one against the other. But those that desired their death were the stronger, and cried to them that stood vpon the scaffold to dispatch them; immediately whereupon both their heads were stricken off: and in this estate returned this poore Lady to her court sorrowfull and comfortlesse: for these two were the principall persons, in whom she had reposedit her whole confidence. After they of Gaunt had done this exploit, they remooued from about the said Lady, the Lord of Rauastain, and the Dowager Duke *Charles* widow her mother in law, because they had also written part of the letter aboue mentioned, which *Humbercourt* and the Chauncellor delivered to the King, and they of Gaunt redelivered to their Princesse after their returne, as before you haue heard. Further, they vsurped all power and authoritie ouer this poore yoong Lady: for so might she now well be called, both because of the great damage she had already received by the losse of so many notable townes, irrecoverable by force, considering his power in whose hands they were, although by fauour, friendship, or composition some hope yet remained; and also because she was in the hands of the ancient enimies and persecutors of her house, which was a great misfortune to her. Notwithstanding these citizens of Gaunt in all their publike actions haue ever shewed more grosse folly than cunning, and no manuel: for they that carrie credit and authoritie among them, are for the most part, wealthie men of occupation, vnaquainted with waightie affaires, and little understanding what belongeth to the gouernment of a state. Their cunning consisteth but in two points; the one, that they studie by all meanes possible how to weaken

weaken and impowrisch their Prince: the other, that when they haue made a fault, and finde the partie offended too strong for them, they crave pardon with greater humilitie, and buie peace with larger gifts than any people in the world; yea and know what instruments to worke by, and what persons to labour for obtaining of peace, better than any towne that euer I knew.

After they of Gaunt had taken by force the gouernment of their Princesse, put the two aboue mentioned to death, and remooued from about her those that mislied them; they began euery where to place and displace officers at their pleasure, and to banish and spoile all those that had best serued this house of Burgundy, nor regarding their good or euill desert: but aboue all other men they hated the Burgundians especially, so far foorth that they banished them all, and trauelled to make them the Kings seruants and subiects as much as the King himselfe did, who sollicited them thereunto by faire words, wise perswasions, large gifts and promises, and sought also to constraine them by great force which he had in their countrey. Moreouer these men of Gaunt meaning to begin their gouernment with some ease of noueltie, tooke out of prison (as alreadie is mentioned) the Duke of Gueldres, who of long time by Duke *Charles* his commandement had beeene held prisoner for the causes aboue rehearsed, and him they made generall of an army which they among themselves, namely the townes of Bruges, Gaunt, and Ypre, leuied and sent to Tournay to set fire on the suburbs thereof, which was little for their Princesse profit. For 200. soldiers sent in time to Arras, or ten thousand franks to haue entertained men to put into it, when the siege came before it; would haue done both her and them much more seruice than ten such armes as this. For this army could do no good but fire a fewe houses in a place, whereof the King made small account: for he leuied neither tasks nor subsidies there, but their wit was not able to reach thus far. After the Duke of Gueldres was come before Tournay with this army being to the number of twelve or fifteene thousand men, very well paid by the townes aboue mentioned, he set fire on the suburbs. But within the towne were three or fewer hundred men of armes which fallyd out and charged his men on the backe as they retired, and incontinent put them to flight. But the Duke himselfe being a valiant Prince, turned against his enimies meaning to maintaine the skirmish, to the end his men might haue leasure to retire: but being euill followed he was ouerthrowne and slaine, and a good number also of his people; yet was the Kings force that did this exploit very small. The Flemmings army retired with this losse, for there was but one band of them defeated. The Ladie of Burgundie (as I haue heard) and her friends reioised much at this newes; for the bruite ran for a certaintie that they of Gaunt were determined to compell her by force to marrie this Duke of Gueldres, which willingly she would neuer haue done for diuers reasons aboue rehearsed.



A discourse upon this point that wars and diuisions are permitted of God for the chasiment of Princes and euill people, with diuers good reasons and examples for the instruction of Princes, which happened in the authors time.

Chap. 18.

Cannot imagine for what cause God hath so long preserued this towne of Gaunt, the fountaine of so many mischiefs, and of so small importance for the benefit of the countrey where it is situate. For it yeeldeth no commoditie to the common wealth, much lesse to the Prince: neither is it comparable to Bruges, which is a place where is greater traffike of merchandise and resort of strangers in my opinion, than in any towne in Europe; so that the destruction thereof should be an irrecouerale losse. But it seemeth that God hath created nothing in this world neither man nor beast, without an enemie to hold it in feare and humilitie; and for that purpose serueth this towne of Gaunt very well¹. For there is no countrey in Christendome more inclined to all wanton pleasures, pomps and delicacies than this countrey of Flaunders, notwithstanding they are good Christians there, and serue and honor God well. But it is not this nation onely, to whom God hath giuen as it were a continual pricke, to put them in minde of their dutie: For to Fraunce he hath giuen the Englishmen for enimes; to the Englishmen the Scots; to the realme of Spaine Portugal, I will not say Granado: for they are enimies of the faith; notwithstanding hitherto the said countrey of Granado hath much troubled and endaminaged the realme of Castile.

Against the Princes of Italie, the greatest part of the which hold their lands by no title, vñles it be giuen them in heauen (whereof we can but diuine) and who rule cruelly and violently ouer their subiects by extreme exactions & leuies of monie: God hath raised vp the free states of the said countrey, namely Venice, Florence, Genua, and sometime Bononia, Senes, Pisa, Luques, and others, which in diuers points are contrarie to the Princes, and the Princes to them, each of them hauing an eie vpon other, that none grow too great. But to speake more particularly of the state of Italie; against the house of Arragon God hath raised the house of Aniou; against the Sforces (which vñsurpe the place of the Vicounts in the Duchie of Milan) the house of Orleans; against the Venetians, the Princes of Italie, as before I haue said, and besides them the Florentines; against the Florentines their neighbors of Senes, Pisa, and the Genuois; and against the said Genuois their owne euill gouernment, and want of faith each to other, which is so vniuersally knownen, that every man can tell thereof: for their factions are in league the one against the other, as appeereth by the Fourgouze², Adorni, d'Orte, and others. Now to speake of Almaine; you haue alwaies the house of Austriche and Bauiere at variance, and particularly them of Bauiere diuided among themselues. In like maner the house of Austriche hath particularly opposite to it the Swissers; the beginning of which their variance arose but about a little village called Swiffe³, vnable to arme sixe hundred men, whereof the other Swissers beare their name; who are now so increased, that two of the Duke of Austriches best towns, namely Zurich and Fribourg be of their cantons. Moreover, they haue obtained great victories, and slaine of the Dukes of Austrich in the field⁴.

Diuers other quarrels also there are in Almaine, as the Duke of Cleues against the Duke of Gueldres; the Dukes of Gueldres against the Dukes of Iulliers: the Easterlings

¹ He meaneth that this towne of Gaunt is situate where it is for a plague to the whole countrey of Flaunders, which otherwise bicaule of the great abundance thereof, would soone forget God.

² Fregosi and Fregolini in other histories.

³ This diuision began anno 1309, betwene the Abbot of Einsidlen and the village of Sutz, and the said Abbot demanded aide of Leopold Duke of Austrich.

⁴ As for example, Leopold Duke of Austrich brothers sonne to the former that began this diuision, whom they slue at the batell of Sempeche 9. Iulij. ann. 1386.

lings who inhabite so far northward, against the Kings of Denmarke. And to speake generally of Almaine, there are so many strong places there, so many men inclined to mischiefe, to spoile, to rob, and that vse force & violence one against another vpon small occasions, that it is a woorder to see: for a man that is able to maintaine but himselfe and his seruant, will proclaine war against a great citie or a Duke, that vnder colour thereof he may the better rob and spoile: for he will haue some small castell situate vpon a rocke to retire into, where he entertaineth twentie or thirtie horsemen, which run downe to rob and spoile the countrey at his commandement. These men are very seldomie punished by the Princes of Almaine, because they vse their helpe when they neede their seruice: but the townes, if they take any of them, punish them cruelly, and often besiege and destroy their castels. Further, the said townes haue soldiers alwaies in pay for their defence. Wherefore it seemeth that these Princes and townes of Almaine are preserued, the one to force the other to do that is right and good. And it is necessarie that such diuisions should be not onely there, but through the whole world. I haue hitherto spoken but of Europe; for I am not well informed of Asia and Afrike: yet we heare that they are diuided and make war one vpon another as wee do, yea after a much beastlier sort. For I know in this part of Afrike bordering vpon vs, diuers places where they sell one another to the Christians, as also well appeereth by the Portugales, who haue bought and dayly do buie of them many slaues. But I doubt how well we may vpbraide this to the Sarracons, sith in some part of Christendome they do the like: notwithstanding those countries are either vnder the Turks dominion, or next neighbors to him; as for example some part of Greece.

It seemeth then that such diuisions are requisite through the whole world; and that theſe pricks and stings before spoken of which God hath giuen euery estate, and in a maner euery particular person, are necessarie. And surely for mine owne opinion (speaking as a man vñlearned, and one that will maintaine no opinion not to be maintained) I think they are necessarie indeed, especially bicaule of the beastlines of some Princes, and the wickednes of otherſome, who hauing wit and experience ſufficient, do notwithstanding abuse it. For a Prince or any other man of what estate or condition ſoever he be, hauing power and authoritie where he dwelleth ouer others, if he be learned and haue ſene and read much, is thereby either much amended or empaired, for much learning maketh the euill worse, and bettereth the good⁵: Not-
withstanding, it is to be presumed that learning rather amendeth a man than em-
paireth him: for if men be but ashamed of themſelues when they know they do euill, it ſufficeth either to keepe them al togither from doing euill⁶, or at the leaſt from doing ſo much euill as otherwife they would. For although they be not good in-
deed, yet ſhaue wil cause the to make a ſhew of goodnes: whereof I haue ſeen diuers

⁵ The reaſon hereof read in Aristote. Politic. lib. I. cap. 2. & Problem. Anthony Zimare 12. ⁶ Shame com- meth of know- ledge, ſo that if a man doe a fault, and for lacke of learning know not that it is a fault, he can never be af- feade of it, nor ſeeke to a- mend it.

sure. But to proceede, it is manifest that neither naturall reason, neither knowledge, neither feare of God, neither loue towards our neighbor, is sufficient to keepe vs from vsing violence against others, from withholding other mens goods, nor from rauishing by all meanes possible that which appertaineth to others. For if great Princes withhold townes and castels from their kinsfolkes or neighbors, none of these reasons can mooue them to restore them: and after they haue giuen foorth some colour or forged some pretence to withhold them, all their subiects commend their proceedings, at the least such as are neere about them, and hunt after their fauor. Of meane persons that be at variance I speake not, for they haue a superior who sometimes doth iustice to the parties, at the least he that hath a good cause, and foloweth it diligently, and defendeth it stoutly, and spendeth frankly, shall in processe of time haue right, vntesse the Court, that is to say, the Princes authoritie vnder whom he liueth, be against him, VWherefore it appereth most manifestly, that God is constrained and forced as it were of necessitie to shew many examples among vs, and to beate vs with many rods, bicause of our negligence, or rather wickednes: but in Princes especially negligence and ignorance is very dangerous, and much to be lamented, bicause the good or euil gouernment of their Seniories, dependeth wholly vpon them. For if a Prince being iugynt and hauing a number of soldiers in ordinarie, by whose meanes he leuieth great summs of money at his pleasure, as well to pay them, as to spend in all kinde of wantonnes not necessary, will diminish none of this foolish and excessive expences; further if all men seeke to flatter him, and no man dare shew him what is good, either for feare of displeasure, or bicause he knoweth it will not preuaile: who can redresse this inconuenience but God alone? True it is, that God talketh not to men now as in times past, neither are there Prophets now a daies by whose mouth he speaketh: but his word is dispersed through the whole world, and well enough knowne to all those that will vnderstand and know it; so that no man can excuse himselfe by ignorance, at the least none that haue had space and time to liue & are indued with naturall wit. How shall those Princes then escape that gouerne their Seniories after such sort, that by force they leui what they list, and by tyrannie maintaine their authoritie, and hold their subiects in so great thralldome, that the least commandement they give toucheth life? Some punish vnder colour of iustice, and haue lawyers euer at hand ready in all points to execute their commandements, and to make a deadly sinne of a veniall. If they haue not matter inough against a man, they finde meanes to delay the hearing of the cause, or the taking of the depositions to hold the partie still in prison, or to vndoo him by charges, waiting continually if any man will come to accuse him, that is thus held in prison, and to whom they wish euill. If this way be not colourable inough, nor speedy inough for their purpose, they devise other readier waies alleaging that it was necessarie to do thus and thus for examples sake, and make the case as hainous as please them: with others that hold of them and be of some power, they go more plainly to worke, saying, thou dost against thine allegiance thou owest me, thou disobeiest me, and so proceede by force to take from him that is his if they can, (if they do not, it is no thanke to them) causing him to liue in great trouble and vnquietnes. Their neighbors that be strong and mighty they meddle not with; but if any be weake, he can rest no where for them: for either they say that he hath aided their enimies, or they make their men of armes to liue in his countries, or buie quarrels to haue colour to assault him, or finde some occasion to destroy him by aiding his neighbor against him, and lending him forces to invade him. Such of their subiects as haue beeene in authoritie, and serued well their predecessors, they put out of office bicause they liue

line too long, and place newe men in their roomes. The Church men they encomber and trouble about their benefices, to the ende they may thereby wring some thing from them to enrich some one of their darlings, at the sute ententes of those that haue not deserued it, and at the request of such men and women as at times can preuaile much with them. The nobilitie they hold in continuall trauell and charge vnder colour of their wilfull wars, which they take in hand without the counsell or aduise of their estates, and of such as they ought to make priuie thereunto before they attempt them: for these be they that spend both goods and lives in the wars: wherefore it is reason they should understand the cause of them before they begin. Their subiects they poule in such sort that they leaue them nothing; for notwithstanding that they pay them taskes and subsidies aboue their abilitie: yet seeke they not to redresse the disorder of their men of armes, which liue continually vpon their people without paientment, dooing besides infinite mischies and iniuries as all the world knoweth. For they are not contented with such cheere as they finde in the husband mans house and is set before them; but beat also the poore men, and constraine them to go foorth to buie them wine, bread, and victuals: and if the good man haue a faire wife or a daughter, he shall do wisely to keepe hir out of their sight. Notwithstanding, seeing these men of armes are duly paied, this inconuenience might easilie be redressed, and order giuen that their pay shold be made at every two moneths ende at the furthest; so shold they not be able to alleage any pretence of their mischievous dooings vnder colour that they want pay: for the money is leuied, and at the yeeres ende there is not one penie owing them. I speake this for our realme which is more afflicted and plagued with these men of armes than any other countrey that I know. But none can redresse this mischiefe but a wise Prince, other realmes bordering vpon vs haue other scourges. VWherefore to continue this discourse, is there any King or Prince that hath power to leuy one penie vpon his subiects besides his demaines, without leaue and consent of those that must pay it, vntesse it be by tyrannie and violence? A man will say that sometime the Prince can not tarie to assynd his estates, bicause it would require too long time. VWhereunto I answer, that if he mooue a war offensiu, there needeth no such haste: for he may haue leasure inough at his owne pleasure to make preparation. And further, he shall be much stronger and much more feared of, his enimies, when he mooueth war with the consent of his subiects than other wise. Now as touching a war defensiu, that cloud is seene long before the tempest fall, especially when it is forraigne war; and in this case good subiects ought not to complaine, nor refuse any thing that is laid vpon them. Notwithstanding such invasion cannot happen so suddenly, but that the Prince may haue leasure at the least to call togither certaine wise personages, to whom he may open the causes of the war, vsing no collusion therein, neither seeking to maintaine a trifling war vpon no necessitie, thereby to haue some colour to leuie money. Money is also necessarie in time of peace to fortifie the frontiers for defence of those that dwell vpon them, least they be taken vnprouided; but this must be done measurably. In all these matters the wisedome of a sage King sufficeth; for if he be a iust Prince, he knoweth what he may do, and not do, both by Gods law and mans. To be short, in mine opinion of all Seniories in the world that I know, the realme of England is the countrey where the common wealth is best gouerned, the people least oppressed, and the fewest buildings and houses destroyed in ciuill war, and alwaies the lot of misfortune fallereth vpon them that be authors of the war.

autem Tropus
Our King is the Prince in the whole world that hath least cause to alleage that he hath

hath priuileges to leuy what him listeth vpon his subiects, considering that neither he nor any other Prince hath power so to do. And those that say he hath, do him no honor, neither make him to be esteemed any whit the mightier Prince thereby; but cause him to be hated and feared of his neighbors, who for nothing would liue vnder such a government. But if our King or those that seeke to magnifie and extoll him should say, I haue so faithfull and obedient subiects that they deny me nothing I demand, and I am more feared, better obeyed, and better serued of my subiects than any other Prince liuing, they endure patiently whatsoeuer I lay vpon them, and soonest forget all charges past: This me thinke (yea I am sure) were greater honor to the King than to say; I leuie what me listeth, and haue privileges so to do, which I will stourly maintaine. King *Charles* the fift vsed no such termes, neither did I ever heare such language proceede from any King, but from diuers of their seruants, who thought they did their Masters great seruice in vttering such speeches: but in mine opinion they misbehaued themselues towards their Prince, and vsed such language partly because they would seeme to be good seruants, and partly because they knew not what they said. But for a manifest prooofe of the French mens loialtie and obediencie to their Prince, we neede alleage none other example than that we our selues haue seene of late by experience; when the three estates were assembled at Tours, after the death of our Master King *Lewis* the eleuenth, which was in the yere of our Lord 1483. A man might then haue thought this good assembly to be dangerous for the Kings estate; yea, and diuers there were of meane calling, and lesse honestie, that said then and haue often laid since, that it is treason to make mention of assembling the estates, and a thing tending to the diminishing of the Kings autoritie: but themselues are those that worke treason against God, the King, and the common wealth; neither doe any vsē these speeches but either such as are in autoritie without desert and vnworthy thereof; or such as are common tale-carriers, and accustomed to talke of trifling matters; or such as feare great assemblies, least their doings should there be ripped vp and reprehended. At this assembly I now speake of, all men of what estate soever they were, thought the realme much weakened and impouerished, because it had paied by the space of 20. yeres or more great and excessiue subsidies; yea so great that they surmounted yeerely by the summe almost of three millions of frankes all subsidies that euer were leuied in Fraunce. For King *Charles* the seauenth leuied yeerely but eighteene hundred thousand frankes ⁷: but King *Lewis* his sonne leuied at his death seuen and fortie hundred thousand ⁸, besides the charges of the artillerie and such like expences. And sure it was a pittifull thing to behold the miserable estate of the poore people. But one good propertie had the King our Master, that he hoorded vpon no treasure, he tooke all and spent all, and bestowed more vpon fortification of townes and places for the defence of his realme, then all his predecessors ioined together. He gaue also much to Churches, but in some respect he had done better to haue given lesse: for he tooke from the poore to giue to them that had no need. But there is no man perfect in the whole world.

⁷ 180000. frankes are 22500. pound starling after eight soule to the English shilling, and the French liuer at two shillings six pence starling.

⁸ 470000. frankes are 587500. pound starling.

Well to proceed. Notwithstanding that this realme were so impouerished and oppressed diuers waies: did the people yet after the King our Masters death raise any sedition against the K. that now is? the nobilitie & commons tooke they armes against their yoong King? went they about to chuse an other? sought they to diminish his autoritie, or to bridle him that he shoulde not vsē the autoritie of a King? I thinke no, and to say the truth how could they? though diuers glorious fooles laid they might. But his subiects did cleane contrarie; for they all repaired to him, as well

Princes,

Princes, as gentlemen and Burgesses of goodtownes: they all acknowledged him for their King, and did him homage and fealtie, and the Princes and nobilitie presented their requests in writing, humbly kneeling vpon their knees. Further, they chose among themselues a counsell of twelue men, and the King being but thirteene yeeres of age commanded vpon report of the said counsell. Moreouer at this assembly certaine supplications were made, and bils exhibited in the presence of the King and his Counsell in great humilitie for the common wealth of the realme, referring all to the King and his Counsels pleasure. They granted the King without any deniall all that was demanded, and all that was shewed in writing to be necessarie for the maintenance of his estate. The summe the King demanded was two millions and a halfe offrankes ⁹, which was ynochough and ynochough againe, yea rather too much than too little without some extraordinarie accident. Further, the said estates humbly required, that at two yeeres end they might assemble againe: saying, that if the King had not money ynochough, they would giue him more at his pleasure. They promised moreouer if he had wars, or that any enimie should inuade him, to adua- ⁹ That is 250000. franks, which amounteth to 312500. pound star- ling.

ture their bodies, to spend their goods, & not to refuse any thing for his seruice. Are subiects that giue thus liberally to be choked with priuileges whereby the Prince may take what him listeth? shall not the King doe iustly before God and the world to leuie after this sort, rather than by extraordinarie will? seeing no Prince, as I haue said before, hath autoritie to command money but by graunt; vnsle he will vsē tyrannie and incurre the danger of excommunication. But a number of Princes are verie beasts, not knowing what is lawfull or vnlawfull for them to doe in this behalfe. Subiects there are also that offend their Prince and refuse to obey him, and succour him in time of neede: yea in stead of aiding him when he hath great affaires in hand contemne him and stir vp rebellion and sedition against him, contrarie to the allegiance that they owe him. When I say Kings or Princes, I meane either themselues or such as gouerne vnder them: & when I say subiects, I mean such subiects as haue preheminence and beare sway in the common wealth. The greatest mischieves are wrought commonly by those that are mightie, for the weake desire peace & quietnes. When I say mightie, I meane as well wemen as men, sometime and in some places where they haue rule and autoritie, either because of their husbands affection towards them, or because they gouerne their affaires, or for that their Seniories are their wiues inheritance.

If I should write of men of meane calling in this world, my discourse would be too tedious. Wherfore it shall suffice to speake of great estates, because in them the power and iustice of God is most apparent. For although two hundred thousand mishaps chaunce to a poore man, no man regardeth them: but attributeth them either to pouertie or euill looking to; as for example, if he be drowned or breake his necke, they say this chaunced because he was alone, so that hardly men will giue eare to it. But if some misfortune fall vpon a great citie it is otherwise talked of, yet not so much as when it chanceth to a Prince. What is the reason then that God sheweth his iustice rather vpon Princes and great men, than vpon men of low degree? because meane and poore men finde ynowe in this world to punish them when they offend; yea oftentimes they are punished without desert, either for examples sake, or for their goods, or peraduenture through the iudges fault: sometime also they deserue punishment, and then it is reason that iustice be done. But as touching great Princes or Princesses and their governors and counsellors: againe, as touching provinces and townes, rebellious and disobedient to their Princes and governors, who will search out their liues? Who will informe the Justice

of their actions? What justice will take notice thereof? or who will punish their faults? I speake of the euill not of the good, but fewe there are of those. What is the cause then that mooueth both them and all others to commit these faults aboue rehearsed, and many mo (which for breuitie I ouerpasse) not regarding the power and iustice of God? I answer, that it is lacke of faith, and in those that are ignorant lacke of wit and faith together, but especially of faith, which in mine opinion is the onely fountaine of all mischieves. I meane such mischieves as fall vpon those that complaine, that they are troden vnder foote, & oppressed by those that are mightier than they. For if men were fully perswaded the paines of hell to be such as indeede they are, and beleueed firmly (as we ought all to beleue) that who so hath taken ought by violence, or possessteth ought that his father or grandfather tooke wrongfully: shall never enter into the ioies of paradise, vntesse he make full satisfaction and restitution of all that he withholdeth from his neighbour; (whether it be Duchies, Earldoms, townes, castels, mooueables, medowes, ponds, or mils, euery man according to his estate) there is no man liuing, be he poore or rich, or of what estate and condition soeuer he be, that would withhold ought that is not his owne. No, if all men beleueed this firmly, it is not to be thought, that there is either Prince, Princesse, or any other man through the whole world, what estate or condition soeuer he be of, be he high or low, spirituall or temporall, man or woman, that would willingly withhold any thing from his subiect or neighbour, wrongfully put any man to death, hold him in prison, take from one to giue to enrich another, or seeke to procure dishonesty to his kinsfolks and seruants for his wanton pleasures, as for women, and such like, which is the filthiest attempt that may be made. No vndoubtedly we would never do as we do, if we had a stedfast faith, and beleueed that which God and his Church commandeth vs to beleue, vnder paine of damnation: knowing our daies to be short, and the paines of hell horrible and endlesse. Wherefore we may conclude, that all mischieves proceede of want of faith. For example whereof, when a King or Prince is taken prisoner, and feareth to die in prison, is there any thing in the world, be it never so deere vnto him, that he will refuse to give for his delinerance? as appeereth by King *John*, who being taken prisoner by the Prince of Wales at the battell of Poictiers, paied for his raunsome three millions of franks, and yeelded to the English men all Aquitaine (at the least all that he held in his hands) with a number of other cities, townes and places; yea in a manner the third foote of his realme: whereby he brought his realme into such pouertie, that manie yeeres after they vsed leather monie, with a little stud or naile of siluer in the middest thereof. And all this gaue he and his sonne King *Charles* surtained the *Wife*, for his raunsome. And if they would haue giuen nothing, yet would not the English men haue put him to death, but his greatest paine had beene *imprisonment*. But admitt they had put him to death, yet had not that paine been so great by the hundred thousandth part, as the least paine in hell. Why gaue he then all this great raunsome aboue rehearsed, destroying his children and subiects? but onely because he beleueed that which he saw and perceiued well, that he could not otherwise be deliuered. But peraduenture when he committed the fault, for the which this punishment fell vpon him, his children and subiects: he beleueed not firmly, that the offence he made against God and his commandemens, should be punished. Now to conclude, there is no Prince, or verie few, that will restore one towne they withhold from their neighbour, for the loue of God, or to eschew the paines of hell; and yet King *John* gaue all this to deliuere his bodie out of prison.

I asked a question before, who will search out great mens faults, who will informe

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the iustice of them, and who will be the iustice to punish them? Whereunto I now answer, that the information shall be the lamentablearie and plaint of their subiects, whom they tyrannize and oppresse so many waies without any compassion, the sorrowfull lamentation of widowes and orphans, whose husbands and fathers they haue wrongfully put to death; by meanes whereof their wifes and children haue euer after liued in affliction and miserie; and generally the complaints of all those whom they haue persecuted either in their persons or goods. These, I say, shall give information against them by their great mourning, wailing, and pitious teares, and shall accuse them before the Lord God, who will be the iust judge thereof, and peraduenture will not delay the punishment till the world to come; but will also punish them in this world: which punishment proceedeth of lacke of faith, because they had not a firme and stedfast beliefe in Gods commandements.

We must therefore of necessitie confess, that God is forced to shew such tokens and examples, to the ende both Princes themselues and all the world may beleue, that these punishments fall vpon them for their misbeleefe and sinnes, and that God sheweth his mighty power and iustice vpon them, because none other in this world but he, hath power ouer them. At the first happily they amend not their liues for Gods scourges, be they never so great and long. But no misfortune falleth vpon a Prince, vpon those that gouerne his affaires, or vpon those that rule great commonalties, but the issue is hurtful and dangerous to the subiects. When I say misfortunes, I meane none but such as cause the subiects to smart; for to fall from a horse, to breake a leg, to be punished with a sharpe ague, are no misfortunes to a Prince, because he may be cured of them, and peraduenture they may doe him good, and teach him wit: but I call these misfortunes, when God is so displeased with a Prince, that he will no longer suffer him to raigne, but will shew his power and iustice vpon him. For then first he weakeneth his wits, which is a shrewd blowe for all those that haue to do with him, he troubleth his house, and suffereth it to fall into diuision and disquietnes: & the Prince himselfe is so far in Gods disgrace, that he flieith the counsell and companie of the wise, and aduanceth none but yoong fooles, voide of wit, oppressors, flatterers, and such as sooth him in all his sayings. If he take one penie, they bid him take two; if he threaten a man, they bid hang him, and after that sort in all other actions. Further, they giue him counsell in any wise to cause himselfe to be feared, and they also behaue themselues cruelly and proudly, trusting by this meanes to holde men in awe of them, as though authoritie were their inheritance. Those whom such Princes, by the advise of these new Counsellors haue banished and displaced, hauing serued many yeeres, and being well acquainted and freinded in their countrie, will storne at this vysage, and for their sakes their friends and well willers also; and peraduenture such iniurie shall be offered them, that they shall be forced either to defend themselues, or to flie to some Prince their neighbor, who perchance is enemy to him that banishest and chasest them: and so by inward diuision strangers shall enter into the land. Is any plague or miserie so great, as warre betwixt friends and acquaintance? Is any malice so ranke and deadly? As touching forren enemies, when the subiects are linked togither they may easly make resistance, because their enimies haue no intelligence nor acquaintance in the realme. Thinke you that an vnwise Prince being accompanied with fooles, can scelle a far off how great a mischiefe diuision among his subiects is? or beleue that it can hurt him? or proceedeth of God? he eateth and sleepeth no whit the woorse for it; he hath neither fewer horses in his stable, nor fewer robes in his wardrobe, but many mo companions. For he allureth men vnto him by promises, and by parting among them the spoiles

spoiles and offices of those whom he hath banished; he giueth also of his owne to win thereby fame and renomme: but when he shall least thinke of it, God will raise vp an enimie against him whom peraduenture he never mistrusted. Then will he waxe pensiue, and suspe^ct those whom he hath iniuried, yea he will feare such as indeed beare him no euill will: yet notwithstanding he will not haue his refuge to God in this extremitie, but seeke to redresse this inconuenience by force. Haue we not seene in our daies examples hereof even among our next neighbors? Haue we not seene the late King of England *Edward* the fourth of that name, heire of the house of Yorke, vterly destroy the house of Lancaster, vnder the which both his father and he had liued many yeeres? Further, the said King *Edward* having done homage to King *Henry* the 6. being of the house of Lancaster, did he not afterward hold him prisoner many yeeres in the tower of London, the chiefe citie of the realme, where in the end he was put to death?

Haue we not also seene the Earle of Warwicke principall gouernor of all the said King *Edwards* affaires, (after he had put to death all his enimies, especially the D. of Sommerset) in the end become deadly enimy to the K. his Master, giue his daughter in mariage to the Prince of Wales sonne to King *Henry*, attempt to set vp againe the house of Lancaster, passe with the said Prince into England, discomfited in the field, and slaine both he, his brethren and kinsfolks, and diuers other noble men of England, who in times past had done the like to their enimies? After all this, the children of these when the world turned, reuenged themselves; and caused in like maner the others to die, which plagues we may be assured hapned not but by the wrath of God. But (as before I said) the realme of England hath this speciall grace aboue all other realmes and dominions, that in ciuill wars the people is not destroied, the townes be not burned nor razed, but the lot of fortune falleth vpon the soldiers, especially the gentlemen whom the people envy to too beyond reason: for nothing is perfect in this world. After King *Edward* was quiet in his reakne and received yeerely out of Fraunce fifty thousand crownes paid him in the tower of London, and was growen so rich, that ribber he could not be, he died suddenly as it were of melancholy, bicause of our Kings mariage that now raigneth, with the Lady *Margaret* the Duke of Austriches daughter. For so soone as he was aduertised thereof he fell sicke, and began then to perceiue how he had beene abused touching the mariage of his daughter, whom he caused to be named the Ladie *Dauylness*. Then also was the pension which he received out of Fraunce taken from him, which he called tribute, although indeed it were neither the one nor the other, as before I haue declared¹⁰. K. *Edward* left by his wife two goodly sonnes, one Prince of Wales, the other D. of Yorke, and two daughters. The D. of Gloucester his brother tooke vpon him the government of his nephew the Prince of Wales, being aboueten yeetes of age, and did homage to him as to his soueraigne Lord, and lead him to London pretending that he would there crowne him King, hoping by that meanes to get the other brother out of the Sanctuary at London, where he was with his mother, who began already to be ielous of his proceedings. To be short, by meanes of the Bishop of Bathe (who having beeene sometime of K. *Edwards* Councell, fell aferward into his disgrace, and was put in prison, and made to fine for his deliuerance,) the D. of Gloucester executed this exilot, which you shall now heare. This Bishop aduertised the Duke that K. *Edward* being in loue with a certaine Lady, promised her mariage vpon condition that he might lie with hir, whereunto she consented, so far forth that the said Bishop married them together, none being present but they two and himselfe. Which matter this Bishop being a iolly courtier never disclosed during K. *Edwards* life, but caused also

¹⁰ For it was due by the conditions of the treatie.

the said Lady to conceale it, so that it was kept secret. After this the said King falling againe in loue, maried the daughter of an English knight, called the Lord *Rivers*, being a widow, and mother of two sonnes. But after K. *Edwards* death, this Bishop of Bathe reuealed this matter to the D. of Gloucester, whereby he egged him forward not a little to the executing of his mischievous pretended enterprise. For the said D. murthered his two nephewes, crowned himselfe King by the name of *Richard* the third, proclaimed his brothers two daughters bastards in open parliament, tooke from them their armes, and put to death all the faithfull seruants of the late King his brother, at the least as many as he could lay hands on. But this cruelty remained not long vnpunished: for when the said King *Richard* thought himselfe safest, and liued in greater pride than any King of England did these hundred yeeres (hauing put to death the Duke of Buckingham, and hauing a great army in a readines) God rai-
How King Henry the 7. was next heire of the house of Lancaster, the pedigree in the end of the worke will declare, where also Philip de Commines error is controlled.

sed vp an enimie against him of no force, I meane the Earle of Richmound then prisoner in Britanie, but now King of England, of the house of Lancaster, though not the neerest to the crowne¹¹, whatsoeuer men say, at the least so far as I can learne. The said Earle told me a little before his departure out of this realme, that from the fift yeere of his age he had liued continually like a prisoner and a banished man. And indeed he had been fifteen yeeres or thereabout prisoner in Britaine to Duke *Frances* that last died, into whose hands he fell by tempst of the sea as he fled into Frannice, accompanied with the Earle of Pembroke his vncle. My selfe saw them when they arrived, for I was come of a message to the D. at the same time. The Duke entreated them curiously for prisoners, & after K. *Edwards* death lent the said Earle great force of men, and a great nauie; with the which he sent him hauing intelligence with the Duke of Buckingham, (who for this cause was afterward put to death) to lande in England: but the winde was against him, and the seas so rough, that he was forced to returne to Diepe, and from thence by land into Britaine. From whence soone after he departed with his band into Fraunce without taking leaue of the Duke, partly because he feared to ouercharge the Duke; (for he had with him fife hundred English men,) and partly because he doubted left the Duke would agree with King *Richard* to his prejudice: for he knew that King *Richard* practised with him to that ende. Soone after, the King that now is appointed three or fower thousand men to waft him ouer onely, and deliuered those that accompanied him a good summe of money and certaine peeces of artillerie: and thus passed he ouer in a ship of Normandie to land in Wales where he was borne. King *Richard* foorthwith marched against him; but a Knight of England called the Lord *Stanley*, who was married to the Earles mother, iomed himselfe with the Earle, and brought vnto him at the least 2600. men¹². The battell was giuen, King *Richard* slaine, and the Earle crowned King in the field with the said *Richards* crowne. Will you say that this was fortune? No, no, it was the iudgement of God: and for further proofe thereof some 5000. marke this also. Immediately after the King had murthered his two nephewes, he lost his wife, whom some say he murthered also. Further, he had but one onely sonne, who died in like manner incontinent after this murther. This example would haue serued better heereafter when I shall speake of King *Edwards* death; for he was yet liuing at the time my former Chapter treateth of: but I haue rehearsed it heere to continue my discourse which I am fallen into. In like manner we haue seene of late the crowne of Spaine altered after the death of Dom *Henry* that last died. For the said Dom *Henry* had to wife the King of Portugales sister last deceased, by whom he had issue a goodly daughter, which notwithstanding succeeded not her father, but was put from the crowne vnder colour of adulterie committed by her mother. But

¹¹ Our Chronicles say but 3000, and some 5000.

the matter ended not without great contention and warre: for the King of Portugal tooke part with his neece, and diuers great Lords of Castile ioined with him: yet notwithstanding the said Dom *Henries* sister, wife to the son of Dom *John* King of Arragon, obtained the crowne and possessefeth it yet at this day: and thus this partage was made in heauen as diuers others are. Further, you haue seene of late daies the King of Scotland and his sonne being thirteene yeres of age in battell, the one against the other: the sonne and his faction preuailed, and the King was

¹¹ This King that slue his father in bat- tell was *James* the 4. who married *Margaret* sister to King *Henry* the 8. slaine vpon the place ¹². This King murthered his owne brother, and was charged with diuers other crimes, namely the death of his sister and such like. You see also the Duchy of Gueldres out of the right line, and haue heard what impietie the Duke last deceased vsed against his father. Diuers other examples I could rehearse which should manifestly appeere to be punishments and scourges of God, which scourges are the principall caule of wars, whereof insue mortalitie and famine, all the which euils proceede of lache of faith. Wherfore I conclude, considering the wickednes of men especially of great men, who know not themselues, neither beleuee that there is a God: that it is necessarie for euery Prince and gouernor, to haue an aduersary to keepe him in feare and humility, otherwise no man should be able to liue vnder them or neere them.



How the Duchie of Burgundie was yeelded to the King.
Chap. I.



Ow to retorne to the principal matter, and to proceed in this historie, written at your request, my Lord of Vienna: while the King brought vnder his subiection the places and townes aboue named in the marches of Picardie, his army lay in Burgundie, the generall wher-of in appearance, was the Prince of Orenge ¹ that now is, who was borne in the countie of Burgundie, and a subiect thereof; but lately revolted the second time from Duke *Charles*: wherfore the King vsed his helpe; for he was a great Lord, well friended, and well beloued both in the said countie, and also in the Duchie of Burgundie. But the Lord of *Cran* was the Kings lieute-
nant, and he it was in deede that had the charge of the whole armie, and in whom the King reposeth his principall trust, and sure he was a wise man and faithfull to his Master, but somewhat too greedie of his owne gaine. The said Lord of *Cran* when he drew neere the countie of Burgundie, sent the Prince of Orenge before him with certaine others to Digeon, to perswade with the citizens to become the Kings subiects: which enterprize so well they attieued by the said Princes meanes, that the towne of Digeon, and all the other places of the Duchie of Burgundie yeelded to the King, Aussenre and certaine castels excepted, which held yet for the Lady of Burgundie. The King had promised the Prince of Orenge many goodly estates, and to restore him to all his grandfathers inheritance in the countie of Burgundie: for the which he was in sure with the Lords of Chauerguion his uncles ², whom (as he said) Duke *Charles* had fauored to his prejudice. For this cause had been often pleaded before him with great solemnitie, and once the Duke being accompanied with a number of lawyers, gaue iudgement against the Prince, at the least thus he reported: wherfore he forsooke the Dukes seruice, and went to the King. But Monsieur *de Cran* after he was entred into all these townes aboue mentioned, and had gotten into his hands all the best places that should descend to the said Prince by right of inheritance: refused to yeeld them to him, notwithstanding both the Kings promise, and the said Princes request. The King also wrote often to him about this matter without all collusion, knowing that he much misused the Prince: notwithstanding he feared to displease the said *de Cran*, because he had the charge of the whole countie, neither thought he that the Prince either would or could haue caused the countie of Burgundie to rebell, as afterward he did, at the least the greatest part therof. But I will heere leaue these Burgundish affaires, till another conuenient place shall serue to speake further thereof.



How the King entertained the English men after the death of Charles Duke of Burgundie, to the end they should not hinder his conquest of the said Dukes dominions.

Chap. 2.

Hose that heerafter shall reade this historie, and happily vnderstand the affaires both of this realme and the countries bordering vpon it better than my selfe, will maruell that since the death of Duke *Charles*, I haue hitherto by the space almost of one whole yeere made no mention of the Englishmen, and will woonder that they suffered the King to take the townes bordering so neere vpon them, namely Arras, Bolloin, Ardres, and Hedin, with diuers other castels, and to lie so long with his campe before Saint Omer¹. But you shall vnderstand that the reason thereof was, for that our King in wisedome and fence surmounted far *Edward* King of England then raigning: for notwithstanding that the said King *Edward* were a most valiant Prince, and had woon in England eight or nine battells; wherein he fought alwaies himselfe on foote greatly to his renowme; yet were these troubles but by fits, so that his head was not continually busied in matters of state: for immediately after the victorie obtained, he returned to his former sports and pleasures, till another storme arose. For you shall vnderstand, that when war beginneth in England, in ten daies or lesse the one or the other getteth the g. island. But our affaires in Fraunce passed not after that sort, for besides the war it selfe, the K. was forced to haue an eie continually vpon diuers places as well of his owne realme as of his neighbors, but especially by all means possible to content the King of England, and to entertain him by ambassadours, presents, and smooth words, to the end he should not enterneddle with our affaires. For the K. knew well the English men as well Nobles and Commons as the Cleargie, to be naturally inclined to make war vpon this realme, aswell vnder colour of the title they pretend thereunto; as also in hope of gaine. For they trust to haue euer such successe heere as their predecessors haue had, whom God permitted to obtaine in this realme many great victories, and large dominion both in Normandie and in Guienne, the which they had possessed by the space of three hundred and fiftie yeeres², when King *Charles* the seventh first recovered it. During the which time they enriched the realme of England with great spoiles and much treasure, that they got aswell of the Princes and noble men of Fraunce, a great number of whom they tooke prisoners; as also of the townes and places which they subdued. Notwithstanding they should hardly haue had such successe in the King our Masters time: for he would never haue endangered his estate in battell as King *Charles* the sixt did at Agincourt, where all the nobilitie of Fraunce lighted on foote to fight with the English men; but would haue proceeded more warily if the matter had come to execution, as you may perceiue by the course he held in sending King *Edward* home. Wherfore the King well perceiued that he must in any wise keepe the King of England and his principall seruants his friends, whom he saw altogether inclined to quietnes and very greedy of his money: for the which cause he paid duly at London the pension of fiftie thousand crownes, which they called tribute. And further gaue yeerly sixteene thousand crownes to the said Kings principall seruants, whose names were these: the Lord Chauncellor; the Master of the Roles who now is Chauncellor; the Lord *Hastings* Lord great Chamberlaine, a man of singular wisedome

¹ The King could not take Saint Omer, for the Lord of Chantelaine valiantly defended it. *Reade Dole Marche lib.2. cap.9. pag.410.*

² Others write but 295 others 296. and others 299.

dome and vertue, and in great authoritie with his Master, and not without cause, for he euer serued him faithfully; Sir *Thomas Montgomery*; the Lord *Howard*, afterward Duke of Norfolke & partaker with the wicked King *Richard*; the Master of the Horse called Master *Cheiny*; Master *Challenger*, and the Marques Dorset the Queene of Englands sonne by hir first husband. Further, he gaue goodly presents to all the ambassadours that came to him, were their messages neuer so sharpe and bitter, and sent them home with such goodly words & Princeley rewards, that they returned well contented. And notwithstanding that some of them vnderstood that he did all this onely to win time, the better to atchieue his enterprise in the conquest of the Duke of Burgundies dominions: yet winked they at it bicause of the great riches they received at his hands. To all these above named he gaue besides their pensions many goodly presents, so largely that the Lord *Howard* ouer and aboue his pension received of him in lesse then two yeeres space in money and plate fower and twentie thousand crownes. To the Lord *Hastings* also L. great Chamberlaine of England, he gaue at one time a present of plate to the value of ten thousand marks. The acquittances of all which great personages are yet to be seene in the chamber of accounts at Paris, saue of the Lord *Hastings* Lord great Chamberlaine of England, which is an high office, for there is neuer but one alone in it. This L. Chamberlaine was long labored before he would become the Kings pensioner, my selfe being the onely man that perswaded him thereunto. For I wan him first to *Charles* Duke of Burgundies friendship during the time I serued him, who gaue him yeerly a pension of a thousand crownes; whereof when I had aduertised the King, he would in like maner that I should be a meanes to make him his friend and pensioner: for in times past during Duke *Charles* his life, and after his death also in fauor of the Lady of Burgundy, he had alwaies beene the Kings extreme enimie, and trauelled once to perswade the King of England to aide the said Lady against the King our Master. I began this friendship by letters and the King gaue him a pension of two thousand crownes, which was double the summe he received of the Duke. Further, the King sent to him one of the stewards of his house called *Peter Cleres*, charging him to bring with him the said Lord Chamberlains acquittance; to the end heereafter it might appeare that the great Chamberlaine, Chauncellor, Admirall, and Master of the Horse of England, besides diuers others, had beene the French Kings pensioners. The said *Peter Cleres* was a wise fellow, and communed priuily alone with the Lord Chamberlaine at his lodging in London; where, after he had declared his message from the King: he presented him his two thousand crownes in golde (for the King neuer gaue but gold to strangers) which money when the Lord Chamberlaine had received, *Peter Cleres* humbly besought him for his discharge, to give him an acquittance; wherein the said Lord Chamberlaine made difficultie. Then *Cleres* desired him to give him onely a letter of threc lines to the King to testifie the receipt of the money, least the King being a suspitious Prince should thinke that he had counterfeited it to his owne use. Which reasonable demand the Lord Chamberlaine hearing, answered thus: Sir, you require but reason, but this gift proceedeth of the King your Masters liberalitie not of my request; if it please you that I shall receive it put it heere into my sleeve, and other letter or testimoniall get you none of me. For I will not for my part that any man shall say that the Lord great Chamberlaine of England hath beene pensioner to the French King; nor that my acquittances be found in his chamber of accounts. Wherunto the said *Cleres* replied not, burdeparted leauing the money behinde him; and at his retурne made report thereof to the King, who was not a little displeased with him for that he brought no acquittance:

tance: but as touching the said Chamberlaine, he commended and esteemed him more than all the King of Englands other seruants, and his pension was euer after paied without acquittance.

After this sort liued the King with the English men. Notwithstanding the King of England was oftentimes earnestly pressed by this yoong Princesse for aide, and therefore sent ambassadors often to negotiate with the King our Master about these affaires, desiring him to grant hir either peace or truce. Now you shall understand that those that were at the debating of these matters in England, especially in their parliament, (which is an assembly of the three estates, where diuers wise men were present that sinelt our dissimulation a far off, and received no pension of the King as the others did) were verie desirous; and yet the commons of the realme more desirous, that the King of England should send aide without further delay to the said Ladie: saying, that we heere did but abuse them, and that the marriage should neuer be accomplished: alleaging that at the treatie made at Picquigny betweene the two Kings, we had faithfully sworne and promised that the King of Englands daughter whom they alreadie called the Ladie Daulphinesse, shold be sent for into Fraunce within a yeere; which terme was now long expired. But what reasons soeuer the subiects made, the King would giue no eare thereunto, but alleged diuers excuses to the contrarie. And to say the truth, he was a very corpuulent man and much giuen to pleasures, neither could his body endure the toile of the wars. Further, he had wound himselfe out of great troubles and was loth to enter into them againe. The couetousnes also of the 50000. crownes yeerly paid him in the tower of London qualified his minde. Besides all this, his ambassadors that came hither were so courteously entertained and so well rewarded, that they departed euer well contented; but they neuer received any resolute answere: for the King sought onely to protract the time euer saying, that ere it were long he would send to the King their Master certain noble men with such assurance of those matters he stood in doubt of, as he knew well would content him. According to the which promise, within three weekes or a moneth after these ambassadors departure, sometime more, sometime lesse, which was no small delay in such a case) he vsed to send ambassadors to the King of England: but at every voyage sundry men, to the end that if the former had made any ouuerture not performed, the latter might plead ignorance therin. They also that were sent, perswaded so well the King of England that we meant nothing but good faith, that he lay still, and neuer stirred: for both he and the Queene his wife so much desired this mariage, that partly for this cause, and partly for the other reasons aboue alleaged; he was content to winke at this war, which forme of his Counsell tould him plainely to be very prejudicall to his realme. But he feared the breach of this mariage, because men began alreadie to scoffe at it in England, especially such as desired rebellion and ciuill war. Now to discourse a little vpon this point. You shall understand that the King our Master never meant to accomplish this mariage, because there was no equalitie betweene the age of the two parties: for King Edwards daughter at this present Queene of England, was much elder than the Daulphin now raigning. But by these dissimulations a moneth or two was gayned in running to and fro, by which meanes the King foded forth his enimie one whole sommer, wherein he might haue done him harme. For vndoubtedly if the King of England had not hoped vpon this mariage, he would neuer haue suffered the King to take the places bordering so neare vpon the English dominions, but haue sought to defend them: and if at the beginning he had declared himselfe for the Lady of Burgundie, the King who was by nature timorous, and would put nothing in ad-

uenture,

uenture, had never weakened this house of Burgundie as he hath. Thus much I write chiefly to shew how these affaires passed; and secondarly, to the ende that if hereafter those that are to manage great affaires happen to reade this historie, they may thereby learne how to helpe then selues in the like case: for be their wisedome never so great, yet a small aduertisement doth good many times. True it is, that if this Lady of Burgundy would haue consented to marrie the Lord Rivers the Queene of Englands brother, she should haue beeene aided with great force: but this had beeene an vnequall match; for he was but a poore Earle, and the one of the greatest inheritors in hir time. Many practises were entertained betweene the Kings of Fraunce and England; and amongst others the King offered him, that if he would ioine with him, and passe ouer in person into the Lady of Burgundies countries, he would be contented that the King of England should hold the countrie of Flaunders without homage, and also the Duchie of Brabant: offering further, to conquer for him at his proper costs and charges fower of the greatest townes in Brabant, and to put them into the King of Englands hands, to wage hym 10000. English men for fower moneths, to the end he might the better sustaine the charge of the wars, and to lend him great store of artillerie, and men and carriage to conuey it, and attēnd vpon it, with this condition, that the King of England should conquer the countrie of Flaunders, during the time the King our Master invaded on the other side. Whereunto the King of England made answere that the townes of Flaunders were strong and great; and both that countrey, and also the countrey of Brabant hard to be kept if they were conquered: adding further, that this war liked not the English men because of their entercourse with those countries. But seeing it pleased the King to make him partaker of his conquest, if he would giue him certaine townes he had alreadie conquered in Picardie, as Bolloin and diuers others which he named; he would then be contented to declare himselfe for him, and send men to serue him if he would pay them, which was a very wise answere.

How the mariage betweene the Lady of Burgundie and Maximilian Duke of Austrich, afterwards Emperor, was concluded and accomplished.

Chapter 3.

Duers practises were entertained (as before you haue heard) betweene these two Kings to delay time; but in the meane while the Lady of Burgundies force still diminished: for of those few men that remained alive after hir fathers death, diuers revolted from hir to the King, especially after Monsieur de Cordes was entred into his seruice; for he led away a great troupe with him. Others necessarie forced to shrinke from hir, because they dwelte either within the townes the King had alreadie conquered, or neere vnto them. Some also put them selues into his seruice to be enriched; for no Prince dealt so liberally with his men, as the King our Master did. Moreouer, ciuill dissentions and factions among them selues encreased dayly in the great townes, especially in Gaunt, which bare the greatest sway in the countrie, as you haue heard. For the Lady of Burgundie diuers marriages were mentioned; for all men were of opinion, that either she must get hir a husband to defend that she yet held, or marrie the Daulphin, thereby quietly to possesse all. Some desired greatly that this mariage with the Daulphin might take effect, she hir selfe especially, before

the

the King deliuered the letters aboue mentioned, sent vnto him by his Chauncellor and the Lord of Himbercourt: but others disallowed of this mariage, both because of the said Dauphins yoong age (for he was but nine yeeres olde) and also because of the mariage promised in England: and these labored for the Duke of Cleues sonne. Others there were that trauelled for the Emperors sonne *Maximilian* now King of Romans. The said Lady had conceiued extreme hatred against the King for the deliuerie of the letters aboue mentioned, which was the onely cause of the two noblemens death, and of the dishonor she receiued when hit letters were openly redeliuered hit before the assembly, whereof you haue heard. Further, the deliuerie of the said letters seemed also to be the onely occasion that mooued them of Gaunt to banish so many of his seruants from him, to remoue from about him his mother in lawe and the Lord of Rauastaine, and to put his woman in such feare, that they durst not open a letter before they of Gaunt had seene it, nor commune with their Mistres in hit eare. Wherefore she began now to remoue from about him the Bishop of Liege, who was of the house of Bourbon, and an earnest fater for hit mariage with the Dauphin, which sure had beeene a very honorable match for him, had not the said Dauphin been so yoong, notwithstanding the Bishop had no regard thereof. To be short, the said Bishop departed to Liege, whereupon every man gaue ouer that sute. It had been hard to deale in this busines to the contention of all parties, and I thinke who so should haue intermedled in it, should haue had but small thanke for his labor in the end: wherfore every man forbare to speake therein. Notwithstanding before hit mariage was fully concluded, there was an assentiblie held about it, wherat the Lady of Halleuin the Princesse of Burgundie principall woman was present, who said (as I haue heard reported) that they had neede of a man not a child, and that his Mistres was a woman growen and able to beare children, which should be the onely stay of the countrey. This opinion tooke place, notwithstanding some blamed this Lady for speaking thus frankly; but others commended him, saying, that she had spoken but of such mariage as was most necessary for the estate of the countrey. There was now no more to do but to finde a fit man. And I thinke verily if it had so pleased the K. she would willingly haue married the Lord of Angouleme that now is¹; so much desired she to continue hit alliance with the house of Fraunce. But God was minded to make another match wheroft peraduenture the sequel is yet vnuknown. Notwithstanding this, we are able to say by that is already past, that of the said mariage many great wars haue arisen both heere and there, which perchance had never happened if she had married the Lord of Angouleme: wheras by reason of this other match both the countries of Flaunders and Brabant haue suffered great afflictions. The Duke of Cleues was at Gaunt with the said Lady, making friends there in hope to conclude a mariage betweene him and his son: but she had no fandsie therunto; for both she & those that were about him, misliked much his sons conditions. Wherfore some began to motion a mariage betweene him and the Emperors sonne now King of Romans, the which in times past had been so far foorth treated of betweene the Emperor and Duke *Charles*, that it was concluded betweene them two. Further, the Emperor had a letter written with the Ladies owne hand by his fathers commandement, and a ring set with a diamond. The contents of the which letter were, that according to the pleasure of his Lord and father, she promised to the said Duke of Austrich the Emperors sonne, to accomplish the mariage concluded betweene both their parents, in such maner and forme as his said Lord and father should appoint.

From the Emperor came certaine ambassadors to the said Lady being at Gaunt, who

¹ This was Charles Duke of Angouleme father to King Francis the first.

who received letters at Bruxels commanding them to stay there, because Commissons should be sent thither to treat with them, which was the Duke of Cleues doing, who was loth of their comming, and sought to send them home discontented. But the said ambassadors passed foorth that notwithstanding, for they had good intelligence in the Ladies court, especially with the Dowager of Burgundy, who was remoued from the said Ladie, as you haue heard, because of the letter aboue mentioned. She aduertised them (as it was reported) that they should not stay at Bruxels notwithstanding these letters, instructing them further what they should do at their comming to Gaunt; and assuring them that the said Ladie and diuers about him were well disposed to their sute. The Emperors ambassadors followed her aduise, and rid straight to Gaunt, notwithstanding the message aboue mentioned. Wherewith the Duke of Cleues was not a little discontented, but he was not acquainted with the disposition of the said Lady and her women. The Councell concluded that these ambassadors should haue audience, and their message being heard: the Princesse should bid them hartily welcome, & tell them that she would take aduise with her Councell, which words being vitered, she should withdraw hirselfe without farther communication. Wherunto she agreed. The ambassadors when audience was giuen them, presented their letters and declared their message, which was, that her mariage had been concluded betweene the Emperour and the Duke of Burgundie his father with his consent; as appeered both by her letters written with her owne hand which they there shewed, and also by the diamond which they said she had sent and given in token of mariage. Moreouer, the said ambassadors required him on their Masters behalfe, that it would please her to accomplish the said mariage according to the will and promise both of his said Lord and father, and also of herselfe. Further, desiring her to declare before the assembly there present, whether she had written the said letter or not, and whether shee meant to performe her promise. Wherunto the said Ladie without further deliberation answered, that shee had sent the saide diamond, and written the letter by the commandement of her Lord and father, and would performe all that was contained therein. Then the ambassadors gaue her humble thanks, and returned with ioyfull mindes to their lodging. But the Duke of Cleues was highly displeased with this answer, being cleane contrary to his counsels resolution, and told her that she had done vnauidedly. Wherunto she answered that she could do no otherwise because her promise was past, which she would not breake. Which words the Duke hearing, and knowing diuers about him to be of the same opinion: determined soone after to returne home into his owne countrey and relinquish his sute. Thus was this mariage concluded, for the accomplishment whereof Duke *Maximilian* came to Colen, where certaine of the Ladies seruants met him, and brought him money, whereof I thinke they found him bare ynoch: for his father was the hardest man either Prince or priuate man that liued in his time. The said Emperors son being accompanied with seuen or eight hundred horse was conuiced to Gaunt, where the mariage was accomplished, which at the first was more vnuprofitable than profitable to the Ladies subiects; for the Almaines in steed of bringing money with them, had money giuen them. Their number was not sufficient to withstand the Kings forces, and their conditions agreed not with her subiects maners: for they had liued vnder rich Princes which gaue goodly offices, kept honorable and pompous houses both in furniture and fare, and had sumptuous apparel, both for themselves and their seruants: but the Almaines are of a cleane contrary disposition, for they are rude fellowes and liue grossly.

I doubt not but that by sage and wise aduise and by the speciall grace of God, the law

law Salicke was ordained in Fraunce which barreth women from the crowne, to the end the realme fall not into the hands of a strange Prince & nation. For neither the French men nor any other people can easily digest the government of a stranger. And to say the truth there is no great Seniorie but in the ende the dominion there of remaineth to the naturall country men, as appeereth by the realme of Fraunce, a great part whereof the English men possessest the space of fower hundred yeeres; and yet now hold nothing therein but Calice, and two little castles, the defence whereof costeth them yeerly a great summe of money: the rest they lost much sooner than they wan; for they lost more in a day, than they got in a yeere. The selfe-same appeereth also by the realme of Naples, the yle of Sicilie, and the other provinces possessed by the French many yeeres, where now is no memoriall of their being there, save onely their ancestors graues. For notwithstanding that men may away with a strange Prince being wise, and accompanied with a small traime well disposed; yet can they hardly digest a great number of strangers: for if the Prince bring with him a great multitude, or tend for great forces vpon occasion of wars, quarrels will arise betwene them and the subiects of the country, because of the diuersitez of their maners and conditions, and because they will not forbear to offer the subiects wrong, and are not beloved as the naturall country men be: which in-conuenience then happeneth especially, when strangers seeke to haue the highest offices and estates, and the government of the affaires in the commonwelth. Wher-fore a Prince that goeth into a strange country, had neede to be wise and carefull in setting all things in good order: for if he laxe this vertue of prudence, which pro-ceedeth especially of the grace of God, whatsoeuer other good parts be in him, all is but lost; and if he liue a mans age both he and those that liue vnder him shall taste of great troubles, especially in his old age when his subiects and seruants despaine of amendment.

<sup>1 This is Phi-
lip father to
the Empero-
& Ferdinand
he was borne
the 23. of June
1478. and died
the 25. of Sep-
tember. 1506.</sup>
<sup>2 This Mar-
garet is the
whom they of
Gauge aima-
tis his fathers
betrothed to
King Charles
the 8. as Com-
munes write
in this booke
cap. 9. The
said K. Charles
neuer accom-
plished the
marriage with
her, but being
givene to
mans estate,
tent her home
to his father,
as Comines
writteb. lib. 7.
cap. 3. After-
ward the mar-
ried the
Prince of Ca-
stille as is men-
tioned lib. 8.
cap. 7. and
fally Thos-
sally Duke of
Sauoy. She
was borne
anno 1480.
d. 1. Marche.
<sup>3 This Francis
was borne an-
no 1481. Intro-
duct. de la
Marche, he died
a child, and another so. ne also. as other historiographers report, named George.</sup></sup>

After this marriage aboue rehearsed was accomplished, their affaires amended not, for the Princes were both very yoong, and Duke *Maximilian* for his part sim- ple and of small vnderstanding, as well because of his yoong yeeres², as also for that he was in a strange country, and vterly vnaquainted in his education with any matter of state. Lately, he wanted force sufficient for any great exploit, so that for these causes these countries fell into great miseries, wherein they yet remaine and are like to remaine. Sure it is a greeuous plague when a Prouince is forced to seeke a strange Prince to gouerne it. Wherefore God hath shewed great grace to the realme of Fraunce by the lawe aboue mentioned, which barreth women from the crowne: for by such marriages with strangers a priuate house (I confesse) may be enriched, but to a great realme such as this, many inconueniences should therof insue. Soone after this marriage accomplished, or while they were treating thereof: the King wan the country of Artois. It sufficeth me to rehearse the substance of these affaires, and if I faile otherwhiles in the exact compuration of the time a moneth or two, I trust the Readers will hold me excused. The Kings good successe daily increased; for no man withstande him, by meanes whereof he wan every day some place or other, vniuersall truce or some ouverture of peace were made: which notwithstanding could neuer be brought to conclusion because both the parties were vntreasonable. Wherefore the war continued still. Duke *Maximilian* and the Lade of Burgundie had issue the first yeere Archduke *Philip* now liuing³. The second yeere they had a daughter called *Margaret* now our Queene⁴. The third yeere they had a sonnenamed *Francis* Duke of Britaine⁵, who christened him. The fourth yeere

she

she died⁶ with a fall from her horse⁷ or of an ague: but true it is that she fell, & some said she was with childe. Hir death was a great losse to her subiects, for she was a ver- tuous and liberal Lady, welbeloued of her people, and more reverenced and feared of them than her husband; and no maruell, for she was Lady of the land. She loued her husband entirely well, and was well reported of all men. She died in the yeere 1482. The King held in Hainault the townes of Quesnoi-le Counte, and Bouchain, the which he restored againe, whereat divers woondred, considering that he seemed not desirous of peace, but rather to take all & leue this house of Burgundy nothing. And sure I thinke if he could easily haue dispersed and giuen away all the Seniories therof, he would vterly haue destroied it indeed. But two causes there were, as he afterwards told me, that mooued him to render these places: the one, he said that a King ought to make more account of places of force and defence within his owne realme where he is annointed and sacred, than of those that are out of his realme, as these two were. The other was because of the soleinne oth and league that is betwene the Kings of Fraunce and the Emperors, that they shall not incroche the one vpon the other, and these places aboue mentioned were situate in the Empire, and were restored the yeere 1477. The same cause mooued him to leue Cambray also, and to restore it to neutrality, and to say the truth, they received him into the towne vnder that condition.

⁶ She died 2. of March. an. 1482. by rea-
son that tho-
rough wom-
bly infirmitie
it would not
last, but thogh
which was

broken with the fall from her horse to be cured, but chose rather to die.

How King Lewis by the conduct of Charles of Amboise his lieutenant, recon-
nected divers townes in Burgundy, which the Prince of
Orange had caused to revolt from him.

Chap. 4.

^{1478.} **H**e warre endurestil in Burgundie, where the King could not atchieue his enterprise, because the Prince of Orange being revolted from him was made lieutenant of the Burgundians, and had some aide of the Almaines for his money, but not in fator¹ of Duke *Maximilian*: for as touching him, there never came man into the country for his seruice, at the least during the time I now write of. But these Almaines were certaine bands of Swissers that serued the Prince of Orange as aduenturers, not as *Maximilians* waged soldiers: for the Swissers are not friends nor wellwillers of the house of Au- strich: other aide this country of Burgundie had little; notwithstanding ynochough it might haue had if their painment had beene good. And as touching aide, no man might better haue giuen it than Duke *Sigismonde* of Austriche, Duke *Maximilians* vncle², whose dominions bordered vpon these countries of Burgundie, especially the County of Ferrette, which a few yeeres before³ he sold for 100000. gildons, to *Charles* Duke of Burgundy, and tooke it afterwards againe without paying backe the money³, by the which title he yet possesseth it. He was a man of firal wisedome, and little regarding his honor, and in such friends men finde small reliefe. Further, he was one of those Princes aboue mentioned that vnderstand nothing of their owne affaires, further then it please their seruants to acquaint them with, who are euer plagued for their beastlines in their age as this Duke *Sigismonde* was. For his seruants during these wars, made him take part with whom them listed; so that the ma- ney was paid to a merchant of Basill to the Duke of Burgundies vse, and the painment signified to the said Duke, who would not accept it vntesse it were paied at Bezanson.

S 2

for

for the most part he ioyned with the King our Master against his nephew, and would haue giuen his inheritance being very large from his owne kindred to a strange house: for he never had childe, notwithstanding that he were twise married. But now within these three monethes by the perswaltung of another faction of his seruants, he had conueyed a present estate of his whole patrimony to the said *Maximilian* his nephew King of Romaines, reseruing to himself a pension only amounting to the third part of his reuenues, without any further power or authoritie in the countrey. But (as I haue heard) he hath often repented him thereof; and if I haue heard a lie, yet is it like inough to be true. Such is the end of all Princes that liue like beasts, against whom I inueigh thus vehemently, because of the great office and charge that God hath giuen them in this world. Notwithstanding those that are bereft of their wits ought to be free from all reproch; but sure those that haue good wits and healthfull bodies, and yet employ their time in nothing but folly and idlenes; are not to be moaned when any misfortune falleth vpon them: as on the other side those that spend their time according to their age, sometime in wisdome and councell, and sometime in honest recreation, are greatly to be commended, and hap-
pie be the subiects that liue vnder such a Prince.

This war in Burgundie endured long, because of the Swissers small aide aboue mentioned; notwithstanding the Kings force was much too strong for them: besides that the Burgundians laked monie; for the which cause the garrisons that were in the strong places turned by intelligence. Monsieur *de Cran* the Kings lieutenant there, laid the siege before Dolle the chiefe citie of the countie of Burgundie, the force within it being so small that he despised it, which turned to his losse: for they salied foorth and assualted him on a sudden, and tooke part of his artillerie, and slue certaine of his men, which was a great dishonor to him, and put him also into the Kings disgrace, who being troubled with this accident determined to send a new gouernor into Burgundy, partly because of this misfortune, and partly because of the great pillings and pollings the said *de Cran* had vsed in the countrie, which were in deede too excessive. Notwithstanding before his departure he ouerthrew a band of

¹This was the Prince of O:enges brother who came to leue the siege that Monsieur *de Cran* held before Gy, where he had besieged the said Prince of Orenge, with him were slaine 14 or 15 hundred. ²Before lib. 5. cap. 2. he reporteth these 4000. franks to be florens, and so in mine opinion it should be reade heere. Almaines and Burgundians, and tooke prisoner Monsieur *de Chasteauguion* ⁴, the greatest Lord in Burgundie. Other exploit done was done that I haue heard of, notwithstanding the report went, that the said *de Cran* behaued himselfe there very valiantly as touching his owne person. The King as before I said, determined for the reasons aboue alleged, to place a new gouernor in Burgundie, not diminishing any whit of the said *de Cran*s profits, offices, or estates, saue onely that he tooke from him all his men of armes, except halfe a dozen or a dozen archers, left to accompany him home. This Monsieur *de Cran* was a very grosse man, and willingly departed to his owne house, where he liued at ease. The King placed in his roome Master *Charles* of Amboise Lord of Chaumont a valiant, wise, and diligent gentleman. Moreouer, he practised to win all the Almaines that made war against him in Burgundie, to his seruice, not so much to vse their helpe, as thereby to conquer the easilier the rest of the countrie. The King sent also to the Swissers, whom he called the Lords of these Almaine leagues, making them many goodly offers; for he promised a yeerely pension of 20000. franks ⁵ to their townes, which be fower, Berne, Lucerne, Zurich, and I think Fribourg was the fourth. Their Cantons also, as I suppose, received part of this pension, which be three villages situate in the mountaines, namely Swiffe, whereof the whole countrie is named; Soleurre, and Ondreual: other 20000. franks he promised yeerely to the said Swissers gouernors, and to certaine particular men that should further his affaires. Moreouer, he enrolled himselfe one of their Burgesse, & desired

desired to be their principall confederate, and to haue writings thereof; wherein though they made some difficultie at the first, because the Duke of Sauoy had euer been their chiefe confederate: yet in the ende they granted him his demands, and promised to send continually to his seruice 6000. men vnder this condition, that their entertainement should be monethly fower gildons and a halfe, which band continued in pay till the Kings death ⁶. A poore Prince had not been able to do this, ⁶ When these Swissers began first to be entreated, then were the franke archers called, which was anno 1480.

but sure it turned greatly to the Kings profit, though in the ende I thinke it will be their destruction. For now they flowe so with money, especially with gold (wherwith before they were vnacquainted) that they are ready to fall at variance among them-selues, otherwise no man should be able to annoy them. For their countrie is so poore, and so full of mountaines, and themselues so good soldiers, that few would seeke to inuade them. After these treaties were ended, and all the Almaines in Burgundie woon to the Kings seruice, the Burgundians force was cleane broken. To be shott, after diuers new enterpris attieched by the gouernor the Lord of Chaumont, he besieged Rochfort a castell neere to Dolle, defended by Master *Claude de Vauldry*, and yeelded by composition. Afterward he besieged the towne of Dolle, from the siege whereof his predecessor in this office was raised (as before you haue heard) and tooke it by assault. The report was that some of these Almaines lately received into the Kings seruice, thought to haue entred the towne to defend it; but so many franke archers thronged in with them, not vnderstanding their treason, but onely for desire of gaine, that after they were once entred, they fell all to the spoile, and burned and destroied the towne. A few daies after the taking whereof, the gouernor besieged Auffonne a very strong towne, but he had good intelligence within it. And before he brought the siege thither, he writ to the King, desiring that the offices of the towne might be bestowed vpon certaine whom he named: which request was soorthwith granted. Although I were not present at these actions, yet vnderstood I of them, both by the reports made thereof to the King, and also by the letters written to him; which oftentimes my selfe perused to make answere therunto by his commandement. The force within Auffonne was but small, and the capaines had intelligence with the gouernor, by meanes whereof within fve or sixe daies the place was yeelded. Thus was all Burgundie conquered, saue three or fower castels situate vpon mountaines, namely Ieu, and certaine others, and the towne of Bezanson which is imperiall, not subiect to the countie of Burgundie, but environed therewith; and therefore at the commandement of the Prince thereof. The gouernor entred into it for the King, and came foorth againe; they of the towne doing vnto him all such seruices as they were accustomed in times past to do to the Princes of Burgundie. Thus was all Burgundie subdued by the gouernors great diligence, whereunto the King earnestly pressed him, doubting that he would leaue some place vncouquered, to the end his helpe might be needed there still, and he not be called from thence to serue the King in some other place. For Burgundie is a fruitfull countrie, whereof he disposed as of his owne; so that both the Lord of *Cran* before named, and this gouernor also, filled their bags well there. The countrie remained quiet ⁷ The old copie raseth Verdun and luth Semur, which the Annales of Fraunce call Semur: saying that both this and Verdun al- so rebelled.

that part which he meaneth to protec^t and defend, he giueth the w^{ise}st men, and likewise wisedome to those that are in authoritie to employ the w^{ise}st. Further, he hath alwaies shewed and doth daily shew himselfe in all things a defender and protector of our Kings, not onely of our Master that dead is, but of the King likewise now raigning, notwithstanding that sometime they taste also of his scourges. They that lost againe these townes thus revolted, were force sufficient to haue defended them, if they had with speede put themselues into them: but through their negligence they gaue the gouernor leisure to leuie men, which was great folly; for they knew well ynoch his estate, considering the great fauour all the countrie bare them. Wherefore they ought to haue entred with speed into Beaune, being a strong towne, and of defence, as the others were not. The selfesame day that the gouernor went to besiege a little beggerly towne called Verdun, being well informed of the state thereof: these Burgundians entered there, minding to put themselues into Beaune. They were sixe hundred choyse men horsemen and footemen, partly Almaines, and partly of the countie of Ferrette, led by certaine expert gentlemen of Burgundie, of the which *Simon of Quincy* was one. But they spent time at Verdun while they might haue entred into Beaune, which the gouernor could never haue recovered, if they had once beene within it. But for lacke of good counsell, they staid a night too long in Verdun, where they were besieged and taken by assault. Afterward Beaune was also besieged, and all that was lost recovered, since the which time our enemies were neuer of any force in Burgundie. I was at this present in the countrie with the Kings pensioners (as you haue heard) from whence the King revoked me, because of a certaine letter written to him, wherein he was aduertised that I forbare to lodge our men of armes in certaine Burgesse^s houses of Dyon. This with another small suspicion conceiued of me, caused him suddenly to send me to Florence: to which his commandement I obeyed as reason was, and departed so soone as I had my dispatch.

How Monsieur d' Argemont during these wars of the conquest of Burgundy, was sent to Florence, and how he receiuesth borngage of the Duke of Milan in the Kings name for the Duchie of Genua.

Chap. 5.

MY voyage into Italie was about a quarrell that arose betweene two great houses, verie famous in those daies, the one the house of Medicis, the other the house of Pacci, the which Pacci by the supportation of the Pope and *Ferrande* King of Naples, thought to haue slaine *Lawrence of Medicis* & al his adherents: notwithstanding of him they failed; but his brother *Julian* they slew in the great Church of Florence, and with him one called *Francis Noti*, a seruant of this house of Medicis, who stepped foorth before the said *Julian* to saue him. *Lawrence de Medicis* being soone after other bands. But to proceede, the Pope excommunicated the Florentines immediately after this fact committed, and caused foorthwith his owne forces and the King of Naples forces to marche. Their armie was strong and great, and they had in pay a number of good souldiers. They besieged first a little forte neere to Senes called the Chastellennie, which they tooke with diuers other places; so that the Florentines were in great distresse: for because they had liued long in peace, they were vnacquainted with the warres, neither understande the danger they were in. *Lawrence de Medicis* their chiefe gouernour in the towne was but yoong, and ruled altogether by yoong men, yet the whole citie rested vpon his opinion. Moreover, they had but few Captaines, and their force was verie small: but the generall of the Popes and King *Ferrand* of Naples armie was the Duke of Vrbino, a valiant and wise Prince, and a good captaine. In their campe were also the Lord *Robert of Arimini*, who since hath beene a man of great estimation, the Lord *Constantine of Pesaro*, and diuers others that accompanied the King of Naples two sonnes,

beene fully accomplished: certaine of them went vp to the pallace, minding there to haue slaine all the Lords of the towne being to the number of nine, which haue the whole gouernment of the citie, and change at every three moneths end. But they that attempted this enterprise were euill followed by their companions, by meanes whereof when they came to the top of the pallace staires, one shut a doore after them: whereupon they seeing themselues not past fower or five were astonished and wist not what to say; which the Lords of the towne that were aboue and their seruants perceiving, looked out at the windowes, and saw all the towne in an vprore and heard Master *James of Pacci* with his companions crie in the midst of the market place before the pallace, *Liberta Liberta, and Popolo Popolo*: which were words whereby they thought to allure the people to take part with them, which notwithstanding the people did not, but held themselues quiet. Whereupon Master *James de Pacci* and his companions seeing the euill successe of their enterprise, fled out of the place as men astonished. Which when the Lords and gouernors of the towne being within the pallace perceiving: they tooke immediately those five or sixe that were come vp euill accompanied, and euill followed, which intent to haue slaine them and taken the gouernment into their hands; and commanded them presently to be hanged at the bars of the pallace windowes, the Archbishop of Pise ¹ being one of them. Further the said gouernors perceiving all the city to take part with them & the house of *Medicis*: gaue commandement foorthwith, that all men found flying should be staid at the passages and brought backe to the towne; at the which instant Master *James of Pacci* was taken, and with him one sent thither by Pope *Sixtus*, being a captaine of certaine bands vnder the Earle *Hieronimo*, which Earle was also of the conspiracie. The said Pacci with his companions was in like maner immediately hanged at the bars of the pallace windowes: the Popes seruant was beheaded; and besides these diuers were taken in the towne, who were all hanged in this heate, of the which *Francis de Pacci* was one. There were as I gesse hanged in all fowerteene great personages, besides certaine seruants slaine in the towne. A few daies after this vprore, I arrived at Florence from the King, hauing vsed great diligence after my departure out of Burgundie, for I staid no where but two or three daies with the Duchesse of Sauoye the Kings sister, who entertained me very honorably. From thence I went to Milan, where I sojourned also two or three daies, and demanded aide of them to succor the Florentines, with whom at that time they were in league, which my request they willingly granted, both because of the Kings demand, and also for their leagues sake: wherefore they sent foorth at that present three hundred men of armes, and soone after other bands. But to proceede, the Pope excommunicated the Florentines immediately after this fact committed, and caused foorthwith his owne forces and the King of Naples forces to marche. Their armie was strong and great, and they had in pay a number of good souldiers. They besieged first a little forte neere to Senes called the Chastellennie, which they tooke with diuers other places; so that the Florentines were in great distresse: for because they had liued long in peace, they were vnacquainted with the warres, neither understande the danger they were in. *Lawrence de Medicis* their chiefe gouernour in the towne was but yoong, and ruled altogether by yoong men, yet the whole citie rested vpon his opinion. Moreover, they had but few Captaines, and their force was verie small: but the generall of the Popes and King *Ferrand* of Naples armie was the Duke of Vrbino, a valiant and wise Prince, and a good captaine. In their campe were also the Lord *Robert of Arimini*, who since hath beene a man of great estimation, the Lord *Constantine of Pesaro*, and diuers others that accompanied the King of Naples two sonnes,

¹ This Arch-bishops name was *Francis Salius*, and this vprore was the 27. of April anno 1478.

sonnes, the Duke of Calabria, and the Lord Dom *Frederic*, (who are al yet aliue;) besides a great number of other valiant soldiers. Thus they tooke all the places that they besieged; but not so speedily as we would haue done in Fraunce, because they vnderstood not what appertained neither to the siege nor defence of a towne so well as we: but sure as touching the leading of an army, & giuing order both for victuals & al other things necessarie for a camp, they passe vs far. The fauor the King shewed the Florentines stood them in some stead, though not so much as I wished; but I had no forces there to aide them with, saue onely my traine. I stayed at Florence and in their dominioris about a yeere, altogether vpon their charge: they vsed me very honorably, and till the last day my entertainment rather amended than impaired. Then the King called me home, and I passed through Milan, I received homage for the Duchy of Genua of the Duke of Milan, called *John Galeas*, at the least of the Duchesse his mother, who did homage to me as the Kings deputie in his sonnes name. From thence I returned to the King our Master, who received me very graciously and acquainted me with his affaires, more than euer before, and appointed me also to be his bedfellow, notwithstanding that I were vnwoorthy of that honor, and that diuers others were fitter for that place than my selfe: but he was so wise that no man could faile to please him if he executed his commandements, without adding ought thereto of his owne braine.

*Of Monsieur d' Argentons returne out of Italie into Fraunce,
and of the battell of Guinegate.*

Chap. 6.


T my returne the King our Master looked somewhat aged, and his body was disposed to sicknes, but his disease brake not soorth as yet. His affaires he gouerned with great wisedome, and the war endured still in Picardie, wherewith he was not a little discontented, as were his enimies also in the said countries but they could not remedie it. The Duke of Austriche now King of Romans having the Flemmings this yeere at his deuotion, laid the siege before Therouenne: but Monsieur *de Cordes* the Kings lieutenant in Picardie, leuied all the forces the King had in that countrie, and the frontiers thereabout, to the number of eight thousand franke archers, and went to succour the place. Whom when the Duke of Austriche perceiued to approch, he leuied his siege, and marched against him: the two armes met at a place called Guinegate. The Duke had of Flemmings to the number of twentie thousand or better, and certaine Almaines together with three hundred English men, led by an English Knight that had serued *Charles Duke of Burgundie*, called sir *Thomaz Abrigan*. The Kings horsemen being much stronger than their enimies, brake the Dukes horsemen, and pursued them, and Master *Philip of Rauastain* their captaine as far as Ayre, wherupon the Duke joined himselfe with his footemen. The King had in this armie at the least 1100. men of armes of his ordinary retinue: all the which followed not the chase; but Monsieur *de Cordes* who was generall did, and Monsieur *de Torcy* with him, which was a valiant deede, but against the law of armes; for the captaines of the vaward and rearward ought not to follow the chase. Some of the Dukes horsemen retired, vnder colour of defending the strong places; but others fled in good earnest. The Dukes footmen fled not, yet were they vpon the point so to do; but they had with them on foote two hundred valiant gentle men their leaders, among whom were the Lord of Romont of

¹ The old co-
pie saith but
500. men of
armes.

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the house of Sauoye, the Earle of Nassaw, and diuers others yet living. The courage of these gentlemen staied the footemen, which was a woonder, considering they saw their horsemen broken. The Kings franke archers fell to spoile the Dukes carriage, and the straglers that followed it, as victuallers, and such like: but certaine of the Dukes footmen set vpon them, *discomfited them*, and slue some of them. The Dukes losse was greater than ours; for more of his men were taken, and more slaine: ² but the honor of the field was his. And I thinke verily if he had returned to Therouenne, he had not found a man neither in it, nor in Arras; and it was greatly to his losse, that he durst not attempt so to do. But in such cases men are not alwaies informed of the best: and to say the truth, great cause he had to feare that enterpise. I speake of this battell but by hearesay; for I was not present at it: notwithstanding to continue the order of my historie, somewhat I was forced to write thereof. I was with the King when these newes were brought him, which vndoubtedly nipped him at the verie hart; for he was not accustomed to lose, but had such successe in all his attempts, that fortune seemed to be at his commandement, which vndoubtedly his wisedome greatly furthered. For he would hazard nothing, neither feared any thing more than a battell; and as touching this now mentioned, it was fought without his knowledge. His armes he made so strong, that few Princes were able to encounter them; he was better furnished of artillerie, than any King that euer reigned in Fraunce: he attempted alwaies to take places vpon a sudden, especially such as he perceiued to be euill fortifyed; which after he had once gotten, he furnished so well both of men and artillerie, that it was impossible for his enimies to recouer them. Further, if the captaine of any strong place, or any other within it, would practise to yeeld it for money, he was sure of a copes mate, neither would he shrinke were the summe demanded neuer so great, but liberally giue it. He was afeard at the first when newes was brought him of this battell, supposing the truth had not beeene told him, but that his whole force had beeene ouerthowen, knowing, if it were so, all to be lost that he had conquered ouer this house of Burgundie in those parts, and the rest in great danger: but when he vnderstood the truth, hee tooke the matter patiently, and was well ynochough contented with Monsieur *de Cordes*. Notwithstanding he purposed to giue order, that no more such enterpises should be attempted without his knowledge. From this day forward he resolued to treat of peace with the Duke of Austriche, to that it might he wholly to his owne aduantage, and that he might thereby so bridle the said Duke, by meanes of his owne proper subiects (whom he knew to be inclined to practise against their Prince) that he should neuer be able to do him harme. Moreover, he was very desirous to redresse all disorders in his realme, especially the long delates of processses and sutes in law: which thing the better to compasse, he minded to bridle the Court of parliament, not by diminishing their number or authoritie, but many things were done there against his minde, for the which he hated it. He was also desirous to reduce his whole realme to one custome, and one kinde of waight and measure: and further, that all the lawes and customes should be written in the French tong, in a faire booke to auoid the pilling and pollings of the Counsellors in law, which are more excessive in this realme than in any other, as the nobilitie hath good cause to kniwe. And vndoubtedly if God had spared him life and health fve or sixe yeeres longer, he would haue done much good in the realme, as great cause he had to do; for he had more oppressed it than euer had any of his predeceßors: but neither authoritie nor persuasions could haue woon him to vnburden his people till it had come of himselfe, as in his latter daies sure it would if God had prefered him from sicknes. Wherefore it is requisite to do good while a man

¹ There were
11000. at the
battell of
Guinegate
11000. Bur-
gundians, and
500. French.
Gazuin.

man hath leisure, health, and vnderstanding. The treatie the King desired to make with the Duke and Duchesse of Austrich, and their dominions, was this: he meane by meanes of the citizens of Gaunt to treate of a marriage betwene the Dauphin, his sonne now our King, and the daughter of the said Duke and Duchesse, vnder these conditions, that if the marriage were accomplished, they should permit him quietly to enjoy the counties of Burgundy, Auxerrois, Masconnois, and Charolois; and he for his part would restore vnto them Artois, refering onely to himselfe the citie of Arras, in such sort as he had fortified it: for the towne was now nothing woorth, considering the fortification of the citie. For before the King tooke Arras, the towne was fortified with ditch and rampare against the citie; but now the citie was fortified against the towne, and held for the King by the Bishop: wherein the King did contrarie to the Princes of this house of Burgundy. For they alwaies at the least by the space of these hundred yecres, made Bishop whom they listed, and placed a captaine in the towne besides: but the King to increase his authoritie did cleane contrarie, and caused also the towne wals to be beaten downe, and the citie to be fortified: so that now the citie shuttereth vpon the towne, a great ditch being betwene both. Wherfore the King indeed offered nothing; for who so hath the city, hath the towne at commandement. Of the Duchie of Burgundie, the countie of Boljoin, the townes situate vpon the riuier of Somme, the territories of Peronne, Roye, and Montdidier no mention was made. After these ouvertures were once set on foote, they of Gaunt furthered them to the vttermost of their power, and vsed verie rudely the Duke and Duchesse his wife, as did also diuers other great townes of Flaunders and Brabant, which were fully bent to follow the proceedings of them of Gaunt, especially Brucelles, which was growen so wealthie, because of the continual residence that Duke *Philip* and Duke *Charles* of Burgundy had made there: (as did also at this present the Duke and Duchesse of Austriche) that the wealth and quietnes wherein they had liued vnder these two Dukes aboue named, made them forget God and their dutie to their Prince: so that they procured to themselues that misfortune, which afterward, as you haue scene, fell vpon them.

How King Lewis being visited with sicknes, lost his wits, and lay speechlesse, sometime recovering, and eftsoones falling into his disease againe: and how he behaued himselfe in his castel of Plesis neere to Tours.

Chap. 7.

Bout this time in the yeere 1479. in the month of March truce was made betwene these two Princes. The King was verie desirous of peace especially in those parts, so that it might be altogether for his aduantage. For he began now to waxe old and sickly; so far foorth that once being at dinner at Forges neere to Chinon, he was suddenly taken in all parts of his bodie and lost his speech: he was lifted vp from the table and held to the fire, and the windowes shut; to the which notwithstanding that he desired to go, yet some of his friends held him and would not suffer him so to do, meaning all for the best. This disease tooke him in the yeere of our Lord 1480. in the moneth of March: he laye altogether speechlesse, he knew no man, and his memorie was wholly taken away. At the which instant you (my Lord of Vienna) came thither, and serued him at that time in stead of a phisition: for you gaue him a glister, and caused the windowes

dowes to be opened, and the aire to be let in; whereupon immediatly he recouered his speech and his memorie after a sort, and tooke horse and returned to Forges: for this disease tooke him in a village a quarter of a league thence whither he went to heare masse. He was diligently tended and made signes what he would haue done: among other things he desired that the officiall of Tours might be called to shrieue him, and made signes also that I should be sent for, for I was gone to Argenton being ten leagues thence: when I came, I found him at the table with Master *Adam Fume*, (who sometime had beene King *Charles* the seuenths Phisition, and was at that present Master of the requests,) and another Phisition called Master *Claude*: he vnderstood little what any man said, notwithstanding grieve he felte none, he spake plainly almost neuer a word, but made signes that I should be in his chamber. I waited vpon him the space of 15. daies ¹ at his table, & about his person as one of the gromes of his chamber, which I accounted great honor to me, & thought my selfe in dutie bound so to do. After two daies he recouered his speech & his memory after a sort: and bicause he thought that no man vnderstood him so well as my selfe, his pleasure was that I should alwaies be by him, and he confessed himselfe to the officiall in my presence, otherwise they would never haue vnderstood one an other. He had not much to say, for he was shrieuen not long before, because the Kings of Fraunce vse alwaies to confess theirselues when they touch those that be sicke of the Kings euill, which he neuer failed to do once a weeke. If other Princes do not the like, they are to blame, for continuall a great number are troubled with that disease. After he was somewhat recovered, he began to enquire who they were that held him by force from going to the windowes, whose name when he heard, foorthwith he banished them the Court; so that they neuer came afterward to his presence, & some of them also he put out of office. From others, *namely the Lord of Segre and Gilbert de Graffe* Lord of Champeroux he tooke nothing, but commaunded them to depart. Many wondered at this toie, blaming him for so vsing them, considering that all that they did was for the best, and they said truth: but Princes imaginations are strange, and a number are bold to prattle of them that vnderstand them not. The King feared nothing so much as the diminishing of his authoritie being maruellous great, for the which cause he would not be disobeyed in any point. Further, he remembred that when King *Charles* his father fell into the disease whereof he died, he entred into suspition that his seruants sought to poison him at his sonnes request ²: which fansie fanke so deeplye into his head that he refused his meate. Wherfore it was concluded by the advise of his Phisitions, and of his chiefest and truistest seruants, that he should be forced to eate: the which was executed very orderly and aduisedly by those that serued him, for cooliz was powred into his mouth, but soone after this force he died. The King our Master who had euer misliked this ordering of his father, stomacked maruellouslie that he had beene held thus perforce; but yet made shew of much greater displeasure than indeed he had conceiued thereof. The chiefe cause that moued him so to do was feare, least they should Master him in all other things, especially in the expedition of his waightie affaires, vnder colour of the imperfection of his wits.

After he had dealt thus roughly with these aboue named, he inquired what his Councell had done during the time of his sicknes, and what dispatches they had made, whereof the Bishop of Alby, his brother the gouernor of Burgundie, the Marshall of Gié, and the Lord of Lude had the whole charge: for these were present when his sicknes tooke him, and lodged all in two little chambers vnderneath him. Further, he would needs see the letters and packets that had been brought and came Lady. howerly.

howerly. The principall whereof were shewed him, and I read them before him: he made a countenance as though he vnderstood them, and tooke them into his hands, faining that he read them, notwithstanding that indeede he vnderstood neuer a word. Sometime also he spake a word or two, or made signes what should be the awnser to these letters; but little or nothing was dispatched, for we expected an ende of his disease, bicause he was a Master before whom it behouued vs not to tread awrie. This sicknes held him about fifteene daies, and then his wits and speech he recouered perfectly, but his body was maruellous weake; for the which cause we feared greatly a relaspe, the rather bicause naturally he was inclined to gie but small credit to Phisitions. Immediatly after he was well recouered, he restored Cardinall Ballue (whom he had held in prison fowerteene yeeres) to libertie. Wher unto notwithstanding that he had been required oftentimes before, both by the Sea Apostolike and others, and all in vain: yet now he purchased the absolution of that fault himselfe, by a bull sent from our holy father the Pope by his owne procurement. When his disease first tooke him, they that at that present were about him held him for dead, and sent foorth diuers commandements for the reuoking of an excessiue and cruell subsidie lately laid vpon his subiects by the aduise of the Lord of Cordes his licutenant in Picardie, wherewith were waged ten thousand footemen, to be alwaies in a readines, and 2500. pioners, the which were called the *Soldiers of the camp*. Moreouer, he appointed fifteene hundred of his ordinarie men of armes to accompany them, and to fight on foote when need so required. He caused also a great number of carts to be made to inclose them, and tents and pavilions, imitating therein the D. of Burgundies camp. The charge of this army amounted yeerly to 150000. franks³. When these soldiers were in a readines and furnished of all things necessary, he went to see them muster in a valley neere to Pont de l'Arche in Normandie, where the band of the sixe thousand Swiflers aboue mentioned mustered also, the which never sawe the King but at this time onely. After all was ended, the King remooved to Tours, where he fell againe into his former disease, and lost his speech as before, and was by the space of two houres in such case that all men held him for dead. He lay in a gallery vpon a mattresse of straw, diuers standing about him, Monsieur de Bouchage and I vowed him to Saint Claude, and all the rest that were present vowed him also. Immediately whereupon he recouered his speech, and soone after arose and walked vp and downe the house, but his body was maruellous feeble. This second fit of sicknes tooke him in the yeere 1481. notwithstanding he rode vp and downe the countrie as before, and went to Argenton to my house, where he lay a moneth maruellous sicke. From thence he went to Tours, where (notwithstanding that he still remained sicke) he tooke vpon him his voyage to Saint Claude, to whom as you haue heard he was vowed, and at his departure thence commanded me to go into Sauoye against the Lords of Chambre, Miolant, and Bresse, because they had taken prisoner the Lord of Lins in Dauphin, whom he had appointed governor of Duke *Philibert* his nephew. Yet notwithstanding couertly he aided these Lords against whom I went. He sent also a great band of soldiers after me, whom I led to Mascon against the Lord of Bresse, but he and I agreed well ynough secretly. Further, the Lord of Chambre made a composition with the Duke of Sauoye at Thurin in Piedmont where he lay, whereof he aduertised me; and immediately thereupon I caused my forces to retire. He led the said Duke to Grenoble, whither the Marshall of Burgundy, the Marquesse of Rothelin, and my selfe went to receiue him. The King commanded me to returne home, and to meeet him at Beauieu in Beaujolois, where when I arrived, I woondred to see him so leane and bare, much more to ride vp and downe

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said Dukes daughter called *Margaret*, at this present our Queen. The said de Cordes addressed himselfe wholy to two men, the one a pensioner of the towne called *William Rive*, a subtil craftie fellow; the other the clarke of their Senate named *Coupe Note*, who was a hosier, but in great credit with the people: for such men of occupation, when they are most vntruly, are there best esteemed. The King returned to Tours and kept himselfe very close, so that few saw him: for he waxed iealous of all men, fearing that they would take the government from him, or diminish his authoritie; for the which cause he remooued all those from him, that he had most fauoured, and had been necest about him, notwithstanding their estates in any respect: but he sent them away some to their offices and charges, and some to their houles, but this endured not long, for soone after he died. He did diuers strange things which caused as many as saw them to think him out of his wits; but they were not throughly acquainted with his conditions. As touching suspitions, all great Princes are suspicioous, especially those that be wise, and haue had many enimies, and haue offended many as the King our Master had. Further, he knew himselfe not to be beloved of the nobilitie of his realme, nor of a great number of the commonalty. Besides this, he had more charged his people than euer had any of his predecessors: notwithstanding he was desirous now in his latter daies (as before I said) to haue eased them, but he shold haue begun soone. King *Charles* the seventh by the perswasion of diuers wife and valiant Knights that had serued him in the conquest of Normandie and Guyenne (which the Englishmen held,) was the first that began to leuy subsidies at his pleasure, without the consent of the states of his realme; and to say the truth, cause there was then so to do: for the charges were excessiue, as well for the manning of the countries newly conquered, as also for the defeating of the companies of robbers, which went about spoiling the realme. For the which cause the nobilitie of Fraunce consented to the King, and had certaine pensions promised them in consideration of the summes of money that should be levied vpon their lands. If this King had alwaies liued and those of his councell that were about him, he would sure greatly haue enlarged his realme. But considering what hath ensued since his death, and is like further to ensue, he charged maruellously his soule, and the soules of his successors by this fact: for he gaue his realme a cruell wound, which will bleed this many a yeere, by entertaining in continuall pay a terrible band of men of armes, after the maner of the Italian Princes. The said King *Charles* leuied in his

1482.

realme at the hower of his death but 1800000. franks all maner of waies, and had ordinary about seuentene hundred men of armes, the which he kept in good order, and so placed in diuers prouinces for the defence of his realme, that many yeeres before his death they rid not spoiling vp and downe the countrey, to the great quietnes and comfort of his people. But the King our Master leuied at his death 470000. franks, he had in pay fower or fve thousand men of armes, and of footeemen for the campe and in garrison, aboue fve and twentie thousand: wherefore it is not to be maruelled if he had many phansies and imaginacions in his head, and thought himselfe not welbeloued. But sure as these matters caused him greatly to feare some; so had he a sure confidence in many of those whom he had brought vp and highly aduanced, of the which I thinke there were a number, whom death it selfe could never haue withdrawen from dooing their duetie. There came into Plessis du Parc, (which was the place where he lay) very few besides his household seruants, and the archers of his guarde being fower hundred of whom a great number all the day long kept watch and warde at the gate, walking vp and downe the place. Non noble man or great personage lodged within the castell, neither might be suffered to enter in, saue only the Lord of Beauieu Duke of Bourbon his sonne in law. The said castell of Plessis he had made to be enuironed with a grate of great iron bars, and at the entrie into the ditches thereof had caused sharpe speares of iron, euery one of them hauing many heads, to be masoned into the wall. He caused also fower strong watch houses of iron to be built, and a place to be made in them where men might stand and shooote at ease, which was a sumptuous thing to behold, and cost aboue 20000. franks. In the end he put into these houses fortie crossebowe men, which were day and night in the ditches, and had commission to shooote at euery man that approched neere the castell after the shutting of the gates, till they opened in the morning. Further, he had an imagination that his subiects would be very ready to take the government into their owne hands when they shold see conuenient time. And sure some there were that consulted to enter into Plessis and dispatch the affaires at their pleasure, because nothing was dispatched; but they durst not attempt it, wherein they did wisely, for the K. had giuen good order for that matter. He changed often both the gromes of his chamber and all his other seruants, saying, that nature delighteth in varietie; and he had with him to beare him company one or two very meane men and of euill report, who might well haue thought if they had been wise, that imme diately after his death they shold at the least be put out office and spoiled of all they had, as also it hapned. These informed him of no message that was sent him, nor of any matter that was written to him, were it never so important, vnesse it touched the preseruation of the State, or the defence of his realme: for that was his onely care to be in truce and peace with all men. He gaue to his Phisition ordinarily euery moneth ten thousand crownes, & in fve moneths he receiued of him 54000. He gaue also goodly lands to Churches; but this gift was made voide, and notwithstanding cause, for the clergie men had too much.



How the King caused the holy man of Calabria to come to Tours, thinking that he could heale him: and what strange things he said
King did to maintaine his authoritie
during his sicknes.
Chap. 8.

Mong men famous for devotion, he sent into Calabria for one Frier Robert, whom he called the holy man, because of his holy life, and in whose honor the King that now is, caused a Church to be built at Plessis du Parc, in place of the chappell neere to Plessis at the bridge foote. This heremite being twelve yeeres of age entred into a rocke, where he remained till he was fortie three yeeres old, or thereabout, to wit, even till this present that the King sent for him by one of the stewards of his house, whom the Prince of Tabrante the King of Naples sonne accompanied thither. For the said heremite would not depart thence, without permission both of the Pope and of his Prince; which was great wisedome in so simple a man. He builded in the place where he liued two Churches, and never ate since the time he entred into this strait kinde of life, either fish, flesh, eggs, any kinde of whitemeat, or of fat. I never saw in my time a man of so holy life, nor by whose mouth the holy Ghost seemed rather to speake; for he never had beene scholler, but was vtterly vnlearned: true it is that his Italian tong caused somewhat the greater admiration of him. This heremite passed through Naples, being honored and received, as if he had beene a great Legate sent from the Sea Apostolike, both by the King and by his children; with whom he communed of the affaires of the Court, as if he had beene a Courtier all the daies of his life. From thence he went to Rome, where he was visited by all the Cardinals, and had audience giuen him thrise of the Pope, communing with him alone; and sitting each time hard by him in a goodly chaire three or fower houers togither; which was great honor to so simple a person. His answers were so wise, that all men wondred at them; so far forth that our holy Father gaue him leaue to ere a new order, called the heremits of Saint Francis. From thence he came to the King, who honored him as if he had beene the Pope himselfe, falling downe before him, and desiring him to prolong his life: whereunto he answered as a wise man shold. I haue often heard him talke with the King that now is, in presence of all the nobilitie of the realme, and that within these two moneths, and sure he seemed by his words, to be inspired with the holy Ghost, otherwise he could never haue communed of such matters as he did. He is yet liuing, and may change either to better or worse; wherefore I will speake no further of him. Some mocked at this heremite comming, whom they called the holy man; but they knew not the deepe cogitations of this wise King, neither had seene the occasions that moued him to send for him.

The King lay in his castle of Plessis accompanied with few besides the archers of his guard, and troubled with these suspitions aboue rehearsed. Notwithstanding he had giuen good order for this inconuenience, for he left none of those whom he suspected either in the towne or countrey, but made his archers to cause them to depart and to conueigh them away. No man debated any matter with him, vnesse it were of some great importance that concerned himselfe: he seemed rather a dead corps then a living creature, for he was leaner then a man would beleue: he apparelled himselfe sumptuously, yea more sumptuously then in all his life before; for

he ware no gowne but of crimfin sattin furred with good martens: he gaue gifts to whom it pleased him without any sute; for no man durst mooue any sute to him, nor debate any matter with him: he punished faults sharply to the ende he might bee feare, and not lose his authoritie as himselfe tould me: hee changed officers, cassed companies of men of armes, diminished pensions, or tooke them cleare away, and told me but a few daies before his death that he passed away the time in making and marring of men. To be short, he caused himselfe to be more spoken of within his realme then ever was any King, and all for feare lest men should thinke him dead. For as I said few saw him; but when they heard of his doings, all men stood in feare of him, so fat soorth that they hardly beleueed him to be sicker. Out of the realne he had men in all places, as for example in England he had some to feede places: he made a good horse or a good mule to be bought for him whatsoeuer it cost; but this he did not in this realme, but in some strange countrey to perswade men that he was in health. Dogs he sent for round about, into Spaine for a kinde of Spanish greyhound, called in French Allans; into Britaine for little beagles, greyhounds, and spaniels, which he paied deere for; into Valence for little rugged dogs, which he made to be bought aboue the owners owne price: into Sicily he sent for good mules, especially to some officer of the countrey, for the which he paied double the value; to Naples for horses, and for diuers strange beasts into diuers countries, as into Barbarie for a kind of little lions, no greater then little foxes, which he called Apponia or Ap-ponland, a countrie in Sweden. The Lapponiens call it Reen, as he writeth in the same place, & Ges-ner also de Quadtup. lib. 1. fol. 950. The Romans, saith Gesner, name it Rangiferus, the Germans Rein (and Reinen, saith Munster) Reiner, Rainger, Renschieren: the French men Rangler (as he is heere named) or Ranglier.

How the marriage betwene the Dauphin and the Ladie Margarete of Flaunders was concluded, and how she was brought into Fraunce: whereupon Edward King of England died for sorrow.
Chap. 9.

BY to retorne to the principall matter, namely, the perfect conclusion of this our historie of King Lewis, and of the affaires of all those great Princes that liued in his time: we must shew how the treatie of marriage was concluded betwene the King that now is, then Dauphin, and the daughter of the Duke and Duchesse of Austriche, by meanes of the citizens of Gaunt, to the King of Englands great grieve, who then well perceiued the hope to be frustrate, which he had conceiued of the mariage.

riage betwene his daughter and the said Dauphin now King of Fraunce: which he and the Queene his wife had so greatly desired, that they would neuer credit any man that aduertised them to the contrarie, were he an English man or stranger. For the Councell of England had debated this matter with him, at the same time that the King conquered that part of Picardie that ioineth to Calice, alleging, that after he had subdued that, he might easly attempt to take Calice and Guilnes. The like was also told him, by the ambassadors resident in England for the Duke and Duchesse of Austriche, and by the Britons, and diuers others: but he beleueed no whit of all this, which incredulitie turned much to his prejudice. Notwithstanding I suppose, it proceeded rather of couetousnes than ignorance: for he feared the losse of the fiftie thousand crownes the King paid him: besides that, he was loth to leaue his ease and pleasures, whereunto he was maruellously addicted. About the conclusion of this marriage, an assembly was held at Halots in Flaunders, whereat the Duke of Austriche now King of Romans, was present, togither with certaine deputies for the three estates of Flaunders, Brabant, and the other countries belonging to the saide Duke and his children. The citizens of Gaunt did many things there contrarie to the Dukes minde; for some they banished, and some they remoued from about his sonne: in the end they told him how great desire they had to see this mariage accomplished, thereby to obtaine peace, and forced him to consent thereto. The Duke was very yoong, and accompanied with few noble men: for all the subiects of this house of Burgundie (very few excepted, I meane of great personages, that could haue giuen him counsell or aide in these affaires) were, as you haue heard, either dead, or reuolte to the King. As touching himselfe, he was come thither very slenderly accompanied, and now hauing lost his wife, being Ladie of the countrey, he durst not give them so stout language, as before he was accustomed. To be short, the King being aduertised of all these actions by Monsieur de Cordes, rejoiced much thereat, and a day was appointed when this Lady should be brought to Hesdin.

Not long before the conclusion of this marriage, to wit, in the yere 1481. the towne of Ayre was yeelded for a summe of monie to Monsieur de Cordes, by the Lord of Croy of the countrie of Artois, who held it for the Duke of Austriche, and the Lord of Beures his captaine. The towne is verie strong, situate in the countrie of Artois, and the deliuerie thereof increased the Flemmings desire to further this mariage, because it standeth vpon the verie entrance into Flaunders. For notwithstanding that they wished the weakening of their Prince, yet were they not willing to haue the King so neere a neighbour to their frontiers. After these matters aboue mentioned were fully concluded, ambassadors came to the King out of Flaunders and Brabant, but all depended vpon them of Gaunt; both because of their force, because the children were in their hands, and for that they were alwaies the ringleaders of all tumults. There came also from the King of Romanes for the pacifying of his dominions certaine Knights, yoong men like himselfe, and of small experience, whose names were Master John de Bergues and Master Baudouin de Launoy, and certaine Secretaries. The King was brought maruellous low with sicknes, so that hardly he suffered himselfe to be seene, and made great difficultie to sweare the treatie, because he was loth to come abrode in sight: notwithstanding in the end he sware it. It was very aduantageous for him; for in all assemblies that had beeene held heretofore about this mariage, he never required but the countie of Artois or Burgundie, one of the two: but now the Lords of Gaunt (as he termed them) caused them both to be yeelded vnto him, togither with the counties of Masconnois, Charolois, and Auxerois; yea and if it had lien in them to haue put into his hands, Hainault and

1483.

and Namur, and all the seniories of this house of Burgundie, being of the French language, they would willingly have done it, thereby to affeeble their Prince. The King our Master being a wise Prince vnderstood well, that no account was to be made of Flaunders, nor the Earle thereof, without he had the countrie of Artois, which lying betweene the King of Fraunce and the Flemmings, is as it were a bridle to them. For in the countrie of Artois are leuied verie good soldiers, to scourge the Flemmings when they play the fooles. Wherefore by taking away from the Earle of Flaunders the countrie of Artois, he left him the poorest Prince in the world, and without all obedience of his subiects, saue onely at the pleasure of them of Gaunt. After this ambassage was returned home, the said Lady was led to Hedin, and deliu-
ered into the hands of Monsieur *de Cordes* in the yeere 1483. She was conueied thither by the Lady of Rauastain, bastard daughter to Duke *Philip* of Burgundie, and was receiued there by the Duke and Duchesse of Bourbon that now are, and by the Lord of Albret, and diuers others sent thither by the King; who led her to Amboise where the Dauphin lay. If the Duke of Austriche could haue rescued her before she was passed out of his dominions from them that conueied her, he would willingly haue done it: but they of Gaunt had sent her well accompanied. And as touching the said Duke, all his subiects began to disobey him, so far foorth that a great number tooke part with them of Gaunt, because they had his sonne in their hands, and remooued from him, and placed about him such as pleased them: and among the rest that were resident at Gaunt, was the Lord of Rauastain brother to the Duke of Cleues, principall gouernor of the said yoong infant called Duke *Philip*, who is yet living, and like to be a great Prince, if God spare him life. Whosoeuer rejoiced at this marriage, the King of England was highly displeased therewith; for he accounted it great reproch and dishonor to be thus deluded, and feared both the losse of the pension the King paid him, which the English men called Tribute; and also that the contempt heereof would stirre his subiects to rebellion against him, because he would give no eare to good aduice. Further, he saw the King with great force neere to his dominions: for the which causes he conceiued such inward griefe when he heard these newes, that soone after he ended his life, some say of a catarrhe. But whatsoeuer his disease were, the report goeth, that the sorrow conceiued of this marriage caused the disease, whereof he died soone after in the moneth of Aprill, anno 1483. It is a foule fault in a Prince, to trust more to his owne braine, than to the aduice of a great number: for it causeth oftentimes both great sorrow, and also losse irrecoverable.

Immediately after King *Edward*'s death, the King our Master was aduertised ther-
of, and seemed nothing ioifull of the newes: but soone after received letters from the D. of Gloucester, who had vsurped the crowne of England (signing his letters by the name of *Richard*,) & cruelly murthered the King his brothers two children. This King *Richard* sought the Kings friendship, & was desirous, as I suppose, to haue this pension paid also vnto him. But the King would make no answer to his letters, neither giue his messenger audience, but esteemed him a wicked & cruell tyrant. For after K. *Edward*'s death, the said Duke of Gloucester had done homage to his nephew as to his soueraigne Lord and King, and yet immedately thereupon committed this an-
other, and caused in open parliament the said King *Edward*'s two daughters to be de-
graded & proclaimed bastards, vnder colour of a certaine matter which he prooued by the testimonie of the Bishop of Barthe, who sometime had been in great credit with King *Edward*, but afterward fell into his disgrace, and was laide in prison, and made to fine for his deliurance. This Bishop affirmed that King *Edward* being inue-

with

with a certaine gentlewoman in England (whom he named) promised hir marriage to haue his pleasure of her, which promise he said was made in his presence, and thereupon the King lay with her, minding onely to abuse her. Such pastimes are very dangerous, especially when such prooue may be brought foorth: But I haue knownen many a courtier that would not haue lost a good aduenture that liked him in such a case for want of promise. This wicked Bishop buried reuenge in his hart the space of twentie yeeres. But God plagued him for his wickednes: for he had a sonne whom he loued entirely, and whom King *Richard* so much fauoured, that he meant to give him to wife one of these two daughters, degraded from their dignitie, at this prelent Queene of England and mother of two goodly children. The said sonne being in a ship of war by King *Richard* his Masters commandement, was taken vpon the coast of Normandie, and because of the contention that fell betweene those that tooke him: led to the court parliament of Paris, and there put in prison in the petit Chastellet, where in the end he starued for hunger and pouertie. As touching King *Richard* he liued not long vnpunished: for God raised vp an enemy against him even at that very instant being poore, hauing no right to the crowne of England, as I suppose, and of no estimation, saue that as touching his owne person he was well conditioned, and had endured many troubles. For the greatest part of his life he had beeene prisoner in Britaine to Duke *Francis*, who entertained him well for a prisoner from the eighteenth yeere of his age. This Earle of Richmonde being furnished by the King with a small summe of money, and three thousand men leuied in Normandie, of the vnrifliest persons in the countrey: passed ouer into Wales, where his father in lawe the Lord *Stanley* met him with sixe and twentie thousand men at the least, and within three or fower daies after he encountered this cruell King *Richard*, who was slaine in the field, and the Earle crowned King, and raigneth yet at this day in England. Of this matter I haue made mention before, but it was not amisse to rehearse it heere againe, to shew thereby how God hath plagued in our time such crueltie almost immediately after the fault committed. Diuers other such like punishments hath he shewed also in this our age, if a man would stand to rehearse them all.

How the King behaved himselfe towards his neighbors and subiects during the time of his sickenes, and how diuers things were sent him from diuers places for the recovery of his health.

Chap. 10.

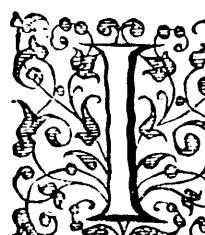
*This error you
are admonished
of before.*

 His mariage of Flaunders so much desired by the King was thus accomplished, as you haue heard, by meanes wherof he had the Flemmings at his commandement. Britaine which he so much hated was in peace with him, but liued in continual ielousie because of the great number of soldiers he had in garrison vpon their frontiers. Spaine was quiet, and the King and Queene thereof desired nothing more then his amitie and friendship: for he kept them in continual feare and charge, because of the countrey of Rousillon which he withheld from the house of Arragon, being engaged to him by John King of Arragon, father to the King of Castile now raigning, vnder certaine conditions yet vnpersoned. As touching the Princes & Seniories of Italy, they desired to haue him their friend, and were in league with him, and sent often their ambassadors to him. In Almaine he had the Swiflers as obedient to him as his owne subiects. The Kings

Kings of Scotland and Portugale were his confederates: part of the realme of Navarre was wholy at his deuotion: his subiects trembled before him, and his commandements were executed incontinent without delay or excuse. As touching those things that were thought necessarie for his health, they were sent him out of all parts of the world. Pope *Sixtus* that last died, being informed that the King of deuotion desired to haue the corporall vpon the which Saint *Peter* song masse, sent it him incontinent, with diuers other reliques, which were conueied backe againe to Rome. The holie viole which is at Reims and never had beeue remouued thence, was brought into his chamber to Plessis, and stood vpon his cuphoord at the hower of his death: he was determined to be annointed therewith as at his coronation. But many supposed that he would haue anointed all his body with it, which is vnlikely, for the said holy viole is verie small, and containeth not much oil. I saw it both at the time I now speake of, and also when the King was buried at Nostre-dame-de-Cler. The Turke that now raigneth sent an ambasador to him, who came as far as Rhine in Prouence: but the King would not heare his message, neither permit him to passe any further. The said ambasador brought him a great role of reliques remaining yet at Constantinople in the Turks hands, all the which he offered him together with a great summe of money, if he would keepe in safe custodie the said Turks brother, who was then in this realme in the hands of the knights of the Rhodes, and is now at Rome in the Popes keeping. By all this aboue rehearsed a man may perceiue how great the King our Masters wisedome & authoritie was, how he was esteemeed through the whole world, and how all things² as well spirituall of deuotion and religion; as also temporall, were imploied for the prolonging of his life. But all would not helpe, there was no remedy, needes he must go the way his predecessors went before him, one great grace God shewed him, that as he created him wiser, liberaller, and more vertuous in all things than the Princes that raigned in histime, being his enimies and neighbors; and as he surmounted them in all good things: so did he also passe them in long life though not much. For Duke *Charles* of Burgundy, the Ducheſſe his daughter, King *Edward*, Duke *Galeas* of Milan, King *John* of Arragon, were all dead a fewe yeeres before him: but betweene the death of the saide Dukes of Austrich, of King *Edward*, and of him, there was no space to speake of. In all these Princes there was both good and euill, for they were all men; but to speake vprightly, there were in him many mo vertues and ornaments appertaining to the office of a King, than in any of the rest. I haue seene them in manner all, and knew what was in them, and therefore speake not at randon.

How King Lewis the 11. caused Charles the Dauphin his sonne to come to him a little before his death, and of the commandements and precepts he gane both him and certaine others.

Chap. II.


N this yeere 1483. the King desired to see the Dauphin his sonne, whom he had not seene of long time; for he kept him close & permitted no man to come to him, both because of the childeſſe health, and also for feare least he should be taken from the place where he remained, and vnder colour of himſome rebellion arise in the realme. For ſo had certaine noblemen in times paſt by means of himſelfe made an assembly againſt King *Charles*

Charles the ſeuenth his father, he being then but eleuen yeeres of age¹: which warre¹ was called *la Praguerie*, but it ſoone ended, for it was rather a broile of court than a warre.
Others write that he was 16. yeeres olde: this war was an. 1439. & King Lewis was borne anno 1423. for that he was 16. yeeres olde when the Praguerie began, & ſo undoubtedly it ſhould be read heere.

Aboue all things he recommended vnto his ſaid ſonne the Dauphin certaine of his ſeruants, and commanded him exprefſely not to change certaine officers: reheaſing to him how after King *Charles* his fathers death, he comming to the State, put out of office all the valiant and woorthie knights of this realme that had ſerved his father in the conqueſt of Normandy and Guienne, *in chafing the English* men out of Fraunce, and reſtoring the realme to peace and quietnes, (for himſelfe found it both quiet and rich:) which his hard dealing with the ſaid Knights, turned greatly to his preiudice, for thereof ſprang the war called **THE WEALE PUBLIKE** in this ſtorie aboue mentioned, which had almoſt ſet him beſides his crowne. Soone after his communication with the Dauphin his ſonne, and the accomplishment of this marriage aboue mentioned; he fell vpon a monday into the diſease whereof he died: his ſicknes endured til the ſaturday after being the 30. of Auguft, in the yeere 1483. And because I was preſent at his death, I minde to ſpeake ſomewhat thereof. When this diſease tooke him he lost his ſpeech as heretofore he had done, which being recovered he ſeſt his body weaker than euer it was, notwithstanding that he were ſo low brought before that he could hardly lift his hand to his mouth, and looked ſo poorely and miserably, that it pitied euerie mans hart that ſaw him: he accounted himſelfe now as dead. Wherefore he ſent incontinent for the Lord of Beauieu now Duke of Bourbon his ſonne in law, commanding him to go to Amboiſe to the King his ſonne, (for ſo he termed him:) he recommended alſo vnto him diuers of his ſeruants, and gaue him the whole charge and gouernment of the yoong King, and commanded exprefſely that certaine whom he named ſhould not come neere his ſonne, alleaging diuers good reaſons on that behalfe. And if the ſaid Lord of Beauieu had obſerued his commandements, at the leaſt part of them (for ſome were vnonreafonable and not to be obſerued) I thiſke he ſhould thereby haue beneſited both the realme and himſelfe, conſidering what hath hapned ſince in Fraunce. Soone after he ſent alſo the Chancellor, and all the officers of the law to the ſaid King his ſonne, and in like maner part of the archers of his guarde, and his Captaingues, and all his haukes and hounds with all that appertained thereunto. Further, as many as came to viſit him, he commanded to go to Amboiſe to the King (for ſo he termed him) deſiring them to ſerue him faithfully, and by euerie one of them he ſent him ſome message or other; but especially by *Steuens de Vers*, who brought vp the ſaid yoong King, and was the firſt groome of his chamber, and already advanced to the bailewicke of Meaux, by the King our Master. His ſpeech neuer failed him after he recovered it, neither were his wits ſo fresh at any time as then: for he purged continually, by meaneſ whereof all fumes voided that troubled his head. In all the time of his ſickneſſe he neuer complained as other men do when they feele paine: at the leaſt my ſelfe am of that nature, and ſo haue I knownen diuers others, and men ſay, that complaining affwageth griefe.



A comparison betweene the sorrowes and troubles that King Lewis suffered, and those he caused diuers others to suffer: with a rehearsall of all that he did, and all that was done to him, till his death.

Chap. 12.

E discoursed continually of some matter or other, and that very grauely, and his disease endured from monday till saturday night. Wherefore I will now make comparison betweene the troubles and sorrowes he caused others to suffer, and those he suffered himselfe before his death, because I trust they haue carried him into paradise, and beene part of his purgatorie. For notwithstanding that they were not so grieuous, neither endured so long, as those which he caused diuers others to suffer; yet because his vocation in this world was higher than theirs, by meanes whereof he had never beene contraried, but so well obeyed that he seemed a Prince able to haue gouerned all Europe: this little trouble that he endured contrarie to his accustomed nature, was to him a great torment. He hoped euer in this good heremite that was at Plessis whom he had caused to come to him out of Calabria, and continually sent to him: saying, that if it pleased him he could prolong his life. For notwithstanding all these commandements giuen to those whom he sent to the Daulphin his sonne; yet came his spirits againe to him, in such sort that he was in hope to recover: and if it had so happened, he would easily haue disparkled the assembly sent to this new King. But because of the vaine hope he had in this heremite, a Doctor of diuinite and certaine others thought good to aduertise him that his onely hope must be in the mercie of God: and they deuised that Master *James Cottier* his Phisition, in whom he had reposed his whole confidence, and to whom he gaue monethly ten thousand crownes in hope he would prolong his life: should be present when this speech should be vysed to him. This was Master *Oliner* his barbers devise, to the end he might wholy thinke vpon his conscience, and leaue all his other imaginations conceiued of this holy man, and of the said Master *James* his Phisition. But euen like as he had aduanced the said Master *Oliner* and others too suddenly without any desert, to a higher estate than was fit for them: euen so they tooke vpon them boldlie to do such a message to so great a Prince otherwise than became them, not vsing that reverence and humilitie that was to be vised in such a case, and such as they would haue vised whom he had brought vp of long time, and lately commanded out of his presence for the suspicions conceiued of them. And againe, like as vnto two great personages whom he had put to death in his time, (to wit the Duke of Neomours, and the Earle of Saint Paule: for one of the which he repented him at his death, and for the other not;) he had sent a sharpe message of death by Commissioners appointed thereunto; who briefly pronounced their sentence vnto them, and foorthwith gaue them confessors and but a very short space to dispose of their consciences: euen so the aboue named signified his death vnto him rudely and in fewe words saying; Sir it is reason we do our duties, hope no more in this holie man, nor any other thing, for sure you are but dead: therefore thinke vpon your conscience, for your hower is come, and euerie one of them said somewhat briefly to him to that effect. But he answered, I trust God will helpe me, and peraduenture I am not so sicke as you suppose. What a sharpe corosive was it to him to heare these newes

newes and this cruell sentence? for neuer man feared death more than he, nor sought so many waies to auoide it as he did. Moreouer, in all his life time he had giuen commandement to all his seruants, as well my selfe as others that when we shold see him in danger of death, we shold onely mooue him to confess himselfe & dispose of his conscience, not sounding in his eares this dreadfull word *Death*, knowing that he shold not be able patiently to heare that cruell sentence: notwithstanding he endured both that and diuers other punishments till the very hower of death more patiently than euer I sawe any man. To his sonne whom he called King, he sent many messages and confessed himselfe very deuoutly, and said diuers prayers answerable to the Sacraments he receiued, which also himselfe demanded. He speake as hartily as if he had not beene sick, and talked of all matters touching the King his sonnes estate; and among other things gaue commandement that the Lord of Cordes shold not depart from his sonne by the space of halfe a yeere after his death: and further, that he shold be entreated to attempt nothing against Calice nor elsewhere; saying, that notwithstanding he had deuised these enterprises for the Kings profit, and the benefit of the realme: yet were they very dangerous, especially that of Calice, for feare of moouing the English men thereby to war. Further, he willed especially that after his death the realme shold rest in peace the space of ffeue or sixe yeeres, a matter which he would neuer yeeld vnto during his life though very needfull: for notwithstanding that it were great and large, yet was it in poore and miserable estate, especially bicause of the passing to and fro of the men of armes, who continually remooued from one countrey to an other. He gaue order also that no quarrell shold be picked in Britaine, but that Duke *Francis* shold be suffered to liue in quiet, and not be put in any doubt or feare of warre, neither yet any other neighbour bordering vpon the realme, to the end the King and the realme might rest in peace till the King were of yeeres to dispose thereof at his owne pleasure.

Thus you see how vndiscreetly his death was signified to him, which I haue rehearsed bicause I began to make a comparison betweene those euils which he had caused diuers of his subiects to suffer, and those himselfe suffered before his death, to the ende you may perceiue that notwithstanding they were not so greeuous, nor so long (as I haue said:) yet were they greeuous to him considering his nature, which demanded obedience, & had been better obeyed than any Prince in his time; so that one halfe word contraryng his minde was to him a greeuous punishment. Ffeue or sixe daies before his death he had all men in suspition, especially all that were woorthie of credit and authoritie, yea, he grew icalous of his owne sonne, and caused him to be straightly guarded, neither did any man see him or speake with him but by his commandement: at the length he began to stand in doubt also of his daughter, and of his sonne in law now Duke of Bourbon, and would needs know what men entred into Plessis with them, and in the ende brake off an assembly that the Duke of Bourbon his sonne in law held thereby his commandement. Moreouer, at the same time that his said sonne in law and the Earle of Dunois (returning from the conuoic of the ambassage that came to Amboise to the mariage of the King his sonne and the Queene) entred into the castle of Plessis, with a great band of men: the King who caused the gates to be straightly kept, being in the gallerie that looketh into the court of the said castle; caused one of the capaines of his guard to come to him, whom he commanded to feele as he talked with the said noble mens seruants whether they ware any brigandines vnder their cloakes, not making shew as though he came purposely for that intent. Heereby you may perceiue if he caused diuers others to liue in feare and suspition vnder him: whether he were paid now with the

the like himselfe; for of whom could he be assured, mistrusting his sonne, his daughter, and his sonne in lawe? Wherefore thus much I will say not onely of him, but of all other Princes that desire to be feared: that they never feele the revenge thereof till their age, and then their penance is to feare all men. What great greefe thinke you was it to this poore King to be troubled with these passions? He had a Phisition called Master *James Corbier*, to whom he gaue in ffe moneths 54000. crownes, after the rate of 10000. the moneth, & 4000. ouer, besides the Bishopricke of Amiens for his nephew, and other offices and lands for him and his friends. The said Phisition vsed him so roughly, that a man would not giue his seruant so sharpe language as he gaue the King; and yet the King so much feared him, that he durst not command him out of his presence: for notwithstanding that he complained to diuers of him, yet durst he not change him as he did all his other seruants, because this Phisition once said thus boldly to him; I know that one day you will commaund me away as you do all your other seruants, but you shall not liue eight daies after, binding it with a great oath. Which words put the King in such feare, that euer after he flattered him, and bestowed gifts vpon him, which was a maruellous purgatorie to him in this world, considering of how many noble men and gentle men he had beene obeyed.

Moreover, he had caused diuers cruell prisons to be made, as for example, cages being eight foote square, and one foote more than a mans height, some of iron, and some of wood, plated with iron both within and without with horrible iron works. He that first deuised them was the Bishop of Verdun, who incontinent was himselfe put into the first that was made, where he remained fowtereene yeeres. Many haue cursed him for his deuise, and among others my selfe, for I lay in one of them vnder the King that now reigne the space of eight moneths. He had also caused certaine Almains to make terrible heauie irons to lay men in, among the which there was a fetter to put on their feete very hard to be opened like to a carquan, with a waightie chaine, and a great iron ball at the end thereof, heauy beyond all measure. These irons were called the Kings nets. Notwithstanding I haue seene diuers gentlemen lie in them as prisoners, who came foorth afterward with great honor, and were aduanced by him to high estates: as for example, a sonne of the Lord of Grutze in Flaunders taken prisoner in the wars, whom the King afterward richly married, and made one of his chamber, & Seneschall of Aniou, and gaue him charge of a hundred launces; and in like maner the Lord of Piennes and the Lord of Verzy taken prisoners also in the wars, who both had charge of men of armes vnder the King and other goodly offices, and were of the priuie chamber either to him or his sonne. The like happened also to the Lord of Richbourg the Constables brother, and to one *Roquebertin* of the countrey of Cathelonie being likewise taken prisoners in the wars, whom he afterward highly aduanced with diuers others of diuers countries too long to reherse. But now to returne to the matter. As in his time these diuers and sundrie cruell prisons were deuised: even so he before his death lie in the like, yea in a much crueller prison than any of them, and was in greater feare than they that stood in feare of him, which I account as a great grace towards him, and as part of his purgatorie, and rehearce it onely to shew that euery man of what estate or condition soever he be, is punished either secretly or openly, especially those that punish others. Further, the King a little before his death enclosed his castel of Plessis with a grate of iron bars, and at the fower corners of the said castell caused fower strong watch houses of iron to be built. The said grate was made directly ouer against the castell wall round about the castell on the outer side of the ditch, which was

was verie steepe. He caused also to be masoned into the wall a great number of iron speares, each of them hauing diuers heads set close together. Moreouer, he appointed ten crossbowe men to be continually in the said ditches, and to lie in the fower iron houses built in the bottome of the said ditches, and gaue them commandement to shooote at euerie man that approched neere to the grate, before the gate opened. He knew well that this fortification was to no purpose against a great force or an armie, but that he doubted not: his onely feare was, that certaine noble men of his realme hauing intelligence in the castell, would attempt to enter into it in the night, partly by loue and partly by force, and take the government vpon them, and make him liue as a man bereft of his wits, and vnwoorthie to rule. The castell gate never opened before eight of the clocke in the morning, neither was the drawe bridge let downe till that hower, and then entred his officers, and the captaines of his garde placed the ordinarie warders, and appointed archers to the watch both at the gate and within the court, as if it had beene a frontire towne straightly kept: neither entred any man without the Kings commandement but by the wicket, saue the stewards of his house, and such like officers that went not to him. Is it possible then to hold a King (I meane vsing him like a Prince) in a straicter prison than he held himselfe? The cages wherein he held others were about eight foote square, and he being so great a Prince had but a little court in the castell to walke in, yea and seldome came he into that: for vsually he kept himselfe in the gallerie, from whence he never stirred but when he went to masse, at which time he passed through the chambers, and not through the Court. Thinke you that he was not in feare as well as others, seeing he locked himselfe in after this fort, kept himselfe thus close, stood in such feare of his children and nearest kinsmen, and changed and remoued his seruants from day to day, whom he had brought vp and whose good estate depended wholy vpon him, in such fort that he durst trust none of them, but bound himselfe in these strange chaines and bands? The place I confess was larger than a common prison, so was his estate greater than a common prisoners. But a man will say peraduenture, that other Princes haue beene more suspicous than he, whereunto I agree: but none sure in our time, neither any so wise as he; nor that had so good subiects as he had: & as touching them, peraduenture they were cruell tyrants, but he never punished any without desert. All this aboue written I haue rehearsed, not so much to publish the suspicions of the King our Master: as partly to prooue that the patient enduring of these passions, being equall with those he had caused others to endure; and of this sicknes being sharpe and troublesome to him, and the which he feared greatly before he fell into it; is to be accounted as a punishment God gaue him in this world, to ease him in the world to come: and partly to give an example to those that shall come after him, to haue some more compaslion on their people than he had, and to be lesse rigorous in punishing than he was. Notwithstanding for my part I am not able to accuse him, neither saw I euer a better Prince; for though himselfe pressed his subiects, yet wold he suffer none other so to do friend or foe.

After all these feares, sorrowes, and suspicions, God (according to his accustomed goodnes) wrought a miracle vpon him; healing him both in loue and bodie: for he tooke him out of this miserable world, being perfect of sense, vnderstanding, and memorie, hauing received all his sacraments without all grieve to mans iudgement, and talking continually euern within a Pater noster while of his death; so that he gaue order for his funerall, and named those that shoulde accompanie his bodie to the graue; saying euer, that he trusted to die on no day but saturday, and that our Ladie, in whom he had euer put his confidence, and alwaies deuoutly serued, had purchased

purchased him this grace, and sure so it happened: for he ended his life vpon saturday the 30. of August in the yeere 1483. at eight of the clocke at night, in the said castell of Plessis, where he fell sicke the monday before. His soule, I trust, is with God, and resteth in his blessed realme of paradise.

A discourse upon the miserie of mans life, by the examples of those Princes that liued in the authors time, and first of King Lewis.
Chap. 13.

Small trust ought meane and poore men to repose in worldly wealth and honours, seeing this mightie King, after so long trouble and trauell for the obtayning of them, forsooke them all, and could not prolong his life one hower for all that he could do. I knew him and serued him in the flower of his age, and in his great prosperitie; yet neuer saw I him free from toile of bodie and trouble of minde. Aboue all pastimes he loued hunting and hauking in their seasons, hunting especially.

As touching women, he was free from that vice all the time that I serued him: for a little before my comming to him, he lost one of his sonnes, whose death he tooke verie heauily; and soone after made a solemne vow to God in my presence, never to accompanie with women but the Queene his wife. Wherunto notwithstanding that he were bound by the lawes of marriage; yet was it much that he had such stay of himselfe, especially the Queene being none of those in whose beautie man could take great delight, but otherwise a verie vertuous Lady. In this pastime of hunting he tooke almost as much paine as pleasure; for the toile was great, because he ranne the Hart to death by force. Besides that, he arose verie earely in the morning, and oftentimes went farre, neither could any weather make him leue his sport. Sornetime also he returned verie wearie and in manner euer displeased with one or other: for this game is not alwaies made as they wsh that haue the ordering thereof: notwithstanding in all mens opinions, he for his part vnderstood it better than any man in his time. In this pastime he exercised himselfe continually, lodging about in the villages till warres began. For almost euery sommer there was somewhat to doe betwene Duke *Charles* of Burgundie and him: but when winter approched they vsed to make truce. He had great warres also for the countie of Roussillion with King *John* of Arragon, the King of Spaines father that now liueth. For notwithstanding that they were very poore, and in war with their subiects, namely them of Barcelonne and others, and that the sonne were of no force: (for he expected the inheritance of King *Friderike* of Castile his wifes brother, which afterward fell to him) yet because they had the harts of the subiects of the said countie of Roussillion, they made great resistance against him, which cost the King and his realme full deere: for many a good man died and was slaine there, and infinite treasure was consumed in those wars; for they endured long.

Thus you see that the pleasure the King had was but one small time in the yeere, and that ioined with great toile and trauell of his person: when his body was attayned, his minde was occupied, for he had to do in many places, and busied himselfe as much with his neighbors affaires as with his owne, seeking to place men in their honours², and to bestow the offices therein at his pleasure. When he was in war he defred peace or truce, which notwithstanding when he had obtained, he could not long

¹ For ought I can recall in any historie, this *Friderike* should be *Henrie*, and so appeareth by our author himselfe, lib. 5. cap. 7. & cap. 18.

² As in Britaine, Sauoye, and Prouince vnder King *René*.

away with. He medled with many trifling matters in his realme, which he might well haue passed ouer: but such was his disposition and life. And to say the truth, his memory was so excellent that he forgot nothing, but knew all the world, all countries, and all men of estimation round about him; so that he seemed a Prince woorther to gouern the whole world than one realme alone. Of his youth I am able to say nothing, for I was not with him at that time; notwithstanding what I have heard, that I will report. Being but eleuen yeeres of age he was busied by certaine Princes and others of the realme, in a war against K. *Charles* his father, called *la Praguerie*, which endured not long. And when he was growen to mans estate he married the King of Scotlands daughter³, and during his life neuer ioied with her⁴: after his death because of the factions and troubles that were in the King his fathers court, he retired into his owne countrey of Daulphine, whither a great number of gentlemen accompanied him, yea many mo than he was able to maintaine. While he was in Daulphine he married the Duke of Sauoies daughter, and soone after fell at variance with his father in law, so that sharpe war arose betwene them. King *Charles* seeing his sonne so well accompanied with gentlemen and men of armes, determined to go against him in person with great force, and to chase him out of the countrey by strong hand: wherefore he put himselfe vpon the way, and endeuored to withdraw his sonnes men from him, commanding them as his subiects vnder paine of his displeasure to repaire vnto him. Whereunto diuers obeyed, to the King our Masters great griefe; who seeing his fathers indignation against him, determined (notwithstanding that his force were great) to depart thence, and leue the countrey to his fathers disposiug. And in this estate trauelled he through Burgundie with a small traine to Duke *Philip*, who receiued him very honorably, furnished him with money to maintaine his estate, and gaue yeerely pensions to his principall seruants, namely to the Earle of Cominges, the Lord of Montauban and others, and bestowed also during his being there diuers large gifts vpon his other seruants. Notwithstanding because he entertained such a number, his mony failed often to his great griefe, so that he was forced to borrow som where or other, otherwise his men would haue forsaken him; which vndoubtedly is a great trouble to a Prince vnaccustomed thereunto.

Thus you see that he was not without vexation and anguish of minde during his abode in this house of Burgundie: for he was forced to faune both vpon the Duke and his principall seruants, least they shold waxe weary of him, for he was there a long time, to wit, the space of sixe yeeres. Besides that, his father sent ambassadours continually to the Duke, requiring him either to put him foorth of his dominions or send him backe to him. Wherefore it is to be thought that he was not idle nor without great vexation of minde. All these things considered: when may a man say that he liued in ioy and pleasure? Sure in mine opinion from his childhood till his death he was in continual toile and trouble, so that if all his pleasant and ioyfull daies were numbred, I thinke they shold be found but fewe: yea I am fully perwaded, that for one pleasant there shold be found twentie displeasant. He liued about threescore and one yeeres; notwithstanding that he had conceiued an imagination that he shold neuer passe threescore, saying, that no King of Fraunce of long time passed that age, some say none since *Charles* the great. Notwithstanding the King our Master when he died was well forward in the threescore and one yeere.

Duke *Charles* of Burgundie what rest or quietnes had he more than the King our Master? True it is that in his youth he was not much troubled, for he attempted nothing till the two and twentieth yeere of his age, but liued till that time in health and at ease. But then he began to busie himselfe with his fathers officers, whom his father maintained

maintained against him: for the which cause he absented himselfe and went into Holland, where he was well receiued and had intelligence with them of Gaunt, and sometime also went thither himselfe. He had not one peny of his father, but this countrey of Holland was maruellous rich and gaue him goodly presents, as did also diuers great townes of his other Seniories, hoping thereby to winne his fauour in time to come. For it is a common thing, especially among the vulgare sort, to loue better, and seeke rather to him whose power is growing, than to him who is alreadie so great that he can be no greater ⁵. For the which cause Duke Philip, when men told him that they of Gaunt loued his sonne maruellous well, & that he could skil of their humor: was woont to answer, that their Prince in expectation they euer loued deereley; but their Prince in possession they hated euer extremely, which saying prooued true. For after D. Charles began to reigne ouer them they neuer loued him, and that they well declared as before I haue rehearsed: he also for his part bare them as little good will, notwithstanding they did his posteritie more harme than they could do him. But to proceed, after the time that Duke Charles mooued war for the townes in Picardie, which the King our Master had redeemed of Duke Philip his father, and iointed himselfe with the Princes of this realme, in the war called THE WEALE PVB LIKE: he neuer was quiet, but in continuall trauell both of body and minde. For his hart was so inflamed with desire of glorie, that he attempted to conquer all that lay about him. All sommer he kept the field with great danger of his person, and tooke vpon himselfe the charge and care of the whole army: all which trouble seemed yet not sufficient to him. He was the first vp and the last downe, as if he had beene the poorest soldier in his campe. If he rested from wars any time in winter, yet was he busied all day long from sixe of the clocke in the morning, either in leuying of money, or receiuing ambassadours, or giuing them audience. In this trauell and miserie ended he his daies, and was slaine of the Swizzers before Nancy, as you haue heard; so that a man may iustly say, that he neuer had good day from the time that ambition first entred into his minde, till the hower of his death. And what got he by all this tranell? what needed he thus to haue toiled himselfe, being so rich a Prince, and hauing so many goodly townes and seniories vnder his subiection, where he migh haue liued in great ioy and prosperitie, if it had so pleased him?

⁶The Earle of Warwicks fa-
ther was Ri-
charde Nevill
Earle of Salis-
burie, who
was not slaine
at the battell
of Wakefield
with Richard
Duke of York,
but taken, and
within a day
or two after
beheaded, and
his head lente
to Yorke, as
the said Dukes
had beene. By
this place I
have amen-
ded the other.
lib.1. cap.7.
figu.3.

I must now speake of Edward K. of England, who was so great and mighty a Prince. In his youth he sawe the D. of Yorke his father discomfited and slaine in battell, and with him the Earle of Warwicks father ⁶, the which Earle of Warwicke gouerned King Edward in his youth, and all his affaires; yea to say the truth made him King, and was the only man that defeated his enimie King Henry, who had raigned many yeeres in England, and was lawfull King both in mine opinion, and in the judgement of the whole world. But as touching great realmes, and seniories God holdeth them in his hand, and disposeth of them at his pleasure; for all proceedeth of him. The cause that mooued the Earle of Warwicke to serue the house of Yorke against King Henry, who was of the house of Lancaster, was this. The Earle of Warwicke and the Duke of Sommerset fell at variance in King Henryes court, who was a verie simple man: the Queene his wife being of the house of Aniou, daughter to Rene King of Sicilie, tooke part with the Duke of Sommerset against the Earle. But consider that they had all acknowledged both King Henry and his father and grandfather for their lawfull Princes: the said Lady should haue done much better to haue taken vpon her the office of Judge or mediator betweene them, than to take part with either of them, as the sequele well declared. For heereupon arose war, which continued nine and twentie yeeres: during the which space many bloodie battells were

were fought, and in the end, all in maner both of the onepart and the other slaine. Now to speake a word or two of factions: surely they are maruellous dangerous, especially among great men, who are naturally inclined to nourish and maintaine them. But you will say peraduenture, that by this meanes the Prince shall haue intelligence of all things that passe, and thereby hold both the parties in the greater feare. In truth I can well agree that a yoong Prince ⁷ use this order among Ladies: ^{Commines} faith here, that King Edward had liued sixteene yeeres in delicacies when the Earle of Warwicke chased him out of his realme: yet before lib. 3. he faulth 12. or 13. yeeres, to mywhat ne-
rer to the truth; for in-
deed he was chased the 10. yeere of his regne. ⁸ His white knight is na-
med Johannes, Huniades Cor-
rinus, his fa-
thers name was Bub, of the countie of Valachie, cor-
of Hungarie, and Mahomet Ottoman Emperor of Turkie. This King Mathias was iuptly printed in the French Vallagie. ⁹ To wit, 20. and fought in one day a-
gainst Anu-
raties and his Bashas sixe great battells, and obtained victorie in them all. ¹⁰ Scleauonie is the countie of Illyria. ¹¹ Some write that this Lan-
celot called in Latin stories Ladislaus came to full yeeres before Huniades death, and gaue him in recompence of his seruice the Earledeome of Bristrich, and yet afterward sought to kill him by the perswasion of Virich Earle of Cilie the said Ladislaus vncle: but Huniades valiantly defended himselfe, and soone after died. But indeed the truth is, that Ladislaus was borne the 21. of Februarie 1440. and Huniades died the 10. of September 1456. so that at Huniades death Ladislaus was almost 17. yeeres of age, and by the perswasion of this Earle Virich had taken the government vpon himselfe. ¹² The elder brothers name was Ladislaus. The cause of his death was, for that in defence of himselfe he had slaine the Earle Virich, who assaulted him, as before he had done his father, and continually fought both his blood and his brothers. Wherefore the King cauled both the brethren deceiptfully to be taken, and beheaded the elder being five or sixe and twenty yeeres of age. It is written, that the hangman gaue him three strokes with the sword, before he could pearce his skinne. ¹³ King Ladislaus died of poison the 21. of Nouember 1457.

that she being displeased with his mariage with the daughter of *Charles the seventh King of Fraunce* now called *Princesse of Vienna* (against his promise made to her) poisoned him in a bathe, as shee gaue him a peece of apple to eate, having conueighed the poison into the haft of her knife. Incontinently after King *Lazelles* death, the Barons and Nobles of the realme assembled to choose a new King: for the custome of the country is, when the King dieth without issue, that the Nobles may proceed to an election. And while they were there in great diuision about their choice; the white Knights widow mother to *Mathias* came into the towne with a goodly traine: for because shee had great treasure left her by her husband; she was soone able to leuie great forces: and further, I thinke she had good intelligence both in the towne and also among the Nobilitie, because of the great sway her husband had borne in the realme. She rode straight to the prison and tooke her sonne out of it.¹⁴ Whereupon part of the Barons and Prelats there assembled for the election, fledde for feare, the rest chose the said *Mathias* King, who raigned in the realme with as great prosperitie as any King these many yeeres, and hath beene as highly praiised and commended, yea more in some points than any of his predecessors. He was one of the valiantest men that liued in his time, and obayned great victories against the Turkes, without all damage to his owne realme, the which he enlarged on all sides, aswell towards Bohemia the greatest part whereof he held, as also towards Valachie where he was borne, and towards Sclauonie. In like maner vpon the frontiers of Almaine he wan the greatest part of Austrich from the Emperor *Frederic* now raigning, and possessed it till his death, which hapned in the yeere 1491 in Vienna the chiche towne of Austrich. This King gouerned his affaires with great wisedome, aswell in peace as war: but a little before his death perceiuing himselfe to be feared of his enimies, he grew maruellous pompous and sumptuous in his Court, and amased an infinite quantitie of goodly stufte, iewels and plate, for the furniture of his house. All his affaires were dispatched by himselfe or by his direction. Before his death his subiects stood in great feare of him, for he waxed cruell, and soone after fell into a greeuous and incurable disease being but yoong, to wit, eight and twenty yeeres of age¹⁵, or thereabout. He died having spent his life in much more labour and travell than pleasure.

The Turke aboue mentioned¹⁶ was a wise and noble Prince, but vsing wiles and subtiltie more than courage and valour. True it is that his father left him great, for he had beene a hardy Prince, and wan Adrianople¹⁷, which is as much to say, as the citie of Adrian. This Turke that I now write of, tooke in the three and twentieth yeere of his age the citie of Constantinople¹⁸. I haue seene his pourtrayture when he was of those yeeres, the lineaments whereof made shew of an excellent wit. It was a shame for all Christendome to suffer the towne so to be lost: for he tooke it by assault, and the Emperor of the East whom we call Emperor of Constantinople, was slaine himselfe at the breach¹⁹, with a number of valiant men, & diuers women of great estate and noble houses raished: to be short, no crueltie was omitted. This was his first exploit, but not his last, for he continued till his death in atchieuing great enterpris: so that I heard once an ambassadour of Venetie sent him into

Hungarie nobly accompanied. ²⁰ This place is maruellously corrupted; for King *Mathias* was borne the 24. of February 1433, and died the 5. of April at Vienna of an Apoplexic the yeere 1490, or as our author saith 1491. so that by this computation he liued about 48 yeeres, and so vndoubtedly this 28, must be read 48. ²¹ This Turke is *Mahomet the second*. ²² Others write that *Amurath* the third Emperor of Turkie wan Adrianople, and it may be that the name deceipte our author: for this Turks fathers name was also *Amurath*; but this was *Amurath* the second, and he that wan Adrianople *Amurath* the first. ²³ Constantinople was taken ann. 1453, the 29. of May. ²⁴ This Emperor was named *Constantinus Paleologus*: but as others write he was not slaine at the breach, but thronged to death in the gate as he would haue fled.

nice tell Duke *Charles of Burgundie* that he had conquered two Empires, fower realmes, and two hundred cities. He meant the Empires of Constantinople and Trapezond²⁵; the realmes of Bosne²¹, Syria, Armenia, and I thinke Morea²² was the fowerth, in the which the Venetians held two places. He conquered also diuers goodly Iles in the sea, called Archipell²³, neere to the said Morea, with the Iles of Nigrepont²⁴ and Mitilene: he subdued in like maner the greatest part of Albanie and Sclauonie. And as his conquests were great against the Christians, so were they also against them of his owne law, of whom he destroied many a great Prince, as the Caraman²⁵ and diuers others. The greatest part of his affaires he gouerned by his owne wisedome, as did our King and the King of Hungarie also: who were three of the greatest Princes that raigned these hundred yeeres. But the curtesie and course of life of the King our Master, and his good vsage both of his owne seruants and straingers far passed both the others; and no maruell, for he was the most Christian King. As touching worldly pleasures this Turke had his fill; for he spent the greatest part of his life in them, and had he not beene so much addicte to them, vndoubtedly he would haue done much more mischiefe. There was no fleshly vice that he was free from, but in gluttony he passed, and according to his diet, diseases fell vpon him: for euerie spring (as I haue heard thole report that haue seene him) his legs swelled as big as a mans body, notwithstanding they brake not, but the swelling allwaged of it selfe. No surgeon could tell the cause of this disease save onely that it proceeded of gluttonie, and it may be that it was some speciaill punishment of God. His said disease was the cause he came so seldeine abroad, and kept himselfe so close in his chariot, fearing that the miserable estate he was in, would cause his subiects to despise him. He died being two and fiftie yeeres of age²⁶ or there about, in maner suddenly: notwithstanding, he made his Testament, which my selfe haue seene, wherein he made conscience of a subfidie lately leuied vpon his subiects, if the said Testament be true. Let Christian Princes then weigh well what they ought to do, considering that they haue no authoritie in right and reason to leuie any thing vpon their subiects without their permission and consent.

Some (because they will be sure not to erre) nothing. But vndoubtedly it is to be read as I haue here translated it. For further declaration whereof we must understand, that about the yecre 1250, fower noble houses came out of Persia with their capaines and armes, the Ottomans, Assembes, Scandelors or Candelors, and the Caramans. All these fower houses subdued every one of them some region: the Ottomans wan Bithyna, Phrygia, Galatia. The Assembes Syria, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia. The Scandelors held the greatest part of Pontus: and the Caramans Cilicia, Lycia, Lycania, Pamphylia. But the house of Ottomans in the end devoured all the other three. The Assembes were vanquished by this Mahomet ann. 1459. For you shall understand, that *Yumcasses* King of the Assembes fought three great battels with this Mahomet. In the two first he ouerthrew him, but in the third he was vterly ouerthrown, by reason that Mahomet had great artillerie in his campe, which noueltie (vñknownen before to the easterly nations) discomfited *Yumcasses* armie, who in this battell lost also his sonne *Zeinalde*. After this battell Mahomet wan all Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and tooke Trapezonde the seat of the Assembes empire, with the greatest part of Armenia and Syria, as mention is here made. Further, after this battell Mahomet tooke from *Pyramitus* Prince of the Caramans, the greatest part of Cilicia: and after this Mahometes death *Baizet* his sonne fles in battell Abraham the last Prince of the Caramans, and vterly destroied that house. As touching the Scandelors, after the Assembes and Caramans were destroied, the Prince of the Scandelors yelded his countrey to *Baizet*, and in exchange therof had certaine reuenues giuen him in Anatolia. And thus were all the three houses subdued by the house of Ottomans: which discourse for the better understanding of this place, I haue beene forced to write somewhat at large. ²⁷ Others write 58, and others 56, but sure our author reporteth his age trueliest: for he was borne ann. 1430, the 24. of March, and died of the collicke 1481, the third of May, so that he was entred into his two and fiftieth yeere.

¹⁴ Other histories varie much in this point from *Commines*: for they make no mention of *Mathias* deliverie by his mothers meanes, but say that King *Ladislaus* being hated in Hungarie for *Humades* elder sonnes death, departed into Bohemia, leading *Mathias* with him as prisoner, where loone after this *Ladislaus* died of poison, as here by our author mention is made. After his death *George Brabec* vsurped the realm of Bohemia, this *Mathias* being still prisoner at Prague: but the nobles of Hungarie, because of his fathers great seruices, chose him their King, and sent to the said *Brabec* requiring his deliverie: who not only accomplished their request on that behalfe, but also gaue the said *Mathias* his daughter in marriage, and sent him into

¹⁵ How he conquered Trapezonde, Syria, Armenia, appeareth after in the booke²³.

¹⁶ It is corruptly in the French Presumer. This realme of Bolis he conquered over Stephen King of that countreie ann. 1463.

¹⁷ King of Hungarie seone after reuecued regaine.

¹⁸ Morea was in times past Peloponnesus.

¹⁹ This Artchipel is Mare Egiptum, in the which the yles called Cyclades lie.

²⁰ Nigrepont in times past was Eulea.

²¹ The French booke haue some of them the Caraman, some the Caraman, and

The conclusion of the Author.

Oute see heere a number of great personages dead in short space, who trauelled so mightyly, and endured so many anguishes and sorrowes to purchase honor and renoume, whereby they abridged their liues, yea and peraduenture charged their soules. I speake not this of the Turke, for I make account he is lodged with his predecessors; but our King and the rest, I trust, God hath taken to his mercy. Now to speake of this point as a man vnlearned, but hauing some experience: had it not beene better both for these great Princes themselues and all their subiects that liued vnder them, and shall liue vnder their successors, to haue held a meane in all things, that is to say, to haue attempted fewer enterprises, to haue feared more to offend God, and persecute their subiects and neighbors so many sundry waies aboue rehearsed, and to haue vsed honest pleasures and recreation? Yes sure. For by that meanes their liues should haue beene prolonged, diseases should not so soone haue assailed them, their deaies should haue been more lamented, & lesse desired; yea, & they should haue had lesse cause to feare death. What goodlier examples can we finde to teach vs that man is but a shadow, that our life is miserably and short, and that we are nothing, neither great nor small? For immediately after our death, all men abhorre and loath our bodies, and so soone as the soule is feuered from the body, it goeth to receive iudgement; yea vndoubtedly at the very instant that the soule and body part, the iudgement of God is giuen according to our merits and deserts, which is called the particular iudgement of God.



A SVPPPLY OF THE HISTORIE OF PHILIP DE COMMINES FROM THE death of King Lewis the xi. till the beginning of the wars of Naples, to wit, from 1483. till 1493. of all the which time Commines wri- teth nothing.

*Of King Charles his comming to the crowne, of the death of Oliver King Lewis
his Barber and others, and of the revoking of King
Lewis his superfluous gifts.*

Chap. 1.



After the death of Lewis the eleuenth, Charles the 8. his onely sonne being 13. yceres of age and two moneths, succeeded to the crowne: notwithstanding his coronation was deferred til the moneth of Iune in the next yeere, to the end he might be full fowerteene when he should be crowned. The K. his father had brought him vp at Amboise in such solitarines, that none besides his ordinary seruants could haue accessse vnto him; neither permitted he him to learne any more Latine than this one sentence: *He that cannot dissemble cannot raigne*: which he did not for that he hated learning, but because he feared that studie would hurt the tender and delicate complexion of the childe. Notwithstanding King Charles after he came to the crowne, grew very studious of learning, and gaue himselfe to the reading of storiess and bookees of humanite written in the French toong, and attempted to vnderstand Latine.

Before the Kings coronation, the Princes of the blood and the nobles of the realme, who so often had beene iniured in the late King Lewis his time by Oliver le Dain his barber, by Daniell a Flemming the said olivers seruant, and by John D'oyac; (which three had wholy gouerned the said King Lewis,) caused informations secretly to be exhibited against them for diuers murthers, rapines, and other heinous crimes that they had committed in King Lewis his time, yea and some of them by his commandement: the which informations being scene by the court Parliament, they were foorthwith apprehended, their processe made, and in the end all three condemned: and the next yeere being 1484. the said Oliver and Daniell his man were hanged at Paris, and D'oyac had his eares cut off, and his toong bored through with a hot iron. One of the crimes committed by Oliver and Daniell, for the which they were executed was this: A gentleman was committed to prison by King Lewis his commandement, whose wife being yoong and beautifull, was contented to abandon her selfe to the lust of this Oliver, vpon promise that he should deliuer her husband out of prison to her; but the next day he caused Daniell his man to put him into a sacke, and to throwe him into the riuier, where he was miserably drowned. This Oliver was a Flemming borne, and had beene barber to King Lewis, and of greater credit with him than any man in all Fraunce, which his credit grew by vile and slauish offices that he did about the King, so far foorth that he ordinarily sucked the Kings hemorrhoides; wherewith he was often troubled, which base seruice he did, not

not for good will that he bare the King, but onely for couetousnes and to maintaine his credit, which ended soone after the King his Masters death as you haue heard; notwithstanding the great charge that the King vpon his death-bed had giuen his sonne to loue the said *Oliver*, and not to suffer him to be spoiled of that which he had bestowed vpon him, because his seruice had long preserued his life. But howsoeuer Princes maintaine such lewd ministers in their liues, and how ready soever such seruants be to execute their Masters vnlawfull and wilfull commandements, supposing that they shall never be called to account therefore: yet in the end they finde that credit in Court is no inheritance, and that God who leaueth nothing vnpunished, findeth a time to reward them according to their deserts. Further, soone after King *Lewis* his death, consultation was had of the superfluous and superstitious gifts made by him in his life, all the which were revoked, and all that was giuen reunited to the crowne.

Of the assembly of the States held at Touars of the Duke of Orleans puruie for the regencie, of the war called the mad war raised by him, and of his departure into Britaine.

Chap. 2.

1484.


He King in the moneth of Iuly ofter his coronation, being the yeere 1484. held a generall and free assembly of the States of his realme at Touars, far otherwise than had beene vsed in his fathers daies: for none came to these generall assemblies in his time, but such as were of his owne denoimination, neither durst any man speake his minde freely, but was forced in all matters to yeeld to the Kings will, which was for the most part vntreasonable and violent. But at this assemblie the presence was great, the voices free, the complaints lamentable: the Nobilitie, Commons and Clergie, euerie one of them presented their grieses, complaining of the burdens that the late King (contrarie to the lawes of the realme, and customes of their ancestors) had laid vpon them. In this assembly it was enacted that there should be no Regent in Fraunce; but that *Anne* Lady of Beauieu the Kings eldest sister shoulde haue the government of his roiall person, according to the testament of King *Lewis* the x i. that the priuy Councell shoulde consist of twelve chosen out of the body of the Nobility, by whose aduise all matters shoulde be gouerned and dispatched; but all in the Kings name, and vnder the signature of his hand. Further, *John* Duke of Bourbon was created Constable. But by little and little the whole government was derived to the said Lady of Beauieu, because the King his brothers perlon was in his hands.

But *Lewis* Duke of Orleans being the neerest Prince of the blood roayl, by the perswasion of those that were about him, who gaped for great preferment if the government were committed to his charge, and especially by the instigation of the Earle of Dunois named *Francis*, sonne to *John* commonly called the Bastard of Orleans, (a man of a subtil spirit, and of great enterprise) abode still at Paris, and entered daily into the councell, (notwithstanding the decree of the three estates,) as one that would vnderstand of all that was done there. Wherewith the Lady of Beauieu was not a little discontented: which when the Prince of Orenge, the Marshall of Rieux, and the rest of the Barons of Britaine that were at that time fugitives in Fraunce (as hereafter shall be declared) vnderstood; they came to the said Lady of Beauieu, and offered her and the King their seruice, which the Duke of Orleans greatly

greatly stomacked. Further, the said Duke sought by all meanes possible to discredit the womanish gouernment of the said Lady; but his perswasions little prevailed, because the Duke himselfe being not as yet fower and twentie yeeres old, was vnder the government of his mother, and it seemed no reason to commit the managing of the common wealth to him that was vnable to gouerne his owne priuate estate: so that the same reason barred him from the gouernment now, that excluded his grandfather in times past, during the phrensie of King *Charles* the sixt. But this reason satisfied not the Duke nor his friends. Wherefore the Lady of Beauieu seeing that the Duke of Orleans remaining in Paris, wan daily those that were in authoritie to his side: seeking by that meanes to obtaine the regencie of the realme: sent by the resolution of the Kings councell, certaine to Paris to arrest the body of the said Duke. Who being aduertised therof as he was at tenice, withdrew himselfe, and (pretending that he went to his lodging) departed in the company of *Guyot Par*, and *John* of Louen (one of the gentlemen of his chamber whom he greatly fauoured) and lodged that night at Pontoise. The next day he went to Vernueil, and from thence to Alençon, where he remained a certaine space: during the which, he practised to draw to his partie the Earle of Angoulesme, the Duke of Bourbon, and the Lord of Alcble, who in the ende declared themselues to be his friends and assistants in this enterprise. But all these because of this their confederacie with him, were foorthwith remoued from all their offices and estates, and lost all their pensions, and their charge of men of armes: yet notwithstanding, they leuied a great army of the people of their countries, and found meanes to win to their side the Duke of Lorraine, the Prince of Orenge, and the Earle of Foix. Vnder the assurance of all the which Princes, the Duke of Orleans assembled his army at Blois, to marche therewith to Orleans: but the citizens of the towne perciuing that their Duke came thither with a purpose to surprise it, and to make it the seate of the wars, shut their gates vpon him, and would not suffer him to enter. Wherefore with an army of fower hundred launces, and a great number of footemen, he went to Bougencie, accompanied with the Earles of Dunois and Foix, and with Carqueuant, and other French captaines, where they remained a certaine space, and thither the King sent to besiege them. But because they sawe the place not to be of defence; and further, that the Malcontents of the realme flocked not to them as they supposed they would: they made a sudden peace with the King, whereby it was agreed, that the Duke of Orleans should repaire to the King, and so he did, and that the Earle of Dunois the contriuer of all this enterprise should depart the realme, which also he did, and retired himselfe to Ast. But this notwithstanding, the Duke of Bourbon and the Earle of Angoulesme, who had leuied their armes to succor the Duke of Orleans, marched toward Bourges, whither the King went with a great armie, accompanied with the said Duke of Orleans, who was constrained to arme himselfe against his late allies and confederates. Notwithstanding by the wisedome of the Marshall of Gie and the Lord of Grauille (which two had great authoritie in the Court vnder the Lady of Beauieu,) peace was concluded betweene the King and his nobles, wherein the Lord of Alcble was also comprchended; and thus departed all these armes without any bloodshed, and the King went to Amboise; the Duke of Orleans to Orleans; and the Earle of Foix and the Cardinal his brother to Nantes to the Duke of Britaine who had married their sister. This tumult was called the mad war, and hapned in the yeere 1485.

After all this, the Earle of Dunois returned from Ast, and went to his owne towne of Partenay in Poitou, which was then a strong towne with a double ditch, and

1485.

If you begin
the yeres at
Newyeeres day,
it was 1486.

a triple wall. Hereof the King being aduertised, and withall that he fortified himself in the said towne, and knowing the said Earle of Dunois to be full of practise, and a man of great enterprise: he sent to the Duke of Orleans (who was at Orleans holding solemne iusts and tourneys) to come to him to Amboise. And after three or four messengers, the last whereof was the Marshall of Gié, the Duke of Orleans went to Blois, and the next day being twelue euen in the said yeere 1485, he departed out of Blois early in the morning with his haukes, faining that he went to ffe in the field, and without any bait rode that night to Fronteaulx, whereof his sister was then Ambesse: from thence he went to Clisson, and from Clisson to Nantes, where he was very honorably receiued of the Duke. This was the Duke of Orleans second comming into Britaine, as by that which followeth hereafter shall more plainly appeere. The King being aduertised of his departure, determined to besiege the Earle of Dunois in his towne of Partenay, and found meanes (before any bruite was made thereof) to drawe to his seruice the Marshall of Rieux, and the other Barons of Britaine that were then retired to Chasteaubrian to the Lady of Laual, who was Lady thereof, because the Duke of Britaine by aide of the Duke of Orleans and the Earle of Dunois sought to auenge himselfe of the said Barons, for the death of Peter Landois Treasurer of Britaine, whereof I will now begin to speake.

Of the troubles that happened in Britaine betwene the Duke and his Nobles, and of Peter Landois deaþ.

Chap. 3.

About the same time, or somewhat before, that the mad tumult aboue mentioned happened in Fraunce: a like stur chanced also in Britaine, though not with the like cuent; the seedes of which were priuily sown in the life of *Lewis* the x i. but sprang not vp for feare of forren war (with the which the saide King *Lewis* continually threatened the Britaines) till after his death. But then all forren feare, which had hitherto preserued their peace, being remooued: the fire flamed out, which vpon this occasion was fuel kindled. *Chauuin* Chauncellor of Britaine (a very worthy man) died miserably in prison in the castell of L'hermite, where the Duke had imprisioned him at the request of his Treasurer *Peter Landois* a hosiers sonne of Touars, who after the said *Chauuin* death wholy possessed the Duke. But the nobilitie, namely the Prince of Orenge, and the Marquall of Rieux (who were then at Nantes, and hated this *Landois*, as author of the others death) conspired togither to his destruction: for the executing of which their purpose, they watched a time when they thought to surprise him either in the castell of Nantes with the Duke, or in a house of his owne called Pabotiere a mile from the towne. Wherefore they diuided their company, and part they sent to besiege the said house, and with the rest entred into the castell: and to the eade he should by no meanes escape, they shut vp the castell gates, they searched every corner of the castell, yea they rushed into the Dukes chamber, supposing that the said *Landois* might happily haue retired himselfe thither, in hope to make the D. preſence the buckler of his defence. But he being a mile from Nantes in his owne house aboue mentioned, escaped at a backe gate before the house was thoroughly beset, and so sau'd himselfe. But presently a great vprore began in the towne: for one of the Dukes seruants, at the noble mens first entrie into the castell, being let downe the castell wall by a rope, made a great outerie in the towne, aggrauating the haipounes of the fact, and affirming that the castell was forced, the Duke assaulted and his

life in great danger vntes he were speedily succoured. The citizens (ignorant that this attempt was made onely for the surprising of *Peter Landois*) armed themselves, and ran to the castell threatening all the nobilitie with death, of whom not one durst shew himselfe vpon the wall to speake to the furious multitude, because the people had planted shot against the castell, meaning to spare no man so soone as he should appeere, but the Duke alone. The Duke being in the hands of his nobles, shewed himselfe vnto his people, who presently kneeled downe before him, congratulating with him for his safetie, and so the tumult ceased.

But the nobilitie for this bold attempt were banished, though their liues were pardoned, who presently retired themselves into Fraunce to King *Charles*, as before you haue heard. Then *Peter* recouered his former credit with the Duke, and caused him to write to the Duke of Orleans his cosin germaine, that it would please him to come to him into Britaine; which the Duke of Orleans did by the perswasion of the Earle of Dunois, who sought to diuorce him from the Kings sister, and to marrie him with *Anne* the Duke of Britaines eldest daughter and heire, which also hapned after the said Duke of Orleans was King, though it were not now accomplished. The Duke of Orleans accompanied with the Duke of Alençon arriu'd at Nantes, in the moneth of Aprill after this tumult, being the yeere 1484. where they were honorably receiued of the Duke of Britaine, who complained to them of the outrage done vnto him by the Prince of Orenge and the Marquall of Rieux, for the reuenge whereof he desired their aide, which they promised him in generall termes, and then departed to go to Reimes to the coronation of King *Charles*. After the which the Duke of Orleans fell at variance with the King, and yet in the ende peace was concluded betwene them in the yeere 1485, as before you haue heard.

Then *Peter Landois* seeing the Duke his Master in league with the Duke of Orleans, and the said Duke of Orleans and his faction in peace with the King: determined to be reuenged of his enimies: wherefore the Duke of Britaine, by his perswasion made an edict, that all the noblemen's houses that had beene of the conspiracie aboue mentioned, should be rased. For the execution whereof an armie was leuied in the Dukes name to rase Ancenix, where the Prince of Orenge and the Earle of Comminges then remained, who being aduertised therof, by the aide of their friends and of the banished Barons that were returned out of exile to defend their patrimonies, leuied likewise an armie to withstand *Landois* attempts: but when these two armies were come the one in face of the other, the remembrance and loue to their common countrie altered their mindes in such sort, that they disarmed themselves, and each embraced other as friends. Then went the Prince of Orenge and the Earle of Comminges to the Duke, and recouered his fauour and the gouernment: by meanes whereof all the storme fell vpon *Peter Landois* alone, whom when the nobles knew to be within the castell, with one consent they went thither, being fully resolute to seize vpon him, though he were in the Dukes armes. Then one whom both the nobilitie and commons had by common consent chosen their new Chauncellor, by their constraint spake to the Duke, and aduertised him that without the deliuerie of *Peter* the tumult could not be appeased, against whom they would proceede onely by order of lawe, without executing any thing vpon him before his cause were heard and throughly examined. Thus was he yelded into their hands, and presently imprisioned, and for fashions sake examined: many hainous crimes were obiectred against him. To conclude, he was condemned and hanged before the Duke knew his cause to be tried, who was purposed to haue granted him his pardon, howsoever law proceeded against him: for the preuenting whereof the execution was hastened.

But this fact of the nobilitie (which the Duke accounted as a most hainous iniurie done to himselfe) made them ten times more odious to the Duke than they were before. The Duke created a new Chauncellor, and to make head against his nobles receiued very curteously the Duke of Orleans, who about this present fled to him out of Fraunce with a great company of his partakers: which when the said nobles of Britaine sawe, they were greatly astonied, and fled for feare the second time into Fraunce, where the King (meaning to make war vpon the Duke of Britaine, for recieving the Duke of Orleans being fled from him) welcommned them, and entred into league with them, as in the end of the last chapter you haue heard. The report went that the Duke of Orleans had a plot in his head to diuorce himselfe from the Lady *Jane* the Kings sister, as forced vpon him against his will by King *Lewis x i.* and to marrie with *Anne* the Duke of Britaines eldest daughter and heire, the hope whereof was the cause of this his voyage into Britaine: but the selfe same hope entertained also Monsieur d' *Alebret*, and drew him to the Duke of Britaines part, the rather because he had received assurance of the marriage in writing, vnder the hands of all the noble men that were about the said D. of Britaine, save of the D. of Orleans alone.

Of the war the King made in Britaine, and of the Earle of Dunois ambassage to the King for peace,
Chap. 4.

1486.


He onely care of the banished nobles of Britaine was to returne and remaine in safetie in their countrie, and the Kings onely desire was to be renenged of the Duke of Britaine for receiving the Duke of Orleans. Wherfore the King, as before is said, entred into league with these nobles, and in their fauour leuied an armie, and began war vpon the Duke of Britaine in the yeere 1486. This army invaded Britaine threc seuerall waies; for the Lord of Saint Andre with fower hundred launces, and fve or sixe thousand foote-men entred on one side; the Earle of Montpensier with a great band vpon another side, and *Lewis* of Trimouille, Vicount of Touars, (who had married *Gabriell* of Bourbon the said Earle of Montpensiers sister) vpon the third, in such sort that the countrie of Britaine was couered with French soldiers, with whom also the Barons of Britaine aboue mentioned, were ioined, who caused diuers castels in Britaine to be yeelded to the Kings armie by those that were of their faction: whereat the Duke of Britaine was greatly astonied. But the Duke of Orleans, the Earle of Dunois, and the Earle of Comminges being with him, comforted him, and vnder colour of a marriage to be made betweene the Lady *Anne* the Duke of Britaines eldest daughter and the Lord of Alebret, who had a hundred launces vnder his charge, and was able to leuie great forces of footemen in Gascoine and Guienne, where he was mighty and of goodly reuenues, the Earle of Dunois wan the said Lord of Alebret to ioin with them: who presently forsooke the Kings seruice, and tooke part with them accordingly: yet that notwithstanding the Duke of Britaine leauing Nantes in the hands of his cosin the Prince of Orenge, retired himselfe to the castell of Malestroit, being a strong place, where he leuied an armie of sixe hundred launces, and 16000. footemen to succour Ploermel (distant three or fower leagues from Malestroit) which the Kings armie then besieged. But as this Britaine armie marched thitherward, one of the company brake foorth into these speeches, and asked what this war meant, and what was the end thereof, alleging that their Duke was wholly governed by

1487.

by the French, and that the French made the Britaines at their pleasure to renenge French quarrels vpon the French: wherfore he perswaded them to returne home to their wiues and children, and not to spend their liues for other mens quarrels. Wherupon all the armie dissparkled, and returned home: by meanes whereof Ploermel seeing no hope of succours yeelded by composition, and yet notwithstanding was spoiled, and the rich men taken prisoners, and put to rauosome. The Dukes of Britaine and Orleans, and the other Lords that were with them at Malestroit, being aduertised of the departure of their armie, and of the taking of Ploermel, went to Vennes vpon Whitson euening the yeere 1487. whither the Kings armie so speidly followed them, that hardly they escaped by sea, and went to Croisick, and from thence by the riuier of Loire to Nantes, being constrained to leaue part of their carriage in the said towne of Vennes, which presently after their departure yeelded without any resistance. Further, not long after the taking of this towne, the French in a skirmish at a place called Ioue betwene Chasteaubrian and Nantes, defeated a great band of Britaines, led by *Amaulry* of la Mossay towards Nantes, at the which time the King in person lay at Ancenix. After the taking of Vennes, the Kings armie marched to Nantes, and laid the siege before the towne the 19. day of Iune in the said yeere 1487. Within the towne were the Duke of Britaine and his two daughters *Anne* and *Isabell*, the Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Orenge, the Lady of Lauall and of Chasteaubrian, the Bishop of Nantes called *du Chaffault*, a man of holy life, the Earle of Comminges, and diuers other Lords: all the which dislodged out of the castell, and lodged in the towne. And because the compagie had some ielousie of the said Bishop of Nantes, and the Lady of Lauall that they were not thoroughly to be trusted: they were put in garde into certaine of the townes mens hands. At this siege were ten thousand French men, and great store of artillerie, wherewith the wals, towers, and vancouertes of the castell and towne were throughly battered; but they without were as well plied by them within, both with shot and with salies of valiant men, where many a goodly feate of armes was done, both on the one side and the other. Further, you shall understand, that the Earle of Dunois being in base Britaine there to embarke towards England to haue aide from thence, and perceiving that the winde would not suffer him so to do, brought with him to succour the towne of Nantes aboue fiftie thousand of the commons of Britaine, which the French suffered to passe, supposing them not to be men of seruice. But the King seeing the extreme heate of the weather, and perceiving that he could do no good before the towne, leuied his siege the sixt day of August, and departed. Then marched the Kings armie before the towne of Dolle, which they tooke without resistance and spoiled, and all the Britaines and soldiers that were within it were taken prisoners. Further, the Kings armie spoiled all the countrey, slue the people, and draue away their cattell. But the Marshall of Rieux and the greatest part of the banished nobles of Britaine that were in the Kings seruice, lamenting the miserable estate of their countrey, waxed weary of the wars, and alleged that their league with the King was onely to this ende, that they might recouer their countrie, and the French that liued in Britaine be constrained to returne home into theirs. Wherfore seeing the French nobles being in Britaine, protested, that they would willingly returne home if the King would pardon their departure to the Duke; and that the Duke on the other side, with the consent of all his subiects, had offered these banished nobles of Britaine pardon, and restitution to all their goods and lands, they sawe no cause why the wars should endure, but that each partie should returne home in peace: but the French, and diuers also of the Britaines themselves were little moued with these allegations.

If you begin the
yeare at Newe
yeeres day heere
beginneth
1488.

allegations. Wherefore the said Marshall being Lord of Ancenix, a towne very commodious for the maintenance of the Kings wars, and the which (notwithstanding that he held it for the King) he had manned with his owne tenants and servants: yeelded the place to the Duke of Britaine, and sware the townes men to be true to him. And further, before the fame of his revolt was spred abrode, he went with a great company to Chasteaubrian, which was also held for the King, and being received into the towne as a friend, he placed a garrison of his owne soldiers in it, and banished all that refused to returne to the obedience of the Duke. From thence he went and laid the siege before Vennes the 25. day of Februarie, which was held by the French vnder the gouernment of *Gilbert of Graffay*, and *Philip of Moulins* valiant captaines, who yeelded the place by composition the third day of March following,

On the other side the Kings army slept not: for Ancenix they tooke by assaule, and rased the wals, towers, and houses by the Kings commandement, so that one stone was not left vpon another, which the King did in spite of the Marshal of Rieux, whose the towne was, and who was newly revolted from him as you haue heard. Chasteaubrian was also recovered by the Kings forces, and the castell rased. From thence the Kings army marched to Fougieres, being a frontier towne strong and of good resistance, and laid the siege before the place, whereupon the Duke of Britaine being stroken with a new feare, determined to send the Earle of Dunois in ambassage to the King, whereof hereafter you shall heare.

About this time being the beginning of the yeere 1488, the Lord of Albret who long had beene resident in the Court of Spaine, came by sea and landed in base Britaine with fower thousand men of war: his men went to Rennes, but himselfe to Nantes to the Duke of Britaine, where at his first comming he demanded to haue the marriage between him and the Lady *Anne* the Dukes eldest daughter accomplished. But the said Lady would not consent thereunto, greatly to his fathers discontentation, who knew nothing that she had cast hit phansie vpon the Duke of Orleans, by the practise and perswasion of the Earle of Dunois. For the which cause the said Earle of Dunois (to saue his honor) endeouored to withdraw his seale giuen for the accomplishment of the said marriage, being in the hands of the Lady *Lanall* sister to the said *Albret*, among the seales of all the other Britaine Lords: which also in the end very cunningly he brought to passe. For he gaue the said Lady to vnderstand that this marriage could neuer be accomplished without the Duke of Britaines seale could be obtained, wherunto he (as he said) had mooued the Duke, whose answer was that he could willingly give his seale, prouided that the instrument that he should seale, were written word for word by that which the Earle of Dunois had already sealed: wherefore if she would cause his writing to be deliuered to him, he would make his secretarie to write that which should be presented to the Duke, word for word by his, and so get the Dukes seale to it. The Lady of Lanall supposing that he had meant good faith, deliuered him the writing, which afterward he neuer restored: for presently after (as you shall now heare) he was sent with certaine lawyers in ambassage to Angiers to the King, to vnderstand what the King demanded in the Duchy of Britaine, and why he destroied the castels and townes thereof.

The Duke of Britaine as aboue is mentioned, being in great feare when he sawe the Kings army before Fougieres, sent the Earle of Dunois with the consent of his nobles in ambassage to Angiers to the K. The said Earle in his iourney thitherward, so preached in all places the great commodities that concord and peace bring with them, that all mens eies were fixed vpon him. When he came to the K. being then

eightene

eightene yeeres of age, he very eloquently pleaded the cause of the Duke of Britaine, and of the other French noble men that were retired to him, alleging that the Duke being worne with yeeres, consumed with diseases, hauing buried his wife, being destitute of issue male, his eldest daughter being hardly twelue yeeres of age; and his yoonger lesse; and lastly, being forsaken of his nobilitie for the hatred they bare to *Peter Landois*, and not for any euill desert of his owne, began to languish in sorow and grieve: for the which cause the noble men of Fraunce that were of kin and alied to him, being mooued with very naturall affection, were retired to him to comfort him in this distresse. Among whom, none were neerer to him (his owne children excepted) than the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Orenge, the one being his uncles sonne, the other his sisters, and that these and others his neere kinsmen were yet with him, onely to this end; adding that the Duke was not to be accused bicause he forbade them not his countries, when they came to comfort him in his miseries, or they for comming to relieue him in his distresse. But quoth he, it will be obiected that there are besides these, diuers others with him of the nobilitie of Fraunce, that haue leuied war against the King: but what war? Forsooth, as the Britaines marched with force to leuy the siege of Ploerinel, being aduertised that they coule not so do without a battell with the French: the reuerence they bare to the Kings Maiestie was such, that willingly they gaue place, and forbare to fight, and rather suffered their townes to be taken and spoiled, than they would encounter with the Kings troupes. Further so soone as the D. vnderstood the K. desire to be, that the banished Nobles of Britaine should returne home, he foorthwith received them into his fauor, and restored them to their former estate. What offence then (said he) hath the Duke made? What cause of war against him? Truly none. But on the contrary side many causes of commiseration, and many causes why the King should grant the Duke of Britaine peace. This was the effect of the speech he was commanded (as he said) to deliuer to the King; which charge he would not haue taken vpon him, but that he knew the Duke of Britaine to carie a minde singularly well affected to the Kings Maiestie, and the French nobles that were in Britaine to be the Kings deuout seruants and subiects, and ready to shed their blood for the defence of him and his estate. This the Earles speech mooued the King to incline to peace, whereof the treatie was already begun, when the sudden report of a battell whereof you shall now heare as suddenly brake it off.

Of the battell of S. Albin, wherein the Duke of Orleans was taken prisoner, of the treatie of peace betweene the King and the Duke of Britaine, and of the said Duke of Britaines death.

Chap. 5.

Ou haue heard of the siege of Fougieres, which endured still, notwithstanding the Earle of Dunois ambassage, in such sort that the towne began to be greatly distressed: wherefore the Duke of Orleans and the rest of the noble men of Britaine fearing the losse of the towne, departed from Nantes and went to Rennes, where they assembled their forces to leuy the siege. Their men of armes were fower hundred, and their footemen of their owne countreys twelue thousand, as some write; as others, but eight thousand, besides three hundred English men, and eight hundred Swissers,

X 3

Swissers, and of artillerie they had great plentie. Then in very good order they encamped abroad in the fields. The names of the noble men of the army were these: the Duke of Orleans, the Lord of Alebret, the Marshall of Rieux, the Lord of Chasteaubrian, the Lord Scales an Englishman, the Lord of Leon, the Lord of Rohans eldest sonne, the Lord of Crenettes, the Lord of Pont l'Abbe, the Lord of Plessis, the Lord of Balynes, the Lord of Montigny, the Lord of Montuet: all the which Lords with their companies and whole forces encamped at a village called Andouille, the wednesday being the 23. of July, the yeere 1488. aboue mentioned in the night there was an alarme among the Galcoines, whereof it was feared some quarrell would haue growen betweene the Duke of Orleans and the Lord of Alebret, but the matter was soone pacified. In the meane time came newes to these Lords at the said village of Andouille the saterday the sixe and twentie of the said moneth of Iuly, that the French had taken Fougieres by composition, with these conditions, that the soldiers should depart in safetie with bag and baggage: vpon which newes the Britains army determined to march to Saint Albin, hoping easily to take the towne because the French garrison within it was but small, and that in the meane time the soldiers that were departed out of Fougieres, should ioine with them and increase their forces. On the other side the French army marched also towards Saint Albin meaning to be there before the Britains; but it so fell out that neither of them entered the towne, because before they came thither they met and fought. For you shall understand that the same saterday that the Britains received newes of the taking of Fougieres, they marched to a village called Orenge two leagues from Saint Albin, where they were aduertised that the Kings army marched against them with a full resolution to fight with them.

The Sunday morning the Britaines consulted of the order of their battell, and because the footemen were iealous of the French horsemen that were in their camp, and namely of the Duke of Orleans himselfe: it was thought good that he and the Prince of Orenge should leaue their horses, and putthemselues on foote in the battell among the Swissers, and so they did. The vaward was lead by the Marshall of Rieux, the battell by the Lord of Alebret, and the rereward by the Lord of Chasteaubrian: vpon one of their wings was placed their artillerie and their carriage. And the more to terrifie the French with the great number of English men, whereas there were in truth but three hundred Englishmen lead by the Lord Talbot, seauen-teen hundred Britaine footemen were ioined to them, armed with jacks and red crosses English like: and the monday morning they raunged themselues in battell in this order aboue rehearsed, hard by a groue of wood attending the French army. The Kings army (whereof Master Lewis of Trimouille Vicount of Touars, being ffeue or sixe and twentie yeeres of age, was generall,) departed out of Fougieres with a ful resolution to fight with the Britains. The vaward was lead by *Adrian de l' hospital*, and *Gabriell of Montfalzoi*: before the which, ten or twelve valiant French knights aduanced themselues to discouer the Britains actions, whose good order when they had viewed, they retired to their companie, and then being in troupe all close ioined togither approached the Britaines army, the artillerie in the meane time playing on both sides, and greatly endamaging both the parties. The French marched very couragiously, and charged the Britaines vaward, where the Marshall of Rieux valiantly received them, and acquite himselfe so well both he and his company, that the French left the vaward, and marched straight vpon the Britaines battel, where the Britaine horsemen recoiled, by meanes whereof their rereward being discouraged fled. Then the French pursued them, and slue all the footemen they could ouertake:

which

which disorder when the Britaine vaward perceived, they also dissparkled and sought to sauе themselves. To conclude, the French obtained the victorie, and slue all those that bare the red croſſe, ſuppoſing them all to be English men, together with twelve or thirteene hundred Britaines as well horſemen as footemen. The Duke of Orleans was taken by the footemen, and likewiſe the Prince of Orenge, who had pulled away his blacke croſſe from him, and had laid himſelfe flat vpon the ground among the dead bodies, fainting himſelfe to be ſlaine; but he was knowne by a French archer, and both he and the Duke of Orleans led prisoners to Saint Albin vnder ſure garde. The Lord of Alebret ſeeing all ouerthrown, fled away and escaped. The Marshall of Rieux alſo ſaued himſelfe, and retired to Dinan. The Lord of Leon, the Lord *du Pont l' Abbe*, the Lord of Montfort, and diuers other noble men of Britaine were ſlaine; and of other ſoldiers to the number of ſixe thouſand: of the Kings part was ſlaine *James Galeot* a valiant and a renowned captaine, and to the number of a thouſand or twelve hundred common ſoldiers. This battell was fought vpon monday the 28. of July the yeere 1488. Soone after the Duke of Orleans was led to the caſtel of Lutizien, and from thence to Poictiers, where he remained a certaine ſpace, and laſtly to the great tower of Bourges.

The ſecond day after the battell, the Lord of Trimouille ſent certaine heralds to Rennes to ſummon the towne to yeeld to the King: who after conſultation had anſwered the ſaid heralds, that the King had no right to the towne, and that wrongfully and without cauſe he made warre vpon the countrie of Britaine, and that notwithstanding his great armie, he could not ouerrunne the countrie as he hoped: for God who defended the Britaines right, was able to doe as much to him as he did to King *John* before Poictiers, and to King *Philip* of Valois at Crecy: adding further, that they would not yeeld the towne, and that if Monsieur de la Trimouille came thither, he ſhould finde forte thouſand men in the towne, whereof twentie thouſand were men of defence. This anſwer was reported to the ſaid Trimouille, who ſtaied a long time without replying one word thereunto, and afterwards by the ſame heralds aduertised the King thereof being at Angiers. Whereupon the King assembled his Councell to determine what was to be done in this caſe. Some, yea almoſt all were of opinion that the towne ſhould be besieged: but Master *William* of Rochfort Chauncellor of Fraunce held the contrarie opinion, grounding himſelfe vpon the Kings title to the ſaid Duchie of Britaine, which was ſaid to grow by meanes of a certaine conueiance that Master *John* of Brosse Lord of Bouffac husband to dame *Nicole* of Britaine, daughter and heire to *Charles* of Blois Earle of Ponthieu, had made to the Kings anſtors, together with diuers other titles, which were not yet prooued good: adding, that if the King had no right thereunto, it ſhould be a damnable and a tyrannous act to vſurpe another mans countrie that appertained not to him. Wherefore his aduice was, that according to the reuereſe of the ambaffadors of Britaine being at Angiers, certaine graue and learned men ſhould be appointed to examine the right of both ſides. This opinion tooke place, and according thereunto the King agreed with the ambaffadors of Britaine, that both he and the Duke would appoint ſome graue men of their Councell, who ſhould meeete in ſome indiſſerne towne, with the charters and writings of both ſides, to determine in conſcience to whom the ſaid Duchie appertained, and that in the meane time the King ſhould hold all the places in the ſaid Duchie that alreadie he poſſeſſed. The Duke of Britaine liked this agreement well, and because the plague was vehement at Nantes, he departed thence with his two daughters, the Lady of Laval, the Lord of Alebret, the Earle of Dunoy, the Marshall of Rieux, the Earle of Comminges, and diuers other Lords,

to Coiron vpon the riuere of Loire three leagues beneath Nantes, where soone after namely vpon wednesday the seuenth of September in the same yeere 1488. he ended his life thorow a sickenes which he got by a fall, leaving the government both of his Duchie of Britaine, and of his two daughters to the Marshall of Rieux, to whom he appointed the Earle of Comminges for assistant. His body was carried to Nantes and buried in the Church of the Carmelites.

Of the King's mariage with the Ladie Anne of Britaine, whereby Britaine was unitid to the crowne of Fraunce.

Chap. 6.

1489.

 Oone after the Duke of Britaines death, died also *Isabell* his yoonger daughter, by reason whereof the Lady *Anne* remained his sole heire: about whose mariage the nobles of Britaine fell at great variance, for part of them inclined to the Lord of Alebret a great Lord in Guienne, who also as it was reported, (but falsely) was contracted to this yoong Princesse with the Duke hir fathers consent, but the day before the Duke died; but this faction was soone daunted, because the yoong Lady hir selfe verterly refused this match: part openly fauored and furthered *Maximilian* the Emperor *Fridericks* sonne, alleging that he would not onely be a protector of the libertie of their countrey, but also a strong rampier against all French attempts. Neither was the King of Fraunce ignorant of this treatie, but knew right well that ambassadours had passed to and fro betweene *Maximilian* and them, so far foorth that the said *Maximilian* supposing all matters to be throughly concluded and agreed on, began to imbrace all Britaine in his minde, and thought no enterprise too high for him if to his low countries obtained by his first mariage, he could now ioine the Duchie of Britaine by his second. Great consultation was had in Fraunce how to repulst this terrible storne, but *Maximilian*'s owne slacknes most furthered their denises. The K. councell in the end resolued that the King should refuse his wife being *Maximilian*'s daughter, and seeke with all expedition the mariage of the Ladie *Anne* of Britaine, alleging that the neighborhood of so mightie a Prince as *Maximilian* was, could not be but dangerous to his estate, of whom he could hope for nothing but dismembered friendship presently, and assured war in time to come, considering that the said *Maximilian* forgetting already his league and affinitie with the King, stirred vp continually one war after another against him, and by that meanes professed himselfe an open enimie to him and his realme. Wherfore ambassadours were presently sent to treate of this mariage with the Lady *Anne*. She at the first woondred at the matter, and alleged that she had giuen hir faith to *Maximilian*, which she might not breake: and further, that she had beene solemnly married to him (according to the accustomed maner of Princes) by *Wolfgangus Poleme* of Austrich his proctor, purposelly sent by him into Britaine to that end. But the Lady of Laval and other noble women of Britaine, whose company and familiaritie this yoong Prince vsed and greatly delighted in, being corrupted with French rewards and promises, perswaded hir that this French match should be most for hir safety and aduancement; alleging that if she married with *Maximilian* he should hardly be able to defend Britaine, whereof already they had good prooфе, considering that he had euer disappointed them of the succors he had promised to send them. And as touching hir scruple of conscience, they said that the Pope who had power ouer all lawes Ecclesiasticall, would

would easily be brought to dispence therewith, the rather because this match should be best for her safetie, and for the preseruation of her estate. The yoong Princesse though she were of a singular wit and rare vertues, yet being vanquished by these perswasions, yeelded to their request, and deliuered both her selfe and her countrie into the Kings hands, and soone after was the mariage solemnly accomplished to the great rejoicing of the French. And thus received Britaine the French yoake, to the great griefe of all the subiects, who desired to be governed by a particular Duke of their owne, as they had euer beeene in times past.

Not long after this marriage, the Earle of Dunois who had beeene the principall instrument of the peace, and a great furtherer of the marriage, and thereby throughly reconciled to the King suddenly died as he was on horsebacke for want of meate as it was said. When the King had set all things in good order in Britaine, he returned into Fraunce and appointed that the Ladie *Margaret of Flaunder* should remaine, accompanied with the Princes of Tarente in the castell of Melun vpon the riuere of Seine.

Maximilian was forewarned of all these French practises, and seemed to make no account of them; but when he perceived this mariage to be accomplished, it doubled his hatred against the King, so far foorth, that he openly railed vpon him and vowed himselfe to destroy Fraunce with fire and sword, and presently inuaded Picardie. But the Lord of Cordes gouernor thereof, made head against him, and valiantly defended the countrey, to his owne honor & the profit of Fraunce. Further, *Maximilian* meaning a thorow reuenge vpon this realme, stirred vp the English men the ancient enimies of the crowne to passe into Fraunce, promising them great aide both of men and money out of his dominions. Wherfore I will heare speake a word or two of the affaires of England, because the Englishmen are our next neighbors, and both in peace and war haue euer to do with vs, and we with them.

Of the troubles in England, and how the King of England passed the sea and besieged Bolloin, and of the peace betweene the King and him, and of the surprising of Arras and Saint Omers by the King of Romaines men.

Chap. 7.

 King Edward the fourth, the same that met with King *Lewis* the eleventh at Picquigny, dying in the yeere 1483, left behind him two sonnes being very yoong, and diuers daughters, the government of the which sonnes together with the realme was committed to the Duke of Gloucester King Edwards brother: but he most vniaturally murthered his two nephewes, slewe those of the nobilitie that he thought would impugne his proceedings, and vsurped the crowne. In the end the Duke of Buckingham who had taken part with the Duke of Gloucester, (who intituled himselfe King *Richard*) in all his actions fell at variance with him, and sollicited *Henry Earle of Richmond* that had liued many yeeres in Britaine as a banished man, to passe ouer into England, promising him a great armie to ioine with him so soone as he should be landed. The Earle communicated this matter with *Peter Landois*, who wholie at that time gouerned the Duke of Britaine. The said *Landois* hoping that the Earle if by his meanes he obtained the realme of England, would give him aide to reuenge him of his enimies; perswaded the Duke of Britaine to succour him in his enterprise,

terprise, who furnished him of three great ships well manned with soldiers, which tooke sea and sailed towards England: but when they were readie to land, the Earle was aduertised that the Duke of Buckingham was beheaded, his armie defeated, and all his faction ouerthrown, and that King *Richard* lay with a great army vpon the sea coast attending his landing. Vpon which newes the Earle of Richmond returned, thinking to recover the coast of Britaine from whence he was departed, but tempest draue him vpon the coast of Normandy, where he was forced to take land. The Ladie of Beauieu being aduertised thereof, sent vnto him, desiring him to come to speake with the King, and so he did. The King curteously received him, and entertained him well. Afterward he returned to Vannes in Britaine there to remaine as before, attending some better opportunitie. But *Peter Landois* seeing himselfe disappointed of his purpose, altered his minde, and practised with King *Richard* to deliver the Earle of Richmond into his hands: who being aduertised thereof, vnder colour of going a hauking one morning with ten or twelue horses fled into Fraunce to King *Charles*, who not long after furnished the Earle of ships, and a good number of soldiers to accompany him into England, where by the helpe of the French and of diuers of his owne kinsmen, who had called him into England and tooke part with him, he slew King *Richard* in the field, and was himselfe crowned King in his place. This good turne of King *Charles*, togither with the desire the King of England had to liue quietly at home in his countrey, and to gather wealth, was the caufe that King *Henry* during all the wars and troubles in Britaine aboue mentioned, had not passed his forces into Fraunce: notwithstanding that he had beeene often earnestly sollicited thereto, both by the Duke of Britaine, and the Earle of Dunois and others of that faction. For ordinarily when any troubles arise in Fraunce, our neighbors, especially the Englishmen, within a yeere are bidden to the banquet, and so was King *Henry* invited, and had come long ago, if the reasons aboue rehearsed together with some other respects, namely feare of domesticall troubles had not staid him at home.

1490. But notwithstanding the King of Englands backwardnes heeretofore to invade France: yet in the yeere 1490. partly by the earnest sollicitation of *Maximilian*, who promised him great aide in his wars, and yet performed nothing: partly to content his owne people, who began to account him as too much affectionate to the French in that he had suffered them to the great prejudice of the realme of England, to vnite to the crowne of Fraunce the Duchie of Britaine: he passed ouer his armie to Calice, and from thence marched and laide his siege before Boloyn, whither the Lord of *Cordes* and the bastard of *Cardonne* Captainie of Arras, with a small armie went to make resistance. Further, the King leuied his forces to succour the place, but because his armie proceeded but slowly forward: the said *Cordes* and *Cardonne* tooke vpon them the defence of the towne. This siege was nothing hot, for the which cause a herald was sent into the English campe to treat of peace; from the which King *Henry* seemed nothing strange as wel for the affection that he bare to the King, who had aided him to obtaine the realme of England; as also for that he feared sedition at home, and durst not long be absent out of his realme, because *Maximilian* had broken promise with him, and lastly because he hoped by this peace to receive of the King a great summe of money, which he loued as well as any Prince in his time. *De Cordes* finding the King of Englands inclination to peace, went and communed with him in his campe: his demaunds were, first a great summe of money that he said he had lent the late Duke of Britaine: and secondarily, that the King should defraue all the charges that he had been at in these wars. All the which the King yeelded vnto, and order was giuen that the King of England should yeerely receive a certaine summe

summe of money, till all the summes by him demanded were cleerely paid and discharged, and thus returned the King of England home.

In the meane time while *de Cordes* and *Cardonne* were at Bolloin treating with the King of England: the citizens of Arras knowing the garrison within the towne to be but weake, practised to yeeld it into *Maximilians* hands, who sent certaine bands thither, the which in great diligence approached neere to the towne. When all things were in a readines, and the gates being so negligently guarded, that the traitors with their counterfaited keies had opened them, they began a song, whereby they willed the enimies to make haste, who presently repaired to the gates, and were received into the towne. *Paul Carqueleur* a Briton, gouernor of the towne in the absence of the bastard of *Cardonne*, at the enimies first entrie retired himselfe with his soldiers into the castell; but fearing least it should be taken by assault, he soone abandoned it, greatly to his reproch: for if he had held it but till the next day, diuers French bands had come thither to his relieve. The towne was spoiled, and many slaine, neither were the churches spared nor the traitors houses. The author of this treason was a poore smith that dwelled vpon the towne wall, and had beeene the only man that was suffered to remaine in the towne by *Lewis* the eleuenth, when he transported the townes men as a colonie into Fraunce. *Carqueleur* the gouernor, when the towne was surprised lay fast a sleepe, drowned in drinke and good cheere as it is said. The towne was spoiled by the soldiers because *Maximilian* was behinde with them for certaine moneths paie. Saint Omers was also taken at the same time, though some refer it to an other time, but whensoeuer it was taken, this is most certaine that the negligence of the watch was the losse thereof. For the enimies being led by *George Dabeefin* made shew at their first comming before the towne, as though they would haue scaled it, at which time the French soldiers were ready to withstand them vpon the wals, being strong and verie defensible both by Nature and by Arte: whereupon the enimies vnder pretence of feare, retired into their campe; yea and further, when the French issued foorth to skirmish with them, they euer retired faining the like feare, which dissimulation they vsed by the space of eight daies, and by this their pollicie, caused the French to remit much of their accustomed industry and diligence: which when the Burgundians and Almaines perceiued, they with great expedition reared ladders against the wals and bulwarks of the towne, which they easily entered, the watch being fast a sleepe, and in some place no watch at all. Then brake they open the gates, slew the French soldiers and the citizens, and so became Masters of the towne.

At the same time was Amiens also attempted by the Burgundians in the night, and like to haue beeene surpised by the like negligence of the watch: but *Katherine de Liques* (a woman of a manlike courage) awaked the watch out of their dead sleepe, by meanes whereof the alarme was sounded, and all the towne arose in armes, and part went to defend the wals, and the rest issued foorth and skirmished, and put to flight *Maximilians* bands, who plainly confessed that the diligence and industrie of one woman had wrong the victorie out of their hands.



Of the restitution of the Counties of Roussillon and Parpignan to the King of Spaine, of the Emperor Fridericks death, of the peace betweene the King of Romaines and the King, and of the Duke of Orleans delivery out of prison.

Chap. 8.

1492.

Ergo Ferdinand King of Arragon desired nothing more than to recover out of the Kings hands the counties of Roussillon and Parpignan, engaged by him (as he said) to King *Lewis* the eleventh for fiftie thousand crownes. But the nobles of Fraunce would not condescend to this restitution, because these two Counties were a rampier for the realme on that side towards Spaine: adding that they were not engaged to King *Lewis*, but absolutely sold. And notwithstanding that the King of Spaine alleged that King *Lewis* by his last will and Testamant had commanded the said Counties to be restored, knowing that they were wrongfully withheld: yet his persuasions and allegations little availe. Wherefore hee perceiving that this way no good would bee done, fell to practise with them of religion, hoping by their preaching of conscience to King *Charles* to win that of him that otherwise he saw no meanes to obtaine. Wherefore he corrupted with a great summe of money *Oliver Maillard*, or as others write *John de Mauleon*, a Frier Franciscane, confessor to the Lady of Beauicu the Kings sister, who vnder his coule of religion cloking his hypocrisie and couerousnes, perwaded her, that except restitution were made of these territories to the King of Spaine, the King her brothers gouernment could not prosper nor please God. She being moued in conscience by this Friers persuasions, brake this matter to *Lewis* of Amboise bishop of Alby, the Kings schoolmaster, who together with her so terrified the Kings conscience, that he did not onely make restitution of the said territories by the hands of the said bishop, whom he sent thither to deliuer them: but also freely released to the King of Arragon all the money that King *Lewis* his father had paid for them; with these conditions, that the said King of Arragon and his successors, should ever after loue and honor the realme of Fraunce, that he should make no war against it, nor aide with money, victuals, or councell any of the enimies thereof, nor permit them to haue passage through his dominions. And thus were these countries restored, greatly to the French mens grieve and dammage; but in truth the King the rather inclined to restore them, because hee began alreadie by the persuasione of those that were about him to phansie a voyage into Italy, for the recouerie of the realme of Naples, which afterward tooke effect, though the King both now and long after this, kept his purpose secret to himselfe, and one or two more, which voyage I thinke was the principall cause that induced him to restore the foresaid countries, thereby to tie the King of Spaine to him, that he should not trouble him in his enterprise; but he misreckoned himselfe, for he was no sooner past the mountaines, but the King of Spaine forgot all his kindnes, and fell to practise a league with his enimies.

The Emperor Fridericke died the 19. of August, 1493. While these matters passed thus in Fraunce, Fridericke the Emperor died, to whom his sonne *Maximilian* succeeded, who notwithstanding was never crowned neither greatly desired so to be, although with a small request he might haue obtained it. The Emperor *Maximilian* purposing to quiet the state of the Empire troubled by his fathers death, seemed more inclined to peace with the King than heretofore

tofore he had beeene, which happened verie fortunatly for the Kings affaires: for without *Maximilian* were pacified, his voyage into Italie inust of force haue staide; but both the parties by this meanes inclining to concord, the peace was soone concluded: the Emperors daughter was restored vnto him, and the countie of Artois together with all the townes he quarrelled. And thus the King being in peace with all his neighbors: namely, with the Emperor and the Kings of England and Spaine, and possessing the Duchie of Britaine quietly by his marriage, and by that meanes having no body to feare, began wholy to dispose himselfe to his voyage into Italy, whereupon his minde was altogether fixed.

Further, about this verie time the King at the earnest sute and continuall teares of his sister *Jane* a Ladie of singular pietie and chastitie, restored not onely to liberty, but also to his fauor and familiaritie, *Lewis* Duke of Orleans (husband to the saide Ladie,) taken prisoner at the battell of Saint Albin in Britaine, as before you haue heard: whereby as the King deserued great commendation for his clemencie in preferring his enemy taken in battell and restoring him to his former dignitie and honор: so did he also thereby prouide that no discontented subiect at home should trouble his estate in his absence in his voyage to Naples: whereunto the historie of *Commines* now calleth vs, which from the death of King *Lewis* the eleventh till this present, I haue supplied out of other good authors, because the said *Commines* being imprisoned, or in disgrace almost euer sithence King *Lewis* his death till the saide voyage of Naples, (whereat he was present) was silent and left nothing in writing to the posterite of all those yeeres.

*This peace was
concluded at
Senlis, anno
1494.*



21

THE SEVENTH BOOKE
OF THE HISTORIE OF PHILIP
DE COMMINES, TREATING OF THE
PRINCIPALL ACTS OF KING CHARLES
THE EIGHT, SONNE TO LEWIS
THE ELEVENTH.

THE PROLOGVE OF THE AVTHOR,
*containing that which he intendeth to treate of in
this historie following.*



O continue the Historie written by me *Philip de Commynes* of the raigne of King *Lewis* the eleventh (whom God assoile,) I wil now declare the occasion that moued King *Charles* the eight his sonne to make his voyaige into Italy, wherat my selfe was present. The said King departed from Vienna in Daulphin the 23. of Augult, the yeere 1494. and returned into his realme about October, the yeere 1495. Before the enterprise was fully resolued on; the matter was often debated whether he should go or not: for the voyaige seemed very dangerous to all men of wisedome and experience, neither did any allow thereof, but the King himselfe, and one *Stephen de Vers* borne in *Languedoc*, a man of meane parentage, and vtterly vnacquainted with the wars, and all things thereunto appertaining. One other also being of the receipt was a furtherer thereof till his hart failed him, namely the generall *Briſfanner*, who afterward by occasion of this voyaige, was preferred to many goodly dignitieſ and spirituall promotions, and created a *Cardinall*. The former had alreadie gotten goodly possessions, for he was *Seneschall* of *Beaucaire*, and president of the Compts at *Paris*: he had serued the King in his youth very faithfully, being a groome of his monie, of his chamber, and by his meaneſ the generall was woon to fauour this voyaige; so as he faith in the end of the fourth Chapter, many blamed them: for all things necessarie for ſo great an enterprise were wanting. The King was yoong, a weake body, wedded to his owne will, ſlenderly accompanied with wife men or good captaines, and ſo vtterly vnfurnished of money: that before his departure, he borrowed of the banke of *Soly* at *Genua* a hundred thousand franks. Further, there are vpon great interest, from *Mart* to *Mart*¹. In diuers other places alſo he borrowed at *Genua* certayne Marts in the yere, from *ons*, and winter was begun when he entred into *Lombardy*. One onely good thing the one of had he, to wit, a couragious company of yoong gentlemen: yet not in ſuch imitate which to the discipline as was requisite. Wherefore we muſt of neceſſitie conclude that this other, they let our their mo- vioaige was gouerned by God alone, both at our going forth, and our returne home; ney: it is be- for the wisedome of the authors thereof aboue mentioned, ſerued to no great pur- tweene euery pose: notwithstanding they might iuſtly vaunt themſelues to be the occaſion of the Mart ſower montheſ. great honor and renoume their Master wan thereby.

How

PHILIP DE COMMINES.

[How *Rene* Duke of *Lorrain* came into *Fraunce* to demaund the Duchie of *Bar*, and the Earledome of *Prouence* which King *Charles* held, and how he failed to enter into the realme of *Naples*, whereunto he pretended title as the King did, and what right both of them had thereunto.

Chap. I.

THE yeere of the Kings coronation² being the 14. or 15. of his³ *King Charles* age, the Duke of *Lorraine* came into *Fraunce*, to demaund the Duchie of *Bar* which King *Lewis* the eleventh had witholden from him, and likewise the Earledome of *Prouence*, left to the said King *Lewis* by the last will and Testament of King *Charles* of *Aniou* his coſen germaine⁴; who died without iſſue. The Duke of *Lorraine* pretended title to it, as ſonne and heire to the daughter of *Rene* King of *Sicilie*, Duke of *Aniou*, and Earle of *Prouence*, allegaing that the ſaid King *Rene* had done him wrong⁵, in preferringe King *Charles* of *Aniou* being but his brother the Earle of *Maine* ſonne, before him being his daughters ſonne⁶. The other answered, that by their ancestors testaments *Prouence* could not deſcend to the female. In the ende *Bar* was yeelded to him, for the which the King demanded onely a ſumme of money. Further, because the ſaid Duke of *Lorraine* was highly fauored, and friended by diuers of great authoritie in *Fraunce*, (especial- ly by *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, who was old, and desirous to (marrie his ſister) it was agreed that During the ſpace of ſower yeeres, in the which his title to the Earledome of *Prouence* ſhould be examined, his estate ſhould be wholy defraide by the King, and that he ſhould haue charge of an hundred launces, together with a ycerely penſion of ſixe and thirtie thousand franks during the ſaid ſower yeeres. My ſelfe was present at the debating and ending of all these controueries, being one of the commissioners purpoſely chosen for the determination thereof, both by the Kings nee- reſt kinſmen, and by the three estates of his realme: ſo was alſo *Stephen de Vers* aboue mentioned, who because he had gotten certaine poſſeſſions in *Prouence*, cauſed the King (as yoong as he was) in the preſence of his ſister the *Duchesse of Bourbon*, to ſay to *Monſeur de Comminges*, and to *Monſeur de Lau*, (who were both alſo in the ſaid commission) and to my ſelfe, that we ſhould do our endeuer, that he might not lose the Earledome of *Prouence*; which words he vittered before the agreement aboue mentioned was made.

Before the ſower yeeres expired, certayne Lawyeres of *Prouence* brought foorth the testaments of King *Charles* the first, brother to *Saint Lewis*, and of other Kings of *Sicilie*⁷ of the house of *Fraunce*. Theſe Lawyeres (among other proofes) allea- ged that not onely the Earledome of *Prouence*; but alſo the realme of *Sicilie*, with all the house of *Aniou* other poſſeſſions, appertained of right to the King, and that the Duke of *Lorraine* had no right thereto, notwithstanding others maintained the contrarie. All theſe Lawyeres depended wholy vpon *Stephen de Vers*, who nouriſhed his Maſter in this language, that King *Charles* Earle of *Prouence* laſt deceaſed, ſonne to *Charles* of *Aniou* Earle of *Maine*, and nephew⁸ to King *Rene*: left *Prouence* to King *Lewis* by his laſt will and Testament, and that King *Rene* before his death made the ſaid *Charles* his heire, preferringe him before the Duke of *Lorraine* his daughters ſonne, because of the testaments of King *Charles* the first and his wife *Couentice of Prouence*: wherein they had willed that the realme⁹ and the countie¹⁰ of

Y 2

[•] This de Grauille
ville was after
Admirall of
Fraunce.

[•] Madam de
Beauvais Du-
chesse of
Bourbon was
appointed by
King Lewis &
the three e-
states gou-
nor of King
Charles her
brother; but
the Duke of
Orleans, cal-
led after Lewis
the 12. with-
stood the de-
cree, and was
in armes with
diuers noble
men, demand-
ing the go-
vernment as
the first Prince
of blood, as
in my Supply
is mentioned
at large, a-
gainst these
they here na-
med, called
the Duke of
Lorraine.

Power or ffeue moneths before his departure, a good ouverture was made vnto him if he would haue embraced it: for the whole realme of Naples rebelled against King Ferrande, because of his great tyrannie and his childrens, so farre foorth that all the nobles and the third part of the realme yeelded themselves to the Church. Notwithstanding King Ferrande being aided by the Florentines pressed them sore: for the which cause the Pope and the saide Nobles of the realme that had rebelled, sent for the Duke of Lorraine purposing to crowne him King, and so forward the enterprise was, that the Gallies and the Cardinall Saint Peter ad Vincula (who should haue conueighed him thither,) staied for him a long time at Genua: during the which space he was busied with these broiles in Court, and delaied his departure, notwithstanding that he had messengers with him from all the Nobles of the saide realme, earnestly pressing him to come with speede. To be short, the King and his Councell shewed themselves willing by all meanes they could to aide and succour him, and gaue him sixtie thousand frankes, (whereof he received twentie thousand but lost the rest,) and agreed also that he should leade with him the hundred larmes that were vnder his charge, promising further to send ambassadors round about in his fauour. Notwithstanding the King was now nineteene yecres of age or more, and governed by those abovenamed, who daily beate into his head, that the realme of Naples of right appertained to himselfe, which I write because diuers of meane estate raised great contention about this matter: as I understood both by certaine of the ambassadors, sent to Rome, Florence, Genua, and other places in the Duke of Lorraines fauour; and also by the Duke himselfe, when he passed through Moulins where I then lay with John Duke of Bourbon, because of the troubles in Court. But his enterprise was now hafse lost through his long delaie. I went foorth to receive him, notwithstanding that he had deserued no such curtesie at my hands: for he was one of thole that chaled me from the Court ¹⁰ with rough and discourseous words: yet now he made the most of me that might be, lamenting much the gouernment of the estate. He abode at Moulins two daies with John Duke of Bourbon, and then tooke his iourney towards Lyons.

[•] For Philip
de Comines
was a follower
of the Duke of
Orleans, as
himselfe wri-
teth in the
last chapter of
the last booke.

To conclude, his friends were so wearied and weakened because of his long delay, that the Pope made peace, and the nobles of the realme also, who vnder suretie thereof went to Naples where they were all taken prisoners: notwithstanding that both the Pope, the Venetians, the King of Spaine, and the Florentines had vnder-

taken to see the treatie kept and obserued, and had sworne and promised the Nobles safetie. The Prince of Salerne escaped and came into Fraunce, refusing to be comprehended in the treatie as one well acquainted with King Ferrands humour: but the Duke of Lorraine returned into his countrey with dishonor, and lost his credit with the King, lost his men of armes, and lost also the pension of sixe and thirtie thousand frankes which he receiued for Prouence: and euuen at this present being the yeere 1497. he liueth yet in this estate.

How the Prince of Salerne in the realme of Naples came into Fraunce, and how
Lodovic Sforza surname d the Moore and he sought to perswade
the King to make war vpon the King of Naples, and for what cause.

Chap. 2.

HE Prince of Salerne fled to Venice (where he was well friended) accompanied with three of his nephewes, sonnes to the Prince of Bisignan¹. There they asked counsell of the Seniorie, (as the Prince himselfe told me) whether it would please them that they should retire to the Duke of Lorraine, the King of Fraunce, or the King of Spaine. They answered, that the Duke of Lorraine was a dead man vnable to do them good, and that the King of Spaine should be too strong, if to the yle of Sicilie and the other places which he held in the Venetian gulf he shold ioine the realme of Naples; adding, that he was alreadie mightie vpon the sea: wherefore they aduised him to go into Fraunce, saying that with the Kings of Fraunce ² that had held the said realme, they had euer liued in perfect amitie and friendship, and found them alwaies good neighbours. But I suppose, they thought not the enterprise should haue had such successe, as afterward it had. Thus these noble men abovenamed came into Fraunce, where they were curteously receiued, but their entertainment was small. They followed their sute earnestly the space of two yecres, addressing themselves wholy to Stephan de Vers then Seneschall of Beaucaire and of the Kings priuie chamber.

¹ Antonel of
Saint Seuerin
Prince of Sa-
lerne, and Ber-
nardin Prince
of Bisignan,
were brethren
Guicciari.

One day they liued in hope, another in despaire; but their friends vised great diligence in Italie, specially at Milan, whereof John Galeas was Duke, not the great John Galeas that lieth buried in the Charterhouse of Pauia, but he that was sonne to Duke Galeas and the Duchesse Bonne daughter to the Duke of Sauoy, a man of no great sence. The said Duchesse had the wardship of hir children, and my selfe haue seen hir there in great authoritie, being a widow, and gouerned by one Cico a Secretarie, and an ancient seruant of that house. This Cico had banished all Duke Galeas brethren for the said Ladies safetie and her childrens, and among the rest the Lord Lodovic (af-
³ Viscomte in
both the
places, and di-
uers others, is
a proper name,
not a name of
honor, and
signifieth as
much as Bis-
comte, that is,
twise Earle,
be cause the
Visconti
were Lords of
Angiera and
Milan.

terward Duke of Milan) whom she revoked being her enimie, and in war against hir, together with the Lord Robert of Saint Seuerine a valiant captaine, whom she had also banished by the said Cicos perswasion. To be short, at the request of a yoong man that carued before hir called Anthony Thresor, being a Ferrarian of verie meane parentage, she called them all home through great simplicitie, supposing they would do the laiu Cico no harme, and the truth is that so they had sworne and promised. But the third day after their returne, they tooke him notwithstanding their oath, and caried him in an emptie caske through the towne of Milan; he was allied by marriage to one of the Viscontes ³, and if the said Viscont had beene in the citie at that present, some say they durst not haue taken him. Moreover the Lord Lodovic caused this matter

matter so to be ordered, that the said *Robert* of S. Seuerin comming that way, should meeke with this *Cleo* as he passed through the towne in this estate, because he hated him extremely. Thus was he led prisoner to the castle of Pauie where he died.

They vsed this Ladie very honorably in hit judgement, seeking to content hit humor in all things; but all matters of importance they two dispatched, making hit priuie but to what pleased them, and no greater pleasure could they do hit, than to communicate nothing with her.

They permitted her to give this *Anthony Thesin* what she would, they lodged him hard by hit chamber, he carried her on horsebacke behinde him in the towne; and in hit house was nothing but feasting and dauncing; but this iollitie endured but halfe a yeere. She gaue many goodly things to this *Thesin*, and the couriers packets were adressed to him, which bred great disdaine in many, wherein the L. *Lodowic*, vncle to the two children (aspiring to the Duchie, which afterward also he obtained) nourished them as much as in him lay. One morning they tooke her two sonnes from hit, and lodged them in a great tower within the castell called the rocke, whereunto consented the said *Lodowic*, the Lord *Robert* of Seuerin, one called *de Pallenois* governor of the young Dukes person, and the captaine of the rocke⁴, who since Duke *Galeas* death had never departed out of the place, neither did many yeeres after this, till he was taken prisoner by the Lord *Lodowicke*'s subtiltie, and his masters folly, being of his mothers disposition. After the aboue named had lodged these children in the rocke, they seized vpon the treasure being at that time the richest in Christendome, and made her yeeld account thereof. Moreouer, they caused three keies therof to be made, one of the which she kept, but the treasure after that day she never touched. They made her also to surrender the wardship of her children, and the said *Lodowic* was chosen their guardian. Further, they sent letters into diuers countries especially into Fraunce (which my selfe saw) written to her great dishonor: for they charged her with this *Anthony Thesin*, whom notwithstanding they sent away vnharm'd for the Lord *Robert* saued both his life and goods. These two great men entred not into the rocke at their pleasure, for the captaine had his brother in it with a garrison of a hundred and fiftie soldiers or better, and when they entred, the gate was straightly kept, neither entred they accompanied at any time with more than a man or two, and this endured a long space.

In the meane time great variance arose between the Lord *Lodowic* and *Robert* of S. Seuerin, (for vsually two great men cannot long agree:) but *Lodowic* wan the garland, and the other departed to the Venetians seruice. Notwithstanding, afterwards two of his sonnes returned to the seruice of the said *Lodowic*, and the state of Milan, (namely Master *Galeas*, and the Earle of Caiazze) some say with their fathers consent, others say no: but howsoeuer it were, the said *Lodowic* highly fauoured them, and both ^{had} beene and yet is very faithfully serued by them. You shall vnderstand that their father the Lord *Robert* of Saint Seuerin was issiued of a base daughter of the house of Saint Seuerin, but in Italie they make no great difference betweene a bastard and a childe legitimate. This I write because they furthered our enterprise in Italie, as well in favor of the Prince of Salerne chiefe of the said house of Saint Seuerin, as also for diuers other respects, whereof hereafter you shall heare.

The Lord *Lodowic* declared immediately that he would by all meanes possible maintaine his authoritie, for he caused money to be coined, on the one side whereof the Duke's image was stamped, and on the other his owne, whereat many murmured. This Duke was married to the daughter of *Alfonse* Duke of Calabria, and King of Naples after his father King *Ferrande*'s death. His said wife was a Ladie of a great courage,

⁴ This captaine meant no treason to the children as others did, but consented to this deed, because he thought the children in more safetie with him than with their foolish mother.

courage, and would gladly haue increased hit husbands authoritie if she could, but hit husband lacked wit, and disclosed all hit attemps. The captaine also of the rocke of Milan continued long in great authoritie, and never departed out of the place; for many iealousies were now arisen, so far foorth that when one of the children went abroad, the other abode within. To be short, a yeere or two before we entred into Italy, the Lord *Dodowic* hauing been abroad with the Duke, and purposing some mischiefe, waited vpon him at his retурne, home to the castell according to his accustomed maner. The captaine came vpon the drawbridge with his men about him, to kisse the Dukes hand as their maner is. The Duke at this time was somewhat without the bridge, in such sort that the captaine was forced to step foorth a pace or two, where these two sonnes of Saint Seuerin, and others that were about them laid hold vpon him. They within drew vp the bridge, but the Lord *Lodowic* caused an end of a waxe candle to be lighted, and sware that he would smite off their heads⁵ if they yeelded not the place before the candle were burned out; whereupon they deliuered it, and then he furnished it well and surely for himselfe, but all in the Dukes name. Further, he entited the captaine of high treason, laying to his charge that he would haue put the place into the Emperors hands: and staied certaine Almaines, charging them as practisers with the captaine about this enterprise, yet afterward dismissed them without further harme. He beheaded also one of his owne secretaries, charging him in like maner as a dealer in the matter, and yet one other who he said had been a messenger⁶ between them. The captaine he held long in prison, yet in the end deliuered him, pretending that Duchesse *Bonne* had once hired a Brother of the captaines to kill the said *Lodowic* as he entred into the castell, whom the captaine withheld from executing the fact, for the which cause he now sau'd his life. Notwithstanding if he had been gilty of so heinous a crime as a purpose to yeeld the place to the Emperor, who might haue laid claime to it, both as Emperor and Duke of Austrich (for that house pretendeth some title thereunto:) I thinke he would not haue pardoned him; for it would haue made a great alteration in Italie, and the whole estate of Milain would haue revolted in one day. For when they lied vnder the Emperors, euery household paid but halfe a ducat for tribute: but now they are cruelly and tyrannously gouerned, both the Spiritualie, Nobilitie, and Commons.

The Lord *Lodowic* seeing himselfe seized of the castell, and all the force of the countrie at his commandement, determined to attempt further; for he that posseseth Milain possessesthe the whole estate, both because the chiefe of the countrie be resident there, and also because those that haue the charge and gouernment of the other places be all Milanois borne. Sure for the quantitie of this Duchie, I never saw a pleasanter or plentifuller piece of ground. For if the Prince would content himselfe with the yeerely reuenues of ffe hundred thousand ducats, his subiects should be but too rich, and the Prince liue in safetie: but he leuieth yeerely sixe hundred and fiftie thousand or seuen hundred thousand which is great tyranny: and therefore the people desire nothing more than change of their Prince. Whiche the L. *Lodowic* considering, together with the other reasons aboue rehearsed, and being already married to the Duke of Ferraraes daughter, by whom he had many children, determined to accomplish his intent, and endeavored to win friends not onely in the said Duchie, but also abroad in Italie. Wherefore first he entred into league with the Venetians for the preseruation of their estate, whereunto he was great friend to his father in lawes prejudice, from whom the said Venetians not long before had taken a little territorie called the Polesan, enuironed with water, and maruellouſlie abounding with all kinde of wealth. This country being diſtant but halfe a league from Ferrara,

⁵ The sense in mine opinion were better to read *qu'il* seroſ, then *qu'il leuſſeroſ*, that is, that he would smite off the captaines head, if the place were not yeelded, for they with in were out of *Lodowic* power.

⁶ The French had it in this sense. And another who said that he had beene a messenger betweene them: but vndoubtedly the place is corrupted and to be read as I haue a-mended it.

the Venetians possesse yet at this day. There are in it two pretie townes, which I haue
beene in my selfe, the one named Rouigue, the other Labadic. The Duke of Ferrara
lost it in the war that himselfe first mooued against the Venetians: for notwithstanding
that before the end of those wars, *Alphonse* Duke of Calabria (his father King
Ferrande yet liuing) the Lord *Lodouic* with the force of Milan, the Florentines, the
Pope, and the towne of Bolonia came to his aide: by meanes whereof the Veneti-
ans were brought altogither vnder foote, or at the least to great extremite, being
utterly vnfurnished of monie, and hauing lost diuers places: yet the said *Lodouic* con-
cluded a treatie to their honor and profit; for euery man was restored to his owne
saue the poore Duke of Ferrara, who was forced to leaue vnto them the Polesan
(which they yet hold:) notwithstanding that he had mooued this war at the request
of the Lord *Lodouic*, and of King *Ferrande* whose daughter he had married. The re-
port went that *Lodouic* received threescore thousand ducats of the Venetians for
making this treatie. Whether it were so or no, I know not, but sure I am that the
Duke of Ferrara was once perswaded that it was so: for at that time the said *Lodouic*
was not married to his daughter. From that day forward amitie euer continued be-
twene the Venetians and the said *Lodouic*. No seruant nor kinsman of *John Galeas*
Duke of Milan sought to impeach and stop the Lord *Lodouic* from seizing the Du-
chie into his own hands, saue onely the Duchesse his wife, who was yoong, but a very
wise Lady. She was daughter to *Alfonse* Duke of Calabria before mentioned, sonne
& heire to *Ferrande* King of Naples. In the yeere 1493. the said *Lodouic* sent to King
Charles the 8. now raigning, to perswade him to come into Italic to conquer the
realme of Naples, and to vanquish and subdue those that possessed it: for so long as
they florished and were of force, he durst never attempt that which afterward he
accomplished. At that time the said *Ferrande* King of Naples and *Alphonse* his sonne
were puissant, rich, of great experiance in the wars, and accounted Princes of ha-
vour, though afterward their actions declared the contrarie. The said *Lodouic* was
also a very wise man, but maruellous timorous, and humble when he stood in
feare, and void of all faith, if the breach thereof might turne to his profit. I speake as
one that knew him throughly well, because I haue dealt with him in many matters.
But to proceede, in the yeere 1493. (as before I said) the Lord *Lodouic* began to telle
this yoong King *Charles*, being but two and twentie yeeres of age, with the ambitious
vaine glories of Italie, shewing him what right he had to this goodly realme of
Naples, which I warrant you he skilfully blazed and painted foorth. In all these ne-
gotiations he addressed himselfe to *Stephan de Vers*, then newly made Seneschall of
Beaucaire, and maruellously enriched though not satisfied, and to the Generall *Brif-
sonet*, a rich man, skilfull in matters of the receit, and great friend at that time to the
said Seneschall, by whose meanes the Lord *Lodouic* perswaded the said *Briffonet* to
become a priest, promising to make him a Cardinall, but the Seneschall himselfe
promised to make a Duke. And to set all these practises on foote, the said *Lodouic* sent
in the same yeere to Paris a goodly ambassage to the King, the chiefe whereof was
the Earle of Caiaze sonne and heire to the aboue named *Robert of Saint Seuerin*,
who found there the Prince of Salerne his cosin: for the said Prince was chiefe of
the house of Saint Seuerin (as I haue already made mention) and liued in Fraunce,
being banished by King *Ferrande* of Naples, as before you haue heard, and therefore
trauelled earnestly that this voyage to Naples might go forward. With the said Earle
of Caiaze came also *Charles* Earle of Belleiouse, and Master *Galeas Viscount* of
Milan, who were both in very good order and well accompanied, but openly they
vsed salutations onely and general speeches. This was the first great ambassage that
came

² The Duke of
Ferrara had
married King
Ferrande
daughter na-
med *Eleanor*.

1493.

came from the Lord *Lodouic* to the King. True it is that he had sent before this, one
of his Secretaries to negotiate with the King, to send his deputie into Italie to re-
ceiue homage of his cosin the Duke of Milan for Genua; which was granted him
against all reason ⁸: notwithstanding I will not denie, but that the King of especiall
fauor might assigne one to receiue it of him; for when this Duke *Galeas* was warde
to his mother, I being then ambassador for King *Lewis* the x i. received his homage
in the castell of Milan, hauing an expresse commision frō the King to do. But Ge-
nua was then out of the Duke of Milans hands, and held by Master *Baptist de Cimpe-
four gouse*; but at this present the Lord *Lodouic* had recouered it, and gaue to certaine
of the Kings chamber eight thousand ducats for the inuesture thereof, who by re-
ceiuing the money greatly prejudiced the King. For before the graunt of the said in-
uesture, they might haue seized Genua to the Kings owne vse, if they had would ⁹:
but seeing they meant to take money for it, they ought to haue demanded more: for
Duke *Galeas* paid at one painment for it to King *Lewis* my Master fiftie thousand du-
cats, wherof the King (whose soule God pardon) gaue me thirtie thousand crownes in
reward. Notwithstanding they said they received these eight thousand ducats with
the Kings consent, and *Stephen de Vers* Seneschall of Beaucaire was one of those that
tooke the money, happily to entertaine the better the Lord *Lodouic* for this enter-
prise, which he so much both favored and furthered. After audience given openly
at Paris to the ambassadours aboue mentioned, the Earle of Caiaze had secret confe-
rence with the King. The said Earle was in great credit at Milan, but his brother Ma-
ster *Galeas* of Saint Seuerin in greater, especially in martiall affaires. His Master
could now dispose of the estate of Milan as of his owne: for the which cause he offe-
red the King great seruices and aide as wel of men as money, affirming the enterprise
to be of no difficultie. This done, he and Master *Galeas Viscount* tooke their leaue
and departed, leauing behinde them the Earle *Charles* of Belleiouse to entertaine
the sute, who incontinent put himselfe into French apparell, and trauelled so ear-
nestly in this busines, that many began to like of the enterprise. The King sent into
Italie to Pope *Innocentius*, to the Venetians, and to the Florentines one named *Pe-
ron* of Basche, who had beene brought vp in the house of *Aniou* vnder Duke *John of
Calabria*, and was maruellously affectioned to this voyage. These practises and run-
nings to and fro continued the space of seuen or eight moneths, and those that un-
derstood of this enterprise, communed among themselues diuersly of it, but none
thought that the King would go in person into Italie.

How King *Charles* the eight made peace with the King of Romaines and the
Archduke of Austrich, restoring to them the Lady
Margaret of Flaunders, befor he made
his voyage to Naples.
Chap. 3.

Dring this delaie aboue mentioned, peace was treated of at
Senlis betweene the King and the Archduke of Austrich, heire
of the house of Burgundie. for notwithstanding that they were
in truce, yet a breach happened betweene them, because the
King refused the King of Romaines daughter sister to the said
Archduke (being verie yoong,) and married the daughter of
Frauncis Duke of Britaine, to enioie peaceable thereby the
Duchie of Britaine: all the which at the time of this treatie he
held,

⁸ Duke *Galeas*
ought to haue
come into
Fraunce to
haue done
homage to
the King in
person, but bi-
cause *Lodouic*
would not let
him depart out
of his custody,
he found
meanes that it
should be done
to one sent
thither by the
King as his de-
puc for that
purpose.

⁹ Genua was
forfeited, and
vnder colour
thereof, the
Lord *Lodouic*
had recouered
it, but because
it was held of
the King (for
the Genuois
had gauen
themselves to
Charles the sixt,
anno 1394.
who sent thither
for governour
*John de
Maigne*, and
afterward to
Charles the se-
uent, anno
1446.) it could
be forseited to
none but to
the King, but
by giving a-
way this in-
uesture, he
gave away his
right.

¹ *Annal. Bur-*
gund. write,
With Philip,
the King of
Romanies
sonne, but the
best writers
agree with
our author.

² *Maximilian*
was chosen
King of Ro-
manies, anno

³ *1486. Functionis.*

held, save the towne of Renes and the said daughter being within in it; the which was governed by the Prince of Orenge his vncle, who had made a marriage betwene his sonne and the King of Romanies ¹ and openly solemnised it in the church by a Proctor. All the which happened in the yeere 1492. To this treatie aboue mentioned came a great ambassage in fauoure of the Duke of Austriche from the Emperor *Frederick*, who offered to be a mediator for the peace: The King of Romanies sent thither also, ² and so did the Palzgraue, and the Swissers to pacifie this controversie, being all of opinion that it would kindle a great fire: for the King of Romanies seemed aboue all measure to be iniuried, hauing at one time his sonne taken from him whom he accounted his wife, and his daughter sent backe to him which many yeeres had beeene Queene of Fraunce: but in the end the matter was quietly shur vp, and peace concluded. For all parties were wearie of war, especially Duke *Philip* subiects, who had sustained so many troubles, partly because of wars with this realme, and partly through their owne domesticall diuisions, that they could endure no more. The peace was concluded but for sower yeeres, whereunto the King of Romanies agreed, to the end he might repose his subiects, and receiue againe his daughter: whom some that were about the King and the said daughter, made difficultie to restore. At this treatie my selfe was present with the rest of the Kings Commissioners being these, *Peter* Duke of Bourbon, the Prince of Orenge, the Lord of Cordes, and diuers other noble personages, and promise was there made to restore to the said Duke *Philip* all that the King held in Artois: for so was it agreed when this mariage was treated of in the yeere 1482. that if it were not accomplished, all the landes that were giuen with this Lady in mariage should returne againe with her, or be restored to Duke *Philip*. But the said Archdukes men had alreadie surprised Arras and Saint Omer, so that onely Hedin, Aire, and Betune remained to be restored: the possession and seniorie whereof were presently deliuered them, and they put officers into them: but the King held still the castels, and might place garrisons in them till the sower yeeres were expired, which ended at the feast of Saint John Baptist in the yeere 1498. at which time he was bound to restore them also to the said Archduke, and so he promised and sware to do.

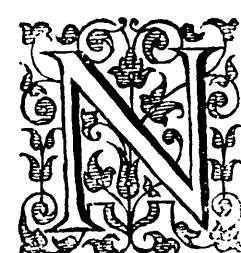
Whether the alteration of these mariages agreed with the lawes of holy Church or no, let others iudge: for many Doctors of diuinitie said yea, and many nay: but were they lawfull or vnlawfull; sure all these Ladies were vnfortunate in their issue.

Our Queene had three sonnes successively one after another in sower yeeres: one of them ³ liued almost three yeeres and then died, and the other two be dead also. The Lady *Margaret* of Austriche was afterward married to the Prince of Castile onely sonne to the King and Queene of Castile, and heire both of Castile and diuers other realmes. The said Prince died the first yeere of his marriage in the yeere of our Lord 1497. leauing his wife great bellied ⁴ who immedately after his husbands death fell in trauell before hit time, and was deliuered of a dead borne childe; which misfortune the King and Queene of Castile and their whole realme lamented a long time. The King of Romanies immedately after this alteration aboue mentioned, married the daughter of *Galeas* Duke of Milan, sister to Duke *John Galeas* before named, the which marriage was made by the Lord *Lodowics* onely procurement: but it displeased greatly both the Princes of the Empire, and many also of the King of Romanies friends, because she was not of a house noble ynoch in their opinion to match with their Emperor. For as touching the Viscounts of whom the Dukes of Milan are descended, small nobilitie is in them, and lesse yet in the *Sforces*; for the first of that house was *Francis Sforza* Duke of Milan, whose father was a shoomaker ⁵ dwelling in

in a little towne called Cotignoles, but a very valiant man, though not so valiant as his sonne, who by meanes of the great fauour the people of Milan bare his wife, being base daughter to Duke *Philip Marie*, made himselfe Duke, and conquered and governed the whole countrie not as a tyrant, but as a good and iust Prince: so that in woorthines and vertue, he was comparable to the noblest Princes that liued in his daies. Thus much I haue written to shew what followed the change of these mariages, neither know I what may yet hereafter ensue further thereof.

How the King sent to the Venetians to practise with them before he enterprised his voyage to Naples, and of the preparation that was made for the said voyage.

Chap. 4.

 Ow to returne to the principall matter: you haue heard of the Earle of Caiazzes and the other ambassadours departure from the King of Paris, and of diuers practises entertained in Italie, and how the King as yoong as he was, greatly affected this voyage, notwithstanding that as yet he discouered his meaning but to the Seneschall and generall onely. Further, he required the Venetians to giue him aide and counsell in this enterprise, who answered him that he should be welcome into Italy: but that aide him they could not, because they stood in doubt of the Turke, (yet were they in peace with him) and as touching counsell, it should be too great presumption in them to giue counsell to so wise a Prince, hauing so graue a counsell about him; but they promised rather to helpe him than hinder him. This they tooke to be a wise answere, and so was it I confess. But notwithstanding that, they gourne their affaires

¹ This Turke
was Brized
the second.

² Scodra in La-
tin a towne in
that part of
Dalmatia,
now called
Aibania.

³ This is raine
water he mea-
neth. But the
Venetians vse
also other wa-
ter brought
by boats from
the nayne
land to the
yeerely valew
of 20000.
crownes, and
yet notwithstanding
all this, are in
great distresse
of water of-
tentimes.

⁴ Why they
had no title
appeared by
the Pedegree
in the end of
the woorke.

more circumspectly than any Prince or common wealth in the world; yet God will alwaies haue vs to know that wisedome and forecast of man auaile noughe, when he is purposed to strike the stroke. For he disposed of this enterprise far otherwise than they imagined, for they thought not that the King would haue come in person into Italy, neither stode they in any feare of the Turke, notwithstanding their forged excuse: for the Turke then raigning was a man of no valor ¹: but they hoped by this meanes to be revenged of the house of Arragon, which they hated extremely, both the father and the sonne, because by their perswasion (as they said) the Turke came to Scodra ². I meane the father of this Turke, called *Mahumet Ottoman*, who tooke Constantinople, and greatly endamaged the said Venetians. But apart to *Alphonse* Duke of Calabria they had many other quarrels, for they charged him, first, as onely author of the war the Duke of Ferrara mooved against them, wherein they consumed such infinit treasure, that it had well neare cleane vndone them (of the which war a woord or two hath beeene spoken before.) Secondarily, that he had sent a man purposely to Venice to poison their cesterns, at the least, as many as might be come vnto, for diuers of them be enclosed and locked. They vse there none other water, for they are inuironed with the sea, and sure that water is very good ³, as my selfe can witnes: for twise I haue beeene at Venice, and in my first voyage dranke of it eight moneths togither. But the chiefe cause of their hatred against this house of Arragon was none of these aboue rehearsed; but for that the said house kept them from growing great as well in Italy as Greece, on both the which countries they had their eies fixed: notwithstanding they had lately conquered the Isle of Cyprus vpon no title in the world ⁴. For all these considerations the Venetians thought it their pro-

fit,

fit, that war should arise betweene the King and the house of Arragon: but they supposed that it could not haue ended so soone as it did, and that it should but weaken their enimies, not vtterly destroy them: and further, that if the worst fell, either the one partie or the other to haue their helpe, would giue them certaine towncs in Po-ville, lying vpon their sea coast: as also in the ende it hapned, but they had well neere misreckoned themseues. Lastly, as touching the calling of the King into Italie, they thought it could not be laid to their charge, leeing they had giuen him neither counsell nor aide, as appeered by their answere to *Peron of Basche*.

In the yecore 1494. the King went to Lyons to attend to his affaires, but no man thought he would passe the mountaines. Thither came to him the aboue named Master *Galeas* of Saint Seuerin, brother to the Earle of Caiaze with a goodly traine, sent from the Lord *Lodovic*, whose lieutenant and principall seruant he was. He brought with him a great number of braue horses and armours to run in, and ran himselfe, and that very well, for he was a yoong and a gallant knight. The King entertained him very honorably, feasted him sumptuously, and gaue him his order. This done, he returned into Italy. But the Earle of Belleioycuse remained still with the King to sollicit the voiage. At Genua they began to arme a great nauie, whither the King sent the Lord of Vrsc Master of his horse, with diuers others. In the end he remooved to Vienna in Dauphine, about the beginning of August in the same yecore, whither the Nobles of Genua resorted dayly to him: wherefore to Genua he sent *Leris* Duke of Orleans, now King of this realme, a yoong gentleman of goodly personage, but much giuen to his pleasures, of whom in this history ample mention shal be made. It was then thought that the said Duke of Orleans should haue led this armie by sea to land in the realme of Naples, by the conduct and direction of the aboue named banished Princes of Salerne and Bisignan. The whole nauie was fowreteeene ships of Genua, besides a great number of gallies and galleons, and the King was as well obied there in this case, as he shoulde haue been at Paris: for Genua was vnder the state of Milan, where the Lord *Lodovic* gouerned all, hauing none to gainsay him, saue ouely the Duchesse his nephewes wife, daughter to King *Alphonse*, (for about this present his father King *Ferrande* died.) But the said Lady preuailed little or nothing, both because men sawe the King in a readines either to passe into Italy in person, or to send his forces, and also because hir husband was a very simple man, and disclosed all hit dooings to the Lord *Lodovic* his uncle, who had already caused a messenger to be drowned sent by hir to hir father.

This nauie did no seruice, notwithstanding that the charges thereof amounted to three hundred thousand franks, for all the treasure that the K. could leuy was imployed that way, by meanes whereof he was vnfurnished as before I said, both of good counsell, of money, and of all things necessary for such an enterprise: yet God of his meere grace (as manifestly he declared) gaue it good successse. I meane not that the King was not wise of his age, but he was but two and twentie yeeres old, newly crept out of the shell. The two aboue named that gouerned him in all this voiage, to wit *Stephen de Vers* Seneschall of Beaucaire, and the generall *Briffonnet*, now Cardinall of Saint Malo, were men of meane estate, and of no experience, whereby so much the more appeered the woorderfull worke of God: our enimies on the other side, were accounted wise, of great experiance in the wars, rich, accompanied with wisemen and good captaines, and in possession of the realme. I meane King *Alphonse* (lately crowned by Pope *Alexander* a Spaniard, borne in the realme of Arragon) who had the Florentines ioined with him, and great intelligence with the Turke. He had also a son bearing armes, called Dom *Ferrande*, a curteous yoong gentleman, of the age of

of two or three and twentie yeeres, who was welbeloued in the realme, and a brother also named Dom *Frederic*, who succeeded the said *Ferrande* in this our age, and was a verie wife man, and led their armie vpon the sea. He had beene long trained vp on this side the mountaines, and of him you had often assured me my Lord of Vienna by your knowledge in Astrologie, that he should be King, so that he once promised me fower thousand franks of yeerely reuenewes in the said realme, when that came to passe, which promise was made twenty yeeres before the prophesie tooke effect.

Now to proceede, the King altered his minde ⁵ through the Duke of Milans earnest sollicitation made both by letters, by the Earle *Charles* of Belleioycuse his am- ^{not minded at} bassador, and by the two aboue named. Notwithstanding the Generall in the ende ^{the first to have gone in} began to faint, seeing all men of wisedome and vnderstanding to mislike this voiage person. for many respects, and especially because the Kings forces lay abroad in campe in August, vnfurnished of money, and all other things necessarie: but the Seneschall alone carried the credit from them all, so far forth that the King shewed a countenance of displeasure to the Generall three or fower daies, but he soone recovered his fauor againe. At this present died one of the Seneschals seruants of the plague, as men said; for the which cause he durst not repaire to the Kings presence to his great grieve, for no man sollicitid the voiage: but on the contrarie side the Duke and Duchesse of Bourbon were there, laboring all that in them lay to overthrow it, whereunto also the said Generall encouraged them, by meanes whereof one day the voyage was dashed, and another reviued. In the end the King resolued to go, and my selfe mounted on horseback with the foremost, hoping to passe the mountaines the more commodiously with small companie: but I received a countermand, whereby I was aduertised that all was altered againe. The selfesame day were borrowed fiftie thousand ducats of a merchant of Milan; but the Lord *Lodovic* deliuered the money vpon ^{That is after} assurance made to the said merchant for the repaiment: my selfe stood bound for six ^{the rate of} thousand, and others for the rest; but this monie was lent without interest. The King ^{stalring mo-} had borrowed before of the banke of Soly at Genua a hundred thousand franks, the ^{ney, 14. pound} interest whereof amounted in fower moneths to 14. thousand franks ⁶. But some said ^{in the hundred} that the two aboue named had part both in the principall, and also in the interest.

How King Charles departed from Vienna in Dauphine to conquere the realme of Naples in person, and what his nauie upon the sea did vnder the leading of the Duke of Orleans.

Chap. 5.

To be short, the King departed from Vienna the 23. of August in the yecore 1494. and marched straight towards Aſt ¹. At Suze ² the King Master *Galeas* of S. Seuerin came to him in post, from whence ^{came to Aſt} the King remooued to Thurin, where he borrowed all the Duchesse of Sauoys iewels, who was daughter to the late Lord ^{the 9. of September 1494.} *Guicciard.* *William* Marques of Montferrat, and Duke *Charles* of Sauoys widowe, the which he engaged for twelue thousand ducats. A few daies after, he went to Casall to the Marques of Montferrats widow, being a wise yoong Ladie, daughter to the King of Seruia. The Turke had conquered her countrie, and the Emperor, whose kinswoman she was (hauing as I suppose, taken her into his protection) had bestowed her in this house of Montferrat. She lent also hir iewels, which were in like manner engaged for twelue thousand ducats. Heereby you may perceiue what successse this voiage was like to haue had, if God alone had ^{not}

* The King abode at Ast till the 6. of October. *Antal. Franc. & Aquit.*

¹ *Alphonse* in person leued in Abruzzo to haue fought with *Aubigny*, but in an assembly held between him and the Pope at Vicouare the third of July, it was a greed that he should passe no further, but

not guided the enterprise. The King abode at Ast a certaine space ². That yeere all the wines of Italy were sower, which our men much misliked, neither could they away with the great heate of the aire. To Ast came the Lord *Lodouic* and his wife with a goodly traine to visite the King, where they abode two daies: and then the said *Lodouic* departed to a castell of the Luchie of Milan, a league from Ast called Nom, whither the Kings Councell repaired daily to him. King *Alphonse* had two armes abroad in the countrie, the one in Romaine ³ towards Ferrara, vnder the leading of his sonne, accompanied with the Lord *Virgill Vrsin*, the Earle of Petilhane, and the Lord *John James* of Treuoul, who is now become French. Against these the King sent the Lord *d'Aubigny* ⁴ a valiant and wise Knight, with two hundred men of armes French, and fiftie hundred men of armes Italians, being in the Kings service, and the Pope vnder the leading of the Earle of Caiazze so often before mentioned, who was there as the Lord *Lodouic*'s lieutenant, and feared greatly the discomfiture of these forces: which if it had happened, wee had repaired home incontinent, and hee should haue had his enemies vpon his necke, whose intelligence was great in the Duchie of Milan.

The other armie was vpon the sea, vnder the leading of Dom *Frederike* King *Alphonse*'s brother, and lay at Ligorne and at Pise; for the Florentines tooke part as yet with the house of Arragon, and furnished them of certaine galleies. Moreouer, with the said Dom *Frederike* was *Breto de Flisco*, and certaine other Genuoys, by whose intelligence he hoped to cause Genua to reuolt ⁵. And sure they had almost obtained their purpose at Specie and Rapalo neere to Genua, where they landed a thousand of their faction, by meanes whereof they had vndoubtedly atchieued their enterprise, if they had not beene very speedily assailed. But the selfesame day or the next day, *Lewis* Duke of Orleans arrived there with certaine ships, and a good number of galleies, and one great galliasse being mine, the patron whereof was one Master *Albert Mely*, and it carried the said Duke and the principall of the armie, and manie goodly peeces of artillerie; for it was very strong, and approached so neere the shore, that the verie artillerie almost discomfited the enimies, who before had neuer seene the like: for artillerie was at that time strange and new to the Italian nation. The soldiers landed also that were in the other ships: & from Genua where the Kings whole armie laye, came a band of Swiflers by land led by the Bailife of Digeon, who had ioined with him certaine of the Duke of Milans forces (vnder the leading of Master *John Lewis de Flisco* brother to the forenamed *Breto*, and of Master *John Adorne*) the which (notwithstanding that they were not at the skirmish) shewed themselues valiant soldiers in defending a straignt against the enimies. To be short, because our men came to hand-strokes with the enimies, they were discomfited and put to flight, and a hundred or sixscore slaine, and eight or ten taken prisoners: among the which was one *Fourgouin* sonne to the Cardinall of Genua. Those prisoners that were dismissest, were all stripped to their shirts by the Duke of Milans bands, and other harme had they none, for such is the law of armes in Italie. I saw all the letters that were sent both to the King and to the Duke of Milan making report of this skirmish. Thus was the enimies Nauie repulsed, which afterward approached no more so neer. At our mens returne, the Genuoys thought to haue raised a tumult and slew certaine Almaines in the towne, certaine also of them were slaine, but the matter was soone pacified.

I must heere speake a word or two of the Florentines, who had sent twise to the King before his departure out of Fraunce meaning onely to dissemble with him, with their first ambassadors (being the Bishop of Arese ⁶, and one named *Peter Sonderin*)

Sonderin) the King commanded me, the Seneschall, and the Generall to negotiate. Our demaunds were onely these: First, to give the King passage through their countrie: and secondarly, to serue him with a hundred men of armes, paying them after the Italian entertainment, which was but ten thousand ducats the yeere ⁷. These ambassadors depended wholy vpon *Peter of Medicis* a yoong man of small wisedome, sonne to *Laurence* of Medicis who was dead, and had beene one of the wisedest men in his time, & had gouerned the citie almost as Prince, as did also at this present his sonne: and as two descents of their house had alreadie successiuely done, namely *Laurence* the father of this *Peter*, and *Cosme* of Medicis the first roote and founder of this house, a man woorthie among the woorthiest. And sure of their trade (being merchandise,) I thinke it hath beene the greatest house that euer was in the world: for their seruants and factors haue had so great credit vnder their name that it is woorderfull. My selfe haue seene the prooef thereof both in Flaunders and England. For I knew one called *Gerard Quanuese* by whose onely helpe (in a manner) King *Edward* the fourth kept the crowne on his head when ciuill wars were in the realme of England: for he lent him at times more then sixscore thousand crownes, little for his Masters profit, notwithstanding he recouered his principall in the ende. Another also I knew named *Thom as Portunay*, who was pledge at one time betweene the said King *Edward* and Duke *Charles* of Burgundie for fiftie thousand crownes, and at an other time in another place for fourescore thousand. I commend not the wisedome of merchants in thus doing, but I commend Princes that vse merchants well and keepe day with them, for they know not when they shall need their helpe, and sometime a little money doth great service.

It seemeth that this house of Medicis fell to ruine as mighty houses do in realnes and Empires, for the great authoritie of this *Peter of Medicis* predecessors did him harme: notwithstanding the gouernement of *Cosme* the first of this house was milde and gentle, such as was agreeable with a free state. But *Laurence* this *Peters* father (whom we now presently write of) because of the great varience before mentioned in this historie, that was betweene him and them of Pisa and others (diuers of the which at that time were hanged;) tooke a garde of 20. men for the defence of his person, by the commandement and leue of the Seniory, who commanded nothing, but at his pleasure: notwithstanding he behaued himselfe in this great authoritie very discreetly and soberly, for (as before I said) he was one of the wisedest men in his time. But this *Peter* who succeeded his father (supposing the like authoritie to be due to him of right) became terrible by meanes of this guard, and vsed great violence in the night, beating men as they went in the streetes, and abusing their common treasure, so had his father done also, but so wisely, that they held themselues in maner contented therewith.

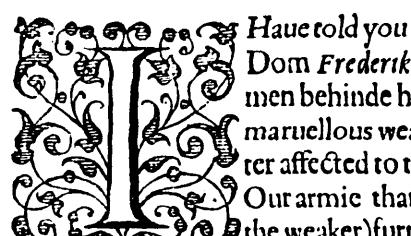
In the second ambassage the said *Peter* sent to Lions, one called *Peter Capon* with diuers others, by whom he excused himselfe, as before he had done, for not accomplishing the Kings requests, saying that King *Lewis* the eleventh had commanded the towne of Florence, to enter into league with King *Ferrande* in the time of Duke *John of Aniou*, and to depart from their league with the said Duke: wherefore seeing by the Kings commandement they were entred into this league, which endured yet certaine yeeres; they could not abandon nor forsake the house of Arragon. But if the King hapned to come into their countrey, they promised to do him great seruices, which offer they made because they thought (as the Venetians did) that the King would not come into Italy. In both these ambassages there was some one enimie to the said *de Medicis*, especially in the latter this *Capon*, who often aduertised vs by what meanes

* They gaue
this counsell,
to the end the
Florentines
being bared
their traffike
in Fraunce,
might mur-
mur against
Peter of Me-
dicis: for what
misfortune
soruer hap-
peneth, the
Prince is al-
waies blamed
as cause there-
of.

meanes the citie of Florence might be brought to rebell against the said Peter, and deliuered also his message in far woorse termes than indeed it was sent; and further, gaue advise to banish all the Florentines out of Fraunce, and so were they⁸. Thus much haue I written, to the end you may the better vnderstand that which afterward ensued: for the King became mortall enimy to the said Peter, and the Seneschall and generall had great intelligence with his enimies in the citie, especially with this Cappon, yea and with two also of the said Peters cosin germaines being both of his owne name.

How the King remaining yet in Ast, resolved to passe foorth towards Naples at the earnest suete of Lodouic Sforze. How Philip de Commines was sent ambassador to Venice: of the Duke of Milans deatb; after whose decease the said Lodouic seized vpon the Duchie, to the prejudice of a sonne the said Duke left behinde him.

Chap. 6.



Hau'e told you alreadie what happened vpon the sea at Rapalo. Dom Frederike retired to Pisa and Ligorne, leauing his foote-men behinde him whom he had landed. The Florentines waxed maruellous wearie of him; for they be and euer haue beene better affected to the house of Fraunce, than to that of Arragon. Our armie that was in Romanie (notwithstanding that it were the weaker) furthered greatly our affaires; for it made Dom Ferrande Duke of Calabria by little and little to retire: which when the King perceived, he resolued to passe forward, being earnestly sollicited therunto by the Lord Lodouic, and the others aboue named. The said Lodouic at his first meeting with the King spake thus vnto him: Sir, feare not this enterprise, there are in Italy but three mighty estates, one of the which taketh part with you which is Milan; another mooueth not, to wit, the Venetians, so that you haue onely to do with the force of Naples. But diuers of your ancestors haue ouerthrown vs al three being ioined togither. Sir, if you will credit me, I will helpe to make you greater than euer was Charlemain: for we will easilly chase the Turke out of the Empire of Constantinople, hauing subdued the realme of Naples. And sure he saide true of the Turke that now raigneth¹, if all things had beene well ordered on our side. Then the King began to gouerne all his affaires by the order and direction of the said Lodouic, wherewith certaine of our men, I meane some of the Kings chamber, and such like, were not a little discontented, which was great folly; for without him we could do nothing: and this that they did, was onely to flatter the Duke of Orleans, who pretented title to the Duchie of Milan². But the Generall especially was highly offended therewith; for now he thought himselfe a great man, and some breach was happened betwene the Seneschall and him: for the which cause the L. Lodouic mooued both the King and the said Seneschall that the Generall might be sent home, which his words caused the saide Generall openly to babble against him, and to say that he would deceiue the whole company: but silence would better haue becommned him. Notwithstanding as touching him, neuer wiste man made account of hirn in matter of estate, both because he understood not what it meant, and also because he was light of talke: but sure he was well affected to his Master. They concluded in the end to send abrode diuers ambassadours, and my selfe among the rest was appointed to go to Venice, but my dispatch was

¹ He meaneth because he was a man of no vertue, as before is said.

² What right the Duke of Orleans had to it, the pedigree in the end of the booke will declare.

was delaied awhile, because the King was sicke of the small poocks, and in danger of death: for an ague was ioined with his disease, but it endured not past sixe or seuen daies. Then I departed leauing the King in Ast, and verily beleueing that he would passe no further: In sixe daies I went to Venice with my mules and carriage; for the way was maruellous faire. But I departed from the said towne of Ast in great feare, doubting the Kings returne home: notwithstanding God had otherwise disposed of this enterprise, for he went straight to Pavie, and passed through Cafall, where the Marchionesse of Montferrat lay, which was a good Ladie, and great friend to vs, but deadly enimie to the Lord Lodouic, and he also to her. When the King attiued at Pavie, some small ielousie began to arise; for they would have lodged him in the towne and not in the castell, but he would not lodge but in the castell, and so he did. Those that were neere about him haue told me, that he was there in some danger. Wherefore the selfesame night the watch was r'enforced, wherat the Lord Lodouic maruelled greatly, so far foorth that he communed therewith the King, demanding if he had conceiued any suspicion of him. To be short, their behaviour was such on both sides, that their amitie could not long endure: but we babbled much more than they, not the King himselfe, but certaine of his nearest kinsmen³. In this castell of Pavie was John Galeas Duke of Milan, and his wife daughter to King Alphonse in very piteous estate: for her husband being sicke, was held in this castell as vnder garde, and her sonne who is yet liuing, with a daughter or two. The childe was then about fiftie yeres old, and him every man might see, but no man might see the Duke: for my selfe passed that way three daies before the King, and could by no meanes be suffered to come to him. Every body said he was extreme sicke: notwithstanding the King spake with him; for he was his cosin germaine⁴, and he hath told me that their communication was only in generall termes, because he would in no wise offend the Lord Lodouic; notwithstanding that he were verie desirous to haue aduertised his said cosin of diuers matters. At the same time the Duchesse fell vpon her knees before the said Lodouic, desirous him to haue pitie vpon her father and brother. He answered that it could not be. But to say the truth, she might better haue entreated for her husband and her selfe, being at that time a goodly yoong Ladie.

From thence the King remooued to Plaissance, where the said Lodouic received letters that his nephew the Duke of Milan lay at the point of death, wherfore he tooke his leaue of the King to go to him. The King desired him to returne, and so he promised to do. Before he came to Pavie the Duke died, whereupon he rid incontinent, as it were in post to Milan. All these newes I vnderstood by a letter that the Venetian ambassador resident with the said Lodouic sent to Venice, wherin also he aduertised the Seniorie that he meant to make himselfe Duke, which both the Duke of Venice and the Seniorie vtterly misliked, so far foorth that they asked me whether the King would not defend the childe; which though reason required that he should: yet I made the matter doubtfull, considering how necessarie an instrument the said Lord Lodouic was at that time for the Kings affaires.

To be short, he made himselfe to be received at Milan as Duke, which was the onely end (as some said) why he had caused vs to passe the Mountaines. Manie also charged him with his nephewes death, whose kinsfolkes and friends in Italy were in armes to haue taken the gouernment from him, which they would easily haue done, had not the Kings comming stopped them. For they were already in Romanie (as you haue heard.) But the Earle of Caiazze and the Lord of Aubigny made them to retire. For the said Lord of Aubigny had with him a company of a hundred & fifty or two hundred men of armes French, and a good band of Swissers. Dom Ferrande

³ He meaneth the Earle of Ligny, the King and who were sisters children.

⁴ King Charles his mother was Charlotte, & this Dukes mother Bonne, both daughters to the Duke of Sauoy.

and his forces retired towards their friends, dislodging euer halfe a daies iourney before our men, and marched towards Furly⁵, which belonged to a Ladie being a bastard of Milan, and widow of the Earle Hieronimo, nephew to Pope Sixtus⁶. This Ladie fauored them as the report went, notwithstanding after our men had taken by assault a little towne of hirs, being first beaten halfe a day with the canon: she revoluted to vs, being indeed well affected to vs before. Further, the people of Italy began in all places to take hart and to desire change and alteration: for they sawe that which before they had neuer seene, I meane the feate of artillerie, which they were vnaquainted with, and which in Fraunce was neuer more practised than at that time. The said Dom Ferrande approached still neerer and neerer to his realme, and went to Sefenne, a faire citie of the Popes in the Marque of Anconne; but the people spoile his carriage & stufte whensoeuer they tooke his men at aduantage. And through all Italy they would haue rebelled, if the wars had beeene ordered on our side without spoile: but all was done cleane contrarie, to my great griefe, because of the honor and renowme the French nation might haue obtained by this voyage. For at our first atriuall the people honored vs as saints, supposing all faith and vertue to be in vs: but their opinion endured not long, partly because of the disorder and spoile our men vsed; and partly because of the slanderous reports our enimies made of vs in all places, charging vs that we forced women, and robbed and carried away money, and whatsoeuer we could lay hand on, of heinouser crimes they could not haue accused vs in Italy, for no nation is so ielous and couetous as the Italian. As touching women they belied vs, but the rest was not altogether vntreue.

How Peter of Medices yeelded fower of the Florentines strongest places to the King, and how the King restored Pisa being one of them to their ancient libertie.

Chap. 7.


He King (as before you haue heard) was at Plaisance, where he caused a solemne funeral to be made for his cosin germaine the Duke of Milan; for other thing wist he not what to do, the new Duke of Milan being departed from him. They that best understood the course of these affaires, haue tolde me that the whole companie desired to returne home, as well for that they were vnprouided of all things necessarie, as also because of diuers doubts that were arisen: for certaine that at the first seemed to haue great good liking of this voyage, began now vtterly to disallow thereof, namely the Lord of Vise Master of the horse, who was not with the King, but lay sicke at Genua: whence he wrote him a letter, giuing him therein to vnderstand of diuers doubts and iclealousies whereof he was aduertised. But (as before I haue said in diuers places) God manifestly declared that he himselfe gouerned this enterprise. For suddenly in the necke of this letter, newes came to the King that the Duke of Milan would shortly returne, and that the Florentines began to fauour vs in hatred of Peter de Medicis, who gouerned them as if he had been their Prince, to the great discontentation both of many of his own neere kinsmen, and of diuers also of the best citizens, namely the Capponi, the Sonderini¹, the Nerly, and in maner the whole citie. Wherefore the King departed from Plaisance and marched towards the Florentines territories, meaning either to cause them to declare themselves for him, or to take their townes being vsfortified, and lodge his men in them all the winter, which was alreadie begun.

Diuers

⁵ It was corruptly in the French Sorly for Furly, which the old Romaines called Forum ling.

⁶ Octauian son to Hieronimo of Riare, was Lord of Furly and Imola, with title of Vicar of the Church, but he was vnder the government of Katharine Sforza his mother here mentioned. Guicciar.

Diuers small places yeelded vnto him, so did also the citie of Luques enimie to the Florentines, shewing him all pleasure and seruice that in them lay. Now you shall understand that the Duke of Milan had two purposes in his head; first he sought by all meanes possible to stay the King from passing further that sommer². Secondly, he hoped to obtaine of him Pisa (a great and a faire citie) together with Serzane, and Petresanete, which two places had beeene subiect to the Geneuois not long before, and were woon from them by the Florentines in Laurence de Medicis time.

The King passed through Pontremo one of the Duke of Milans townes, and went to besiege Serzane the strongest and best castle the Florentines had, but vnfurnished bicause of their great division. To say the truth the Florentines never beare armes willingly against the house of Fraunce: for they haue euer faithfully serued it and taken part with it, both bicause of their great traficke in Fraunce, and also bicause they haue euer been of the Guelphes faction³. If this place had beeene well furnished the King must of necessitie haue broken his armie: for the countrie is very barren and full of hils, & victuals there were none to be gotten: besides that the snow lay maruelous deepe vpon the ground. After the Kings siege had lien before it threc daies, the Duke of Milan came thither no composition being yet made betwene the Florentines and the King⁴, and passed through Pontremo, where the townesmen and the soldiers of the garrison fell at such variance with our Almaines (led by one Buser) of the Guelphes and Gi-bellines began in Italy vnder the Emperor Frederike the second anno 1240. The Gi-bellines held for the Emperor, the Guelphes for the Pope.
⁵ This composition he speaketh of afterward in this chapter.

The fations
that certaine of the said Almaines were slaine: of the which braule sprang a great inconuenience, as hereafter you shall heare. For although I were not my selfe present at these actions: yet vnderstood I of them both by the King, the Duke, and diuers others. The Florentines began now to practise, and appointed fifteene or sixteene to go to the King, saying, that they would no longer continue in this great danger, nor sustaine the displeasure of the King and the Duke of Milan, who had continually an ambassador resident at Florence. And Peter of Medices consented to the sending of this ambassage; for to say the truth, he could not remedie it, considering vpon what termes they stood: for if they had done otherwise, they had beeene vndone, being vnprouided of all things, and vtterly vnaquainted with the wars. When these ambassadors came to the Kings presence, they offered to receiue him into Florence and their other places, neithere cared the greater part of them how the world went, so that we would come to Florence to chase away Peter of Medices; which matter they earnestly pressed, bicause they had good intelligence with the aboue named that gouerned then the Kings affaires.

On the other side Peter of Medices practised by a seruant of his own named Laurence Spinelly, who was his factor at Lyons, and an honest man in his vocation, and had liued long in Fraunce: but of the state of our Court he could vnderstand nothing, no hardly they that had beeene Courtiers all their liues, bicause of the often changes and alterations. This Spinelly negotiated with those that heretofore had borne all the sway, namely, the Lord of Bresse afterward Duke of Sauoy, and the Lord of Miolans chamberlaine to the King. Soone after the aboue named ambassadors were returned to Florence, Peter of Medices accompanied with certaine of the citie, came himselfe to the King to make answere to our requests: for they within the citie sawe vtter destruction before their eies, vntesse they yeelded to all the Kings demands; whose fauour they hoped to obtaine, by offering him some greater seruice than any of the other townes that had already receiued him. At his atriuall Monsieur de Piennes a Flemming borne, and Chamberlaine to the King, and the generall Brissonnet were sent to treat with him, who required him to yeeld vnto the King the castell of Serzane, which presently he did. They required him further to lend the King Pisa,

¹ It was Fodormi in the French, but corruptly.

Pisa, Ligorne, Petrefancte, and Librefacto: whereunto he also agreed incontinent, neuer communicating the matter with his collegues, who supposed that the King should onely haue lodged in Pisa, and these other places to refresh himselfe, but not haue held them still: well, by this meanes they yeelded their whole estate and force into our hand. Those that negotiated with the said Peter haue told both me and others since, scoffing and iesting at him, that they woondred to see him so lightly condescend to so waightie a matter, granting more than they looked for. To conclude, the King entred into Pisa, and the aboue named ambassadours returned to Florence, where the said Peter caused the Kings lodging to be made in his owne house, which was the goodliest of a citizens or merchants house that ever I saw, and better furnished than any mans house in the world of his estate.

⁶ It was sold to this John Galeas, and he sold it ouer to the Florentines. ⁷ This parke was made by the said John Galeas after he had conquered Pavia it was twentie miles in circuit, walled round about, and stoned with all kind of beasts, but now by meanes of the wars it is destroyed: by this parke he built also the castell. In this parke was Fraunce the French King taken prisoner. By the forces of the Empero. Charles the 5. the 24. of Februario anno 1525. but the French say, 1524. because they begin not the yere till Easter. ⁸ This Duke conquered in Italy 29. cities, among the which were Pame, Bolonia, Verona, Senes, Paronte, Luque, Vercel, &c.

I must heare speake a word or two of the Duke of Milan, who now wished the King with all his hart out of Italie, notwithstanding that both already he had made his profit by him, and sought also still so to do: for he was in hope to obtaine of him, the places yeelded by the Florentines, and pressed him earnestly for Serzane, and Petrefancte, which he said appertained to the Genuois: he lent him also at that present 30. thousand ducats, and he hath since told both me and others, that these places were promised him. But when he sawe that he could not obtaine them, he departed in great displeasure from the King, pretending that earnest busines called him home, which was the last time the King saw him: notwithstanding, he left Master Galeas of Saint Seuerin behind him, whom he ioined in commission in all matters with the Earle Charles of Bellejoyeuse. The said Master Galeas while the King lay in Pisa, sent (by his Masters aduise) for the chiefe citizens of the towne to his lodging, where he perswaded them to rebell against the Florentines, and to desire the King to restore them to their ancient libertie, trusting by this meanes that Pisa would fall into the Duke of Milans clawes, vnder whose obedience it had been ⁹ in the time of John Galeas the first Duke of Milan of that name, (a great and wicked tyrant though very honorable) whose body lieth buried in the charterhouse of Pavia by the parke ¹⁰, so high aboue the high altar, that men go vp to it by a ladder: certaine of the monkes shewed me it, at the least his bones, which shewt, as naturally they should. Further, one of the said monkes who was borne at Bourges, called him Saint, as he talked with me; and I asked him in his eare why he called him Saint, considering he might behold painted round about him the armes of many cities which he had wrongfully usurped ¹¹, and seeing the image of him and his horse being of fine marble stood higher than the altar, and yet his body lay vnder his horse feete. He answered me softly, Sir, in this countrey we call all those Saints that haue done vs any good, and he built this goodly charterhouse church, which in very deed is the fairest that ever I saw, for it is all of fine marble. But to proceede, the said Master Galeas sought to make himselfe great, and so I thinkc did the Duke of Milan also, because he had married his base daughter: for he manifestly declared that he would aduance him, as his owne sonne, because at that time his owne children were all very yoong. The said Pisans were I confess cruely handled by the Florentines, for they vsed them like slaues. They had subdued them about a hundred yeeres before, euen in the selfe same yeere that the Venetians conquered Padua, which was the first victorie that they obtained vpon the firme land. And the fortune of these two cities was almost alike, for they had been ancient enimies to those whom now they serued, many yeeres before they were conquered, and almost of equall force with them. These Pisans consulted together about this motion, and seeing themselues counselled by so great a personage, and being also of themselues desirous of libertie: a great number of them both men and women,

women came crying to the King as he went to masse, liberte, Libertie, desiring him with weeping cies to graunre it them. One of the Masters of the requests (who was a counsellor of the parliament in Dauphine named Robet) going before the King, or executing his office said vnto him, were it because he had promised the Pisans so to do: or because he vnderstood not what they demanded) that it was a lamentable case, and that of right he ought to graunt them their petition, adding, that never men were so cruely handled. The King not vnderstanding well what this word meant, but bewailing in his minde the miserable estate of the Italian nation, and the cruely that both Princes & commonalties vsed towards their subiects (notwithstanding that in reason he could not graunt them their libertie, seeing the towne was none of his, but lent him vpon friendship at his great need:) answered that he was contented to grant their request, & so the counsellor aboue named declared vnto them: whereupon the people incontinent began to proclame holiday in token of ioy, & went to their bridge which is a very goodly one built ouer the riuier of Arne, & threw down to the ground, & afterward into the riuier a great lion standing vpon a strong piller of marble called maior, representing the Seniorie of Florence: vpon the which piller they caused to be erected the image of a K. of Fraunce holding a naked sword in his hand, & treading the maior or lion vnder his horse feete. But after when the K. of Romaines entred the towne, they did with the Kings image as now with the lion: for such is the nature of the Italian nation, to turne euer with the strongest. Notwithstanding these Pisans were then & yet are so cruely handled that they are to be holden for excused.

How the King departed from Pisa to Florence,
and of the flight and ruine of

Peter de Medices.

Chap. 8.

After the K. had repos'd himselfe a few daies at Pisa, he departed to Florence, where they had declared vnto him the great wrong he had done their estate, by restoring the Pisans to libertie contrarie to his promise. Those that were appointed to make answer heereunto excused the fact: saying, that the King had not well vnderstood with what conditions Pisa was deliuered vnto him, ¹² This is Ironic spoken because the King brake this seconde treatie also, mentioned in the very next chapter, notwithstanding that he understood it wel ynoch. It stood them in such stede, because it was strong, and the key of their countrie, and standeth neare the sea very commodiously for their trafike. they

they thought themselues bereaved by him : they determined to banish him the towne, forgetting all the benefits of *Cosmus* and *Laurence de Medicis* his ancestors. The said *Peter* hauing no certaine intelligence of this their determination, yet doubting it, went to the palace with his ordinarie garde to aduertise them of the Kings comming, who was abou three miles from the towne : but when he came to the palace gate and knocked, one of the house of *Nerly* (being the father and many sonnes whom my selfe knew well, all of great wealth) refused to let him in, saying, that if he would enter alone he shoulde, otherwise not ; and he that made him this refusall was armed. The said *Peter* returned incontinent to his house, and armed both himselfe and his seruants, determining to make resistance against his enimies in the towne. Wherof he also aduertised one *Paule Vrfin*, who was in pay with the Florentines (for the said *Peter* was by his mother of the house of *Vrfin*, and both his father and he had euer giuen entertainment to certaine of them) but immediately after, they heard the people cry, *Libertie, libertie*, and sawe them come towards his house in armes. Wherupon (following good aduice) by the helpe of *Paul Vrfin* he departed the towne, which was a miserable departure to him : for in power and wealth both he and his ancestors, since the time of *Cosmus de Medicis* the first of that house, had beene in maner equall with great Princes : and this day fortune began to frowne vpon him, so that he lost both honor and riches. At this present my selfe was at Venice, and by the ambassador of Florence there resident, vnderstood of all these newes, which greatly displeased me ; for I had loued his father well. If the said *Peter* had followed mine aduice, all this had neuer happened : for immediately after my arriuall at Venice I wrote vnto him, offering to make his peace with the King ; for I had commission by mouth both from the Seneschall of Beaucaire and the Generall so to do : and I am well assured the King would haue held himselfe contented with passage through their countrey, at the most with *Ligorne*, and (that being obtained) haue agreed to all the said *Peters* deauounds. But he by the perswasion of the aboue named *Peter Capon*, answered me in maner with scoffes. The said ambassador the next day deliuered a letter to the Senate of Venice, the contents whereof were, that the said *Peter* was banished the towne, bicause he sought to make himselfe Lord thereof by aide of the house of *Arragon* and the *Vrfin*, and diuers other matters they charged him with, that were vnture. But such be the chaunces and changes of this world, that he that is in aduersitie, hath not onely his enimies to pursue him, but his friends also become his foes, as appeered by this ambassador named *Paul Anthony Sonderin*, (one of the wised men in Italy) who but the day before talked with me of this *Peter* as if he had been his soueraigne Lord, yet now declared himselfe his enimie. True it is that it was by the Seniories commandement ; for of himselfe particularly he made no declaration. The next day I was aduertised that the said *Peter* came to Venice, and that the King in great triumph was entred into Florence. Moreover, the Senate of Florence commanded their ambassador to take his leaue of the Seniorie of Venice, and returne home with all speede. The letter himselfe shewed me, and then departed. Two daies after his departure arriuied *Peter de Medicis* in his doublet and his hose, or in one of his seruants clokes. The Venetians stode in great doubt to receive him ; so much feared they the Kings displeasure. And notwithstanding that they could not of their honor refuse him, yet made they him stay two daies without the towne, being very desirous to vnderstand of me, how the King would take it, if they received him. I for my part desired to do him good, and the King had written nothing to me against him : wherefore I answered them, that I thought he was fled for feare of the people, not of the King. Wherupon he entred the towne, and the next day

day after he had beene with the Seniorie, I went to visit him. They lodged him well, and permitted both himselfe and fifteene or twentie of his seruants that accompanied him, to weare their weapons in the towne ³. And notwithstanding that *Cosmus* ^{For through the Venetians dominions no man may weare his weapon without leaue.} aboue mentioned had hindered them in times past from taking of Milan, yet vsed they him very well, and reuerenced him for the honor of his house, which had been of so great estimation and renowme through all Christendome. When I saw him me thought he seemed a man of no great stiffe, he discoursed to me at large of all his misfortunes, and I, as well as I could, comforted him. Among other things, he told me that he had lost all, and that aboue all his other mishaps this most grieved him, that a factor of his in the towne had refused to giue him credit for cloth but to the value of 100. ducats to apparell his brother and himselfe, which was a strange thing, considering his estate and authoritie : for by the space of threescore yeeres the estimation of his house had beene so great, that greater it could not be. Soone after, by meanes of the Lord of Bresse afterward Duke of Sauoye, the said *Peter* received good newes : for the King wrote vnto him, willing him to repaire to his presence. Notwithstanding the King was first departed from Florence, as now you shall heare, but somewhat I was forced by the way to speake of this *Peter de Medicis*.

How the King entred into Florence, and through what other townes he passed till he came to Rome.

Chap. 9.

 He next day the King entered into Florence where the said *Peter* had prepared his owne house to receive him, but the Lord of *Ballassat* who was sent thither before to make the Kings lodgging, vnderstanding of the said *Peters* departure : fell to spoile all that he found in his house, pretending that his banke at *Lyons* ought him a great summe of money. Among other things he tooke one whole *Vnicornes* horne, valued at sixe or seauen thousand ducats, and two great peeces of another, with a number of other goodly things, which others seeing did the like. Into another house in the towne the said *Peter* had conueied all his goodliest stiffe, but the people spoiled that also. The Seniorie had part of his richest iewels, twentie thousand ducats in coine that lay in his banke in the towne, diuers faire pots of *Agate*, and such a number of goodly *Carnayeu* excellently well cut, (all the which my selfe once saw) as is woondervfull, togither with three thousand medales of gold & siluer weyng 40. pound weight, the number and goodnes whereof I thinke all Italy could not match. All that he lost that day in the citie, amounted to a hundred thousand crownes and better. The King being in Florence (as you haue heard) made a treatie with the citizens to their great goodliking as I suppose. The conditions were these: They gaue him sixe score thousand ducats, whereof they paied him fiftie thousand presently, and the rest at two payments very shortly after, they lent him all the places aboue mentioned, they changed their armes being the red flower de luce, and gaue the Kings armes. And he for his part received them into his safegarde and protection, and promised and sware vpon the altar of *Saint John* to restore their places vnto them within fower moneths after he should be entred into Naples, or sooner, if sooner he returned into Fraunce. But the matter had other successe, as heereafter you shall heare.

The King staied not long at Florence, but went to *Senes*, where he was honorably

¹ Vn commandeur is one that having Ecclesiastically livings may not marry, and yet is not compelled to be a priest, as the Grand prior in Fraunce, and all the knights of Saint Johns of Ierusalem.

² His father was Virgile Vrsin, of whom hereafter more mention is made.

bly received; and from thence to Viterbe, where Dom *Ferrand* (who as you have heard retired towards Rome) was once minded to haue lodged & fortified his camp, and to haue fought if he had seene his aduantage, as I was aduertised both by King *Alphonse* ambassador, and also by the Popes legate being at Venice. And sure I looked euer when King *Alphonse* being accounted a valiant Prince, should haue come thither in person, leauing his sonne in his realme: for in mine opinion the place had beene greatly for his aduantage, considering he should haue had his owne realme, the dition of the church, and the places and territories of the Vrsins on his backe. Wherefore I was maruellously astonished when I receiued letters from the King that he was entred the towne of Viterbe, and likewise the castle, which soone after his entrie into the towne a commander yeelded vnto him ¹, by meanes of the Cardinall *Petri ad Vincula* (who was gouernor thereof) and of the Colonna. And then began I to perswade my selfe that God was fully purposed to accomplish this enterprise, so far foorth that I repented me that in my letters I had aduised the King not to refuse an honorable composition, for they offered him ynoch. But to proceede, Aquipendant, Monteflascon, and all the places round about yeelded before Viterbe, as I was aduertised both by the Kings and also the Seniories letters (who were daily informed by their ambassadors of all that hapned) diuers of the which they shewed me, or caused one of their secretaries to report vnto me. From thence the King marched to Rome, through the Vrsins territories, which were all yeelded to him by the Lord *Charles Vrsin*, who said that he had commandement from his father ² (notwithstanding that he were then in King *Alphonse* service) so to do, and that so long as Dom *Ferrand* should haue passage granted him through the dominions of the Church, and should be in the said dominions; so long he would accompanie him and no longer. Thus liue they in Italy both Princes and captaines in continual practise with their enimies, and turning euer as they see fortune encline. Further, the King was receiued into Brachane, the said *Virgile Vrsin* principall castle, which was faire, strong, and so well furnished of victuals, that I haue heard the King oftentimes commend both the place and the good entertainment he found there. For his army was in such extreme penurie of victuals that in greater it could not be. To be short, who so shall consider how often this armie was vpon the point to retурne home since the time it first arrived at Vienna in Daulphine, and by what meanes and ouuertures the iourney was still continued: I thinke he will confess that God was the leader thereof.

How the King sent the Cardinall *Petri ad Vincula* to Ostie; what the Pope did at Rome in the meane time, and how the King entred into Rome maugre all his enimies.
Chap. 10.

³ This Cardinall was afterwards Pope *Innocent the second*, and proued a deadly enimie to the French. Further, this towne of Ostie distressed Rome, by meanes that being the very entry into the riuere of Tyber, it kept all victuals from comming to Rome by water, for the which cause the olde Romanes called the towne *Ostia*, because it was the very doore or mouth as it were of the riuere.


Rom Brachane the King sent the Cardinall Saint *Peter ad Vincula* to Ostie, whereof he was Bishop: the place was of great importance, and held by the Colonna, who lately had recovered it from the Pope, whose forces not long before had taken it from the said Cardinall. It was of no defence, notwithstanding it hath since held Rome in great distresse a long time by the said Cardinals aide ¹, being great friend to the Colonna, who

joined

joined at that time with vs, partly by meanes of the Cardinall *Aescanio* brother to the Duke of Milan and Vicechauncellor, and partly in hatred of the Vrsins whose enimies they bee and euer haue beene. These two factions breed great troubles in the Church dominions, as doe in Fraunce the factions of Luce and Grandmont, and in Holland of Houc and Caballiau ²: but were it not for this diuision, the said dominions were the best countrie for the subiects in the world, for they paie no subsidies, and other dueties but fewe. Further, they are alwaies well gouerned, for the Popes are euer wise themselues, and haue wise men about them: but because of these factions many great and cruell murthers are often committed, as within these fower yeeres wee haue seene a number on both sides. For since the time I now write of, the Coulonnois became our enimies, thought to their great dishonour: for they possessed of the Kings gift in the realme of Naples, namely in the Earle-dome of Taillecouze, and other places which the Vrsins had held before, twentie thousand ducats and better of yeerely reuenewes ³. Further, all their other demands were graunted them, as well charge of men of armes as pensions. Wherefore they fell from vs verie traiterously, and vpon no occasion. But you shall vnderstand that they had euer beene partakers with the house of Arragon and other enimies of Fraunce, because they were Gibelins, and the Vrsins had euer been friends to France because they were Guelphes. To Ostie the King sent with the said Cardinall Saint *Peter ad Vincula*, *Peron de la Bascle* steward of his house, who was landed but three daies before at Plombin, and brought with him by sea twentie thousand ducats, parcell of that money the Duke of Milan lent the King. Vpon the sea with the Kings armie (being very small) remained the Prince of Salerne, and one called the Lord of Sernon in Prouence whom tempest draue into Corsique ⁴, with their nauy all to rent and torne, where they staied so long in repairing it, that it did no seruice, notwithstanding the great treasure emploied theron, for before it arriued at Naples, the King was entred the towne.

At Ostie with the saide Cardinall were fiue hundred men of armes, and two thousand Swizzers led by the Earle of Ligny (the Kings cosin germaine by the mother,) the Lord of Alegre, and diuers others, who thought to haue passed the riuere of Tybre there, and to haue inclosed Dom *Ferrande* within Rome by aide of the Coulonnois, the principall of the which house were at that time *Prospere* and *Fabrice Coulonne*, and the Cardinall *Coulonne*, accompanied with two thousand footemen, whom the King paide by the hands of the aboue named *Bascle*. The said footemen they had leuied at their owne pleasure, and mustered at Sannesonne, a towne of their owne.

You shall vnderstand, that many matters concur here, and of every one somewhat is to be said. Before the King entred into Viterbe, he had sent to Rome Monsieur de la Trimoille his chamberlaine, the president *Ganay* keeper of the seale, and the general *Bidaut*, to enter into intelligence with the Pope, who practised continually after the manner of Italie. They being in Rome, the Pope in the night received Dom *Ferrand* with his whole forces into the towne, whereupon our ambassadors and some fewe of their seruants were slayed: but the selfe same day the Pope dismissed them. Notwithstanding he held still in prison the Cardinall *Aescaigne* his Vicechauncellor, and brother to the Duke of Milan, and *Prospere Coulonne*, some said by their owne accord. Of all these accidents I was aduertised incontinent by the Kings letters, but the Seniorie more amply by their ambassadors. All this hapned before the King entred into Viterbe, for neither party staied aboue two daies in a place. But as touching our affaires they prospered better than we could wish, and no maruell: for the Lord of

A a x

Lords

¹ The factions of Houc and Caballiau began in Holland 1444. *Berlandus*. Read Meyer lib. 16. fol. 300. pag. 2.

² The King gave to Favre Coulonne the country of Alb & Taillecouze, which were before Virgilio Vrsins, & to Prospere the Duchie of Tracette, and the citie of Pons.

³ This Corsique being corrupted in the French, we haue restored according to *Paulus Louis Guicciard*, hath Corse.

¹ This is not the citie of Naples, but a little towne called in the *Annales of Fraunce Nelle, in Latin Nepsam, of the Italians Npni.*

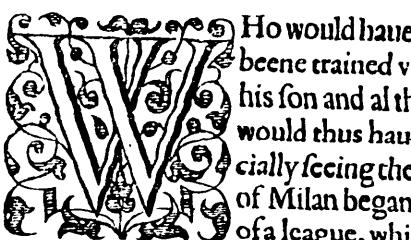
² *Ferdinande Duke of Calabria refused the pasport, Guicciar.*

³ *Ferdinand was sonne to Hypolite suster to Duke Galeas of Milan, to the Lord Lodowic, & to this Cardinal.*

Lords gave them successe, as all men might manifestly perceiue. This armie that laie in Ostie could doe no service because of the foule weather; further, you shall understand that the force which the Lord of Aubigny led, was returned to the King, and himselfe also, neither had he further charge thereof. The Italiens were also dismissed that had beene with him in Romanie, vnder the leading of the Lord *Rodolph* of Mantua, the Lord *Galeot* of Mirandula, and of *Fracasse* brother to the Lord *Galeas* of Saint Seuerin, the which with their said company being to the number of ffe hundred men of armes, were well paide by the King, for they serued him as before you haue heard. The King after his departure from Viterbe, remoued to Naples ⁴, which the Cardinal *Ascaigne* held. Further, it is most certaine that while our men lay in Ostie, aboue twentie fathomes of Rome was fell to the ground on the same side they shold haue entred. The Pope seeing this yoong King come thus suddenly with such successe, agreed that he shold enter the citie, (for to say the truth he could not otherwise choise) and desired a safe conduct ⁵, (which the King willingly granted) for Dom *Ferrand* Duke of Calabria, and onely son of K. *Alphonse*, who in the night retired to Naples, the Cardinal *Ascaigne* conueyng him to the gate ⁶. Then the King entred the citie in armes, as a Prince hauing power to dispose of all things at his pleasure, and diuers Cardinals with the gouernors and Senators of the towne came foorth to receiue him. He lodged in Saint Markes pallace, which is the Colonois quarter, who were his friends and seruants at that time. But the Pope retired into the castle of Saint Ange.

How King Alphonse caused his sonne Ferrande to be crowned King, and fled himselfe into Sicilie: with a discourse of the caillife that his father the olde Ferrande and he had led.

Chap. II.

 Ho would haue thought that this proude King *Alphonse* (hauing beeene trained vp all the daies of his life in martiall affaires) that his son and al these *Vysins*, whose faction was so great in Rome, would thus haue abandoned the citie through cowardise, especially seeing they knew and vnderstood perfectly, that the Duke of Milan began to wauer, and the Venetians to stir and to treat of a league, which had then beeene concluded (as I was certainly informed) if they had made any resistance either at Viterbe or at Rome, to stay the King but a few daies: but God meant to shew that al these proceedings, passed far the reach and compasse of mans braine. And here note by the way, that as the wall of the citie of Rome fell downe, so did ffeene fathomes also of the vantmure of the castell of Saint Ange, as I haue been aduertised by diuers, especially by two Cardinals there present. Now I must returme to speake a word or two of King *Alphonse*.

¹ That is since the time that they rebelled, when they sent for the Duke of Lorraine, whereof mention is made in the first chapter of this seuenth booke.

So soone as the Duke of Calabria called the yoong *Ferrande*, was returned to Naples, his father King *Alphonse* iudged himselfe vnwoorthie longer to raigne, becaule of the euils he had committed, and the manifold cruelties he had vised against diuers barons and Princes of his realme. For you shall understand, that where as his father King *Ferrande* and he had taken (notwithstanding their safe conduct) to the number of 24. of them, and had held them in prison from the time of their rebellion against the said *Ferrande* ¹ till the hower of his death: this *Alphonse* immediately after his fathers decease for a surplusage of all crueltie, caused them miserably to be murthered,

murthered, and with them two other whom his father had also taken vnder safe conduct, the one Duke of Sesse ² a man of great authoritie, and the other Prince of Rosane, who had married the said *Ferrande* sister, and had issue by her a sonne, a verie goodly gentleman. True it is that the said Prince had wrought great treason against him, for the which he had well deserued death, if he had not beeene taken vnder safe conduct: but King *Ferrande* to rid himselfe of all feare, tooke him (that notwithstanding) being come to him by his commandement, and laide him in a maruellous stinking prison, and afterward his said sonne also being betweene ffeene and sixteeene yeeres of age. Thus had the Prince of Rosane liued a prisoner when King *Alphonse* came to the state, about fower and thirtie yeeres. But the said *Alphonse* immediately after his coronation, commaunded these prisoners to be led into an Iland neere to Naples called Iscle ³ (whereof heereafter more mention shall be made) and there villanously to be slaine, all save one or two whom he held still in the castell of Naples, namely, the said Prince of Rosanes sonne, and the noble Earle of Popoli. I haue diligently enquired after what sort he caused them thus cruelly to be murthered; (for many supposed they had been yet liuing, when the King entred into the good towne and citie of Naples) and diuers of their principall seruants haue enformed me, that he caused them villanously and horribly to be slaine by a Moore of Afrike, not sparing these ancient Princes: some of the which had beeene prisoners about fower or ffe and thirtie yeeres. Further, the said Moore immediately after the execution done, departed into Barbarie, to the ende no man should know what was become of them. To be short, neuer was man more cruell than this King *Alphonse*, more wicked, more vicious, more filthie, nor a greater glutton. Notwithstanding his father had been the more dangerous: for no man could be acquainted with his humor, nor know when he was pleased or displeased; so that at feasts and bankets he tooke and betraied men: as for example, the Earle *James* son to *Nicholus Picinno*, whom after that sort he tooke and murthered villanously, being ambassador to him from Duke *Francis* of Milan, whose base daughter he had married. True it is that the said *Francis* was consenting to the murther (notwithstanding he were his father in law) for they both feared the said Earle *James*, because the Braciques ⁴ in Italy were wholy at his deuotion. After the like manner also tooke this *Ferrande* the Princes of his realme aboue mentioned, and as touching pardon or mercie neuer was any to be obtained at his hands, as diuers of his nearest kinsmen and friends haue often told me; neither had he at any time pitie or compassion vpon his poore people, to ease them of paiments and subsidies. Moreover, he vised within his realme all trade of merchandise himselfe, so far foorth that he deliuered swine to his people to feede, which they were constrained to fette to further their sale: and if any of them happened to die, they were forced to make them good. In those places where the oile olive groweth (namely in Pouille) he and his sonne bought it all vp at their owne price: and in like maner the corne yet greene vpon the ground, which they sold againe as deere as was possible; and if the price thereof happened to fall, they constrained their subiects to buie it: besides that, during the time of their sale, all other were forbidden to sell. If any of their noble men were a good husband, and thought to spare some good thing for himselfe, they would foorthwith desire to borrow it; and if he made refusall, he was constrained to deliuer it perforce: so that they vised to take from them the races of their horses (wherewith that countrey aboundeth) and to cause them to be broken and kept to their owne use: yea & that such numbers as well of horses as of mares and colts, that they were esteene many thousands, which also they sent to feede in diuers places in the pastures of their noble men and other their subiects to their great losse.

A 2

¹ *Jouian Pon- tan in the wars betweene D. John of Aniou, and this olde Ferrand, makin the Duke of Sesse and Prince of Rosane but one.*

² *The Italians have Ischia, whereof Plinie writeh thus, lib. 3. cap. 7.*

³ *Ibla insula est Regione Sicilia: also nomine et intra dicta:*

⁴ *others write that it was first named Aenaria, and that Ischia is the name of the castle in the Ile: it is thirtie miles from Naples, Guicciar. Sabellicus saith Procyta alias Is-*

cola, but Plinie makerth Pro-

cyta and Ischia twaine.

⁵ *These were soldiers so named of Bracio de Fortibraci, a great captaine in his time.*

losse and damage. Both of them had forced many woenen; and as touching the Church, they had it in no reverence, neither would obey the lawes thereof, so faire foorth that they sold Bishoprikes for monie; as for example, the Bishoprike of *Tarente* sold to a Lew by King *Ferrande* for thirteene thousand ducats, to bestow vpon his sonne, who (he said) was a Christian. Abbeies they gave to faulconers and others, to bestow vpon their children, with this condition, that some of them should encre them a certaine number of hauks, and keepe them flying to theirwse, and other some entartaine a number of soldiers, at their owne proper costs and charges. The sonne never obserued Lent, neither seemed to thinke there was any, and many yeeres together never confessed himselfe, neither receiued the holy sacrament. To conclude, it was impossible for any man to commit more hainous crimes than both they had done; yet some reported the yoong *Ferrande* to be worse than they both, notwithstanding that he were humble and curteous at his death; and no iuuell, for he was then in great distresse.

The readers may happily thinke that I vtter all this of some priuate hatred against them, which in good sooth I do not, but rehearse it onely to continue my historie, in the verie beginning whereof I haue declared, that this enterprize could never haue beene atchieued by those that were the chiefe managers thereof, had not God alone gouerned it, and giuen it good successe, to the ende he might make this good yoong King being so slenderly prouided both of good counsell and all other things necessarie: his deputie to chastise these Princes so wise, so rich, of so great experiance, so well accompanied with wise and noble personages whom the defence of the realme touched as neere as themselues, so allied and friended; yea and the which saw the stourme a farre off, and yet never could prouide for it, nor make resistance in any place. For out of the castle of Naples there was not one man that staide the King a day and a night: Wheteupon Pope *Alexander* now liuing saide, that the French men came thither with wooden spurs, and chalke in their harbingers hands to make their lodgings without further trouble: which similitude of wooden spurs he vsed, because yet at this day, when the yoong gentlemen of this realme ride about the streetes on horsebacke, their Pages thrust little sticke into their shoues or pantos, wherewith they pricke forward their mules. And to confesse the truth, this was so easie a conquest, that our men verie seldome armed themselues in all this voyage. Besides that, from the Kings departure out of Ast, till his entrie into Naples, it was but fower moneths and ninetcene daies. An ambassador would almost haue beene as long in iourneying thither. I conclude therfore agreeably to the opinion of diuers holy religious men, and others, and to the voice of the people (which is Gods voice) that God ment to punish these Princes so visibly that every man might behold it, to warne thereby all other Princes to liue well, and according to his commandements. For these Princes of Arragon lost both honor and realme, with great riches and goodly furniture of diuers and sundrie sorts, the which is so dispersed here and there, that a man can hardly tell what is become thereof: besides that, they ended their liues three in a yeeres space or little more (but I trust their soules be in Paradise.) For you shall vnderstand that this old *Ferrande* (bastard to King *Alphonse*, a wise, vertuous and honorable Prince) was maruellously disquieted when he saw this French warre first moued against him, which he could finde no meanes to auoide. For he was wise and knew that he and his sonne had liued ill, and were maruellously hated in their realme: diuers also of those that were neerest about him haue informed me, that as he razed a certaine chappel, he found a booke whereon these words were written; *Truth with her secretes counsell's*; the which contained all the euilles that

afterward

afterward fell vpon him. There were but three that saw the booke, for immediately after he had read it, he threw it into the fire. Another thing that greatly troubled him was this, his sonne *Alphonse* and *Ferrande* his sonnes sonne, could never be perswaded that the King would come into Italie. Wherefore they vsed proude and threatening words against him, and spake verie contemptuously of him, saying, they would go as far as the mountaines to meete him. But one that stood by, wished that never King of Fraunce might come into Italy, for he had seene a poore man of the house of Aniou scourge it shrewdly, meaning Duke *John* sonne to King *Rene*. King *Ferrand* had trauelled verie earnestly the yeere before, by his ambassador called *Camillo Pendolfo*, to stay the King in Fraunce, offering to pay him yeerely a tribute of fiftie thousand ducats, and to hold the realme of him by homage and fealtie. But when he saw that he could by no meanes obtaine peace, nor pacifie the estate of Milan, he fell into the disease whereof he died: notwithstanding in the midst of his pangues he confessed himselfe, and as I trust repented him of his sinnes. His sonne *Alphonse* who had beene so terrible a Prince, so cruell, and so long trained vp in the wars, before the King departed from Rome, resigned his crowne, and was stroken with such feare, that in the night he never ceased to crie, That he heard the French men comming, and that the trees and stones sounded Fraunce. He never was so hardie as once to issue foorth of Naples, but vpon his sonnes returne from Rome, put him in possession of the realme, and caused him to be crowned, and to ride about the streets of the citie accompanied with the nobliest personages that were there, namely, with *Dom Fredericke* his brother, and the *Cardinall of Genua* (betwene whom the new King rode) and with the ambassadors there resident. He caused also all other solemnities belonging to the coronation to be accomplished, and then fled himselfe and sailed into Sicily with his mother in law (sister to K. *Ferrand* of castile now raigning, to whom the said realme of Sicily was in subiection) to a house that she had there: which was strange news through the whole world, especially at Venice where I then was. Some said he went to the Turke; others thought his departure to be, to the end his sonne who was not hated in the realme might the better win the harts of the people. But mine opinion was euer that he fled for very cowardise: for cruel man was never hardy, as appeereth in histories by *Nero* and others, who before their death fell into great feare and desperation. To be short, this *Alphonse* made such haste to be gone, that he said to his mother in law the selfe same daie that they departed (as diuers of his seruants haue told me,) that vnlesse she would depart with speede, he would leaue her behinde him. And when she desired him to staie but three daies onely, to the ende she⁶ might be a whole yeere in his realme: he answered that rather than he would tarrie any longer he would through himselfe headlong out at the windowes, asking her if she heard not how euerie man cried *Fraunce*. Thus he embarked in his Gallies with his said mother in law and departed, carrying with him all sorts of wines, (whereunto he was maruellously given,) and of all kinds of seedes for gardens. But as touching his moouables and goods he left no order for them, but the greatest part remained in the castle of Naples: notwithstanding certaine jewels he carried also with him, and a little money. And in this estate failed he and his mother in lawe to her said house in Sicilie, whence he departed and went to Messinc, whither he called and led with him diuers religious men, vowing himselfe to be no more of this world. Aboue all other orders of religion he loued especially those of the Mount Oliuet (who are clad in white) as themselues tolde me at Venice, where the body of Saint *Helcine* lieth in their cloister. Moreover, he began to lead a maruellous holy life, and to serue God howerly both day and night

A a 3

⁶ This she, Grecian, vnderstandeth he, meaning that she defred *Alphonse* to tarrie three or four daies, to the end he might haue beene King a whole yeere.

with

⁵ How this booke was strangely reueled by a vision of one *Catald.* (who had bee bishop of *Tarente* more than a thousand yeeres before) to a yoong childe, who therof enfaoured the King, read *Alexander in diebus genialibus*, lib.3. cap.15.

with the said religious men as they doe in their couents. He vsed also great fasting, abstinence, and almes, and soone after fell into a sharpe sicknes of excoriation and the stome, in such sorte that the said religious men reported that they never sawe man so tormented. Notwithstanding he endured patiently all these pangues, being fully resolued to haue spent the rest of his life in an Abbey at Valence the great in Spaine, and there to haue registered himselfe a religious man. But he was so tormented with this disease, that he died soone after: and it is to be hoped because of his great repentance, that his soule is ioyfull in Paradise: his sonne also died soone after him of an ague ioyned with a fluxe, and I trust they are both in better case then they were in this world. But marke heere by the way that in lesse than two yeeres space, ffeue wore the crowne of Naples, to wit the three above named, Charles the eight King of Fraunce, and Dom Fredericke (brother to the saide Alphonse) now raigning.

How the yoong Ferrand after he was crowned King of Naples, went and encamped at Germain, to resist the Kings comming, and of the treacie that King Charles made with the Pope at Rome.

Chap. 12.


Ow to the end all these matters may be plaine and euident: you shall understand that King Ferrand being crowned, became as it were a newe man, supposing all old iniuries and offences to be forgotten by his fathers flight: wherefore he leuied all the force he could, as wel horsemen as footemen, and came to Saint Germain, which is the very entry into his realme, & a strong place, and of great defence, through the which the Frenchmen had passed twise before¹. There he encamped and manned the towne, and then his friends began somewhat to recover their spirits. The towne is strong, both because of a little riuier² which sometime is passable onfoote, sometime not, and also because of the hill hanging ouer it.

¹ He meaneh
in their vo
ges to Naples
vnder the
houe of An
iou.

² This riuier is
called Liris or
Garlano.

The King was yet at Rome, where he remained about twenty daies busied with a number of matters. He had with him at the least eightene Cardinals, besides diuers others that repaired to the citie from all parts. The names of these Cardinals were the Cardinall *Aſcagne*, the Popes vicechauncellor, and brother to the Duke of Milan, the Cardinall *Petri-ad-Vincula* (the which two were deadly enimies to the Pope, and great friends each to other) the Cardinals of *Guese*³, *Saint Denis*, *Saint Seuerin*, *Sauelli*, *Coulonne*, and diuers others, all the which would needs haue proceeded to to a new election, and deposed the Pope, being within the castell of Saint Ange, against the which the artillerie was twise bent, as I haue heard the nobleſt perſonages there present report, but the King of his goodnes euer withſtoode it. The place was not of defence, for the ſeate thercof is vpon a little hill made by force of man: besides that, theſe Cardinals alleaged that the wals thereof were fallen downe by miracle, and charged the Pope that he had obtained this holy dignitie by ſimone, and they ſaid true; but Cardinall *Aſcagne* himſelfe was the chiefe merchant that foldē it, and received a great ſumme of money for his part, together with the Popes houe where he lodged before he was Pope, being then Vicechauncellor, and all the furniture thereof, and his ſaid office of Vicechauncellor, with diuers places of the patrimonie of the Church. For great controuersie had beene betweene them

two

two for the ſaid dignitie⁴. Notwithstanding I thinke they would both willingly haue⁵ The Pope agreed to chuse a new Pope of the Kings naming, yea and a French man; ſo that I before his paſſe had beeene Vice-chauncellor. *Aſcagne* and he ſhoue for the dignitie, but in the ende *Aſcagne* relented, being recompended as here is mentioned. Notwithstanding, leing an occation againſt the Pope offered by the Kings comming, his ran- or brake fourtha new. *Gemes* or *Ge- min Ottuan* here mentioned, brother to *Bauze* the ſecond, re- rebelling againſt his brother fled to the Soldan of *Egypt* for aide, but be- vanquished he fled to Rhodes, from whence he was ſent into Fraunce to King *Lewis* the eleventh, to the ende he might not escape; for the Turke for his ſafe keeping paid yeerely to the knyghts of the Rhodes, 40000. crownes. King *Lewis* gaue him to Pope *Innocent* the 8. So he remained till this preſent, that he was deliuereſ to King *Charles*, at Rome in the Popes hands.

How the King departed from Rome towards Naples, what hapned in the meane time in diuers parts of the ſame realme: and through what places he paſſed till he came to Naples. Chap. 13.


Heneſt matters being thus ended, the King remoued from Rome in great amitie and friendſhip with the Pope in apperance, at which time eight Cardinals departed also out of the citie highly displeased with this treacie, namely the ſaid Vice-chauncellor *Aſcagne*, and the Cardinall *S. Peter-ad-Vincula*, with ſixe of their faction. But many thought that *Aſcagne* did but diſſemble, and that in deede he was in good amitie with the Pope; notwithstanding I am able to affirme nothing thereof, for his brother had not as yet declared himſelfe our enimie. From Rome the King remoued to Launesanne, and

and from thence to Belistre, where the Cardinall of Valence escaped away.

The next day the King tooke Chastelfortin by assault and put all that were within it to the sword, because the place belonged to James Comte who was revolte from the King, notwithstanding that he had taken his pay: for the Comtes haue ever been partakers with the *Vrsins*. From thence he marched to Valmonton a towne of the Colonois, and from thence remoued and lodged about fower miles from mont Saint Iehan, which is a towne held of the Church, but belonging to the Marques of Pescare and very well fortified: notwithstanding after it had beene beaten seauen or eight howeres with the canon; it was taken by assault, and all that were within it or the greatest part slaine, and there the Kings whole force ioyned together¹. Then he marched towards Saint Germain sixteene miles thence, where this new King Ferrande (as you haue heard) lay in campe with all the force he could leuy. And indeede this was his onely refuge, and the place where he must fight or never, because it was the very keie as it were of his realme, and a place much for his advantage as well because of the riuers as of the mountaine. Further, he had sent men to defend the straignt of Cancello, lying among the mountaines sixe miles from Saint Germain: yet notwithstanding all this preparation before the Kings arriuall at S. Germain, he raised his campe and departed in great disorder abandoning both the towne and the passage.

¹ For the Colonois and certaine of the Kings capaines had beene sent about to come vpon King Ferrandes backe. These tooke the towne of Aquila, and all those parts, and here ioyned againe with the King, because they looked for the battell.

Our vaward was led that day by the L. of Guise, the L. of Rieux was sent to this strait of Cancello against the Arragonnois, but they also before his comming abandoned the place: and then entered the King into S. Germain. K. Ferrande rid straight to Capoua, where they refused to giue his soldiers entrance, but received his person with a fewe that attended vpon him; he staid not there, but desired them to continue true and faithfull subiects to him, promising the next day to retorne, and so departed towards Naples fearing the rebellion that afterwards happened. All his force or the greatest part should haue tarried him at Capoua: but the next daie when he returned he found them all departed. The Lord *Virgile Vrsin* with his cosin the Earle of Petillane, went to Nola, where they and all their company were taken prisoners by our men. They alleged that they had a safe conduct and that we did them wrong, so had they indeede, but their safe conduct was not yet in their hands: notwithstanding they paied no ransome, but much they lost when they were taken, and sure in mine opinion they had wrong done them.

From Saint Germain the King remoued to Mingamer, and to Triague, and lodged at Calui, two miles from Capoua, whither they of Capoua came and yeelded themselues by composition, and the King entered into the towne with his whole army. From Capoua the next day he marched to Auersa, being in the midway betweene Capoua and Naples, and fife miles distant from each of them. Thither came they of Naples and yeelded themselues in like maner by composition, hauing received assurance of the King that their ancient liberties should not be infrienged nor empaired. The King sent thither before him the Marshall *Gié*, the Seneschall of Beaucaire, the president *Ganay* keeper of the Seale, and certaine Secretaries: whereof King Ferrande being aduertised, and seeing the people and Nobles of his realme in armes against him (who also at his first arriuall thither had spoiled his stalle being maruellous great) tooke sea and sailed into Isle, an Iland eightene miles from Naples²: then the King was received into the towne with great ioy and triumph. For all the people came foorth to meeete him, yea, and those first that were most bound to the house of Arragon, namely all the *Carraffles*, who held of the said house of Arragon to the value of fortie thousand ducats of yeerely revenues, partly

of inheritance, and partly of gift from the Prince; for the Kings of Naples may giue away their crowne lands, so do they also other mens, and I thinke there are not three in the realme whose lands be not crowne lands or other mens.

Neuer people shewed so great affection to Prince or nation as they shewed to the King: the reason whereof was, because now they thought themselues deliuered from all tyranny, so that they voluntarily yeelded vnto vs. For all Calabria became French incontinent, whither Monsieur *d'Aubigny* and Peron of Basche were sent themselues alone without any force. All the countrey of Abrousto³ yeelded likewise the towne³ ^{Samnium of Samnites.}

Aquila (which hath ever been great friend to the French) giuing them the first example. In like maner all Pouille turned sauing the castle of Brandis, which was strong and well manned, & Gallipoli which had a garrison in it, otherwise the people would haue turned also. In Calabria three places held for King Ferrand, two of them were Mantie and Turpic (ancient partakers with the house of Auio) the which at the first had set vp the armes of Fraunce, but because the K. gaue them to the L. of Persi, and would not receiue them as percell of the demaines of his crowne⁴, they reared⁴ ^{These were lands held in Capite of the King of Naples.} vp againe the armes of Arragon. The third was the castle of Reges, which held⁴ ^{Capite of the King of Naples.} also for King Ferrande. But it was our owne fault that ought held, for we sent no forces thither: no, I am well assured that into Pouille and Calabria, there went not

men sufficient to haue defended one castel for the King. Tarente yeelded both castell and towne, so did also Otrante⁵, Monopoli, Trani, Manfredonne, Barle, and all the other places, the aboue named onely excepted. Moreover the people came from their cities three daies iourney to meeete our men and to yeelde themselues. To be short, the whole realme sent to Naples, and all the Princes and noble men repaired thither to do homage to the King, sauing the Marques of Pescare⁶ whose brethren and nephewes came notwithstanding. The Earle of Acrie, and the Marques of Squilazo, fled into Sicilie because the King had giuen their lands to the Lord of Aubigny. At Naples also arriuued the Prince of Salerne newly come from the sea, but hauing done no seruice. Thither came also his brother the Prince of Bisignan and his sonnes, being accompanied with the Dukes of Melfe, of Grawine, and the olde Duke of Sora, who not long before had sold his Duchie to the Cardinal *Petri ad Vincula*, whose brother yet at this day possesseith it⁷. To Naples also repaired the Earles of Montorio, of Fondi, of Tripalda and of Celano (who had long beene banished out of the realme, and was now newly returned with the King.) The Earle of Troy was there in like maner (who was a yoong gentleman of Scotland, brought vp in Fraunce) and the Earle of Popoli whom we found prisoner at Naples. The yoong Prince of Rosane before mentioned, after his long imprisonment with his father (who had lien in prison fower and thirtie yeeres) was at the length deliuered and went with King Ferrand, whether willingly or by constraint I know not. To Naples came also besides these aboue named, the Marques of Guefron with all the Caldoreques, and the Earles of Matalon and Merillano, the which had, both they and their ancestors, euer gouerned the house of Arragon. To conclude, thither repaired all the nobles of the realme, the three aboue named onely excepted.



How King Charles was crowned King of Naples, of the faults he committed in the defence of the realme, and how an enterprise attempted on his behalfe against the Turke, was discouered by the Venetians.

Chap. 14.

¹ He meaneth *Castel novo*: for there are in Naples fower castells. The castell of *Capouane* where the King lodged: *Castel novo* is situate partly in the *sea*, partly on the land with a citadelle by it: *Castel del tuo* is situate on a rocke in the sea with a great tower called of the French Prince *faulay*, and betweene the castells *Nono* and *Del tuo* is a fort vpon a rocke in the sea with a strong tower. The fourth is *castel S. Erm*, & above Naples is an abbey that looketh into the towne called *S. Martin*, in maner of a castell.

² *Guicciard* saith he desired *Calabria* for his nephew without title of King.

³ The King sent to *Ile de*, but the French men finding the towne desolate through negligence never assualted the castell.

⁴ He meaneth because all *Ferrandes* partie was retired thither.

King Ferrand at his departure from Naples, left the Marques of *Pescare* with certaine Almains to defend the castle ¹, and sailed himselfe for aide into Sicilie to his father. *Dom Frederic* lay still vpon the sea with a few gallies, and came twise to parle with the King vnder safe conduct. His demands were that some part of the realme might remain to his nephew with the title of King ², and that himselfe might enjoy all his owne lands and his wifes. His request in respect of himselfe was not great, for his partage was small. The King offered him possessions in Fraunce both for him and his nephew, and I thinke would willingly haue giuen them a good and a great Duchie: but they would not accept this offer, neither would he graunt their demands. For what treatise soeuer had beeene made, they would haue broken it, when they had seene their aduantage, being still resident in the realme. The Kings artillerie was bent and shot against the castle of Naples, within the which were onely the Almains, for the Marques of *Pescare* was departed thence. And if we had sent but fower cannons to the *Ile of Isle* ³ we had taken it, and then all had beeene ours: for from thence rewardned all the mischiefe ⁴; but if that had beeene once woon, all the other places they held, being not past fower or fiftie, would haue yeelded. But our men fell to feasting, to iusts and banketing, and were so puffed vp with pride, that they accounted the Italiens no men. Moreouer, the King was crowned and lodged in *Capouane*, and wene sometime to *Mont Imperial* ⁵. True it is that he shewed great grace and fauor to the subiects of the realme, for he abated their charges. And I thinke verily the people of themselves would not haue revolted from vs (notwithstanding their great inconstancie) if we had contented a few of the nobles: but them no man regarded; besides that they were very roughly vsed at the gates. Those that were best dealt with, were the Carraffes the house of *Arragons* greatest friends, for their estates were but soinewhat diminished: but the offices and pensions of the rest cleane taken away; yea the partakers with the house of *Aniou* worse handled than the *Arragonois*. Further, into the county of *Merillano* a commandement was sent, for the which the president *Ganaye*, and the Seneschall newly created Duke of *Nola*, and Lord great chamberlaine of the realme, were burthened to haue taken money. By the said commandement euery man was confirmed in his possession, and the partakers with the house of *Aniou* barred from their lands, vntill they could recouer them by proces. Further, as touching such as had made entries vpon their own head, (as for example the Earle of *Celano*) aide was giuen to the parties greeued, to dispossesse them againe by force. All estates and offices were bestowed vpon two or three Frenchmen, and all the prouision of victuals within the castell of Naples ⁶, when it yeelded (being maruellous great) giuen to euery man that demanded it, at the least all that came to the Kings knowledge.

In the meane time the Almains by practise yeelded the castle ⁷, in the which they because all *Ferrandes* partie was retired thither. ⁸ The French Correitor supposeth that this should be *en manere Imperial*, because some write that King *Charles* was crowned Emperor of Constantinople at Rome: but I thinke rather he meaneth *Muse de la Cote*, or the hill *Vesuvius*, whither the King often walked for recreation, and peraduenture because of the singularities which he saw there, named one of these hills *Mont Imperial*. ⁹ He meaneth *Castel novo*. ¹⁰ The Almains yeelded the castell vnder condition, that they might haue King *Ferrandes* mooueables that were within it.

obtained

obtained infinit riches, the castle of *l'Oeuf* ⁸ was also taken by battery. By these faults above rehearsed a man may manifestly perceiue that this great conquest was achiued by the meere grace of God, and not by their wisedome that governed the enterprise: but these foule faults were the works of men puffed vp with pride and vaineglorie, and not vnderstanding from whence all this their honour and good successe sprang.

Wherfore they proceeded according to their nature and experiance, by meanes whereof their good fortune changed as suddenly and visibly, as men may see the day spring in *Illand* or *Norway* ⁹, where the daies in sommer are of greater length than in any other place, in such sort, that within a quarter of an hower after the one daies shutting in, the next day light beginneth to appeare. Euen so in as

short space did euery wise man perceiue the alteration of our good and prosperous successe, whereof all Christendome should haue reaped great profit and honor if we had acknowledged it to proceede from him, who was indeed the giuer thereof. For the Turke then raiguing (and yet living) might as easily haue beeene chased out of Europe, as King *Alphonse* was out of his realme, both for that he was a man of no valor,

and also because the King had with him the said Turks brother, whom he feared aboue all men living. But this said brother died soone after the Cardinall of *Valences* escape: whereupon the report went that he was poisoned when the Pope deliuered him to the King. Further, there were so many thousand Christians in *Greece* ready to reuell, as a man would hardly beleue, for from *Otrante* to *Valonne* ¹⁰ are but

60. miles ¹¹, and from *Valonne* to *Constantinople* but eightene reasonable daies iourneis, as diuers that haue trauelled the way haue enformed me. Betweene them are no strong places, at the most not aboue two or three, for all the rest be razed. Those countries are maruellous populous, and they that inhabite them be *Albanois*, *Sclavons* and *Greekes*, who vnderstood of our Kings good successe by their friends that were at *Venice* and in *Pouille*, vnto whom also they sent letters, and looked dai-

ly, but for messengers to mooue them to reuell. Wherupon the King sent thither the *Archbishop of Duras* ¹² an *Albanois* borne, who found a maruellous number ¹³ *Dyrachium*. ready to reuolt, being sonnes or nephewes of many noble and valiant men of those parts, namely the sonnes of *Scanderbeg*, the nephewes of the Emperor of *Constantinople*, and the nephewes of the Lord *Constantine*, (now governour of *Montferrat*) who were also Nephewes or cosins to the King of *Seruia*. In *Theffalia* more than fiftie thousand would haue rebelled, yea and *Scutary* should haue beeene surprised by intelligence that the Lord *Constantine* had within it, as himselfe aduertised me at *Venice*, where he lay hidden many daies in my lodging. And sure he would easily haue achiued his enterprise: for *Macedonie* and *Theffaly* were his inheritance ¹³, which

was the patrimonie of *Alexander the great*, *Valonne* also is part thereof, and vpon his dominions *Scutary* and *Croye* ¹⁴ border, the which in his youth his father

¹⁵ or vncle engaged to the *Venetians*, who lost *Croye*, and yeelded *Scutary* to the Turke by treatre. The said Lord *Constantine* lay himselfe within three leagues of *Scutarie*, and the enterprise had beeene executed, had not the said *Archbishop of Duras* staid at *Venice* too long after the Lord *Constantines* departure. I dayly pressed him very earnestly to depart, for he was a man light of talke, and vaunted in all places, that he would do some feate woorthie of immortall fame and renowne.

But as the deuill would, the selfe same day that the *Venetians* were aduertised of the Turkes brothers death, whom the Pope had deliuered to the King: they determined to send word thereof to the Turke by one of their Secretaries. And bi-

cause they knew well that he should be highly rewarded that first brought this newes to the Turke: they commanded that no ship should passe that night betweene the two

⁸ This castell was so named, because it was built in forme of an ege.

⁹ For *Illand* and *Norway*, the vnskfull corrector had choppedit *Holland* and *Auvergne*, making the author report a mere vnu-truth.

¹⁰ *Oricum in Latine as some write, as others *Apollonia*.*

¹¹ Others write but 55.

¹² But the Turke held them from him.

¹³ *Trey in times past the strongest towne in Lpria.*

¹⁴ His fathers name was *Corneille*.

He meaneth two castels, which make the very entrie into the gulf of Venice ¹⁶, where also they caused watch and ward to be kept, because they feared the departure of some of the small boats, as grifes and such like, whereof there were a great number of the ports of Albany, and of their Iles adioining to Greece. But the selfe same night this poore Archbishop would needs depart to this enterprise of the Lord Constantine, (who taried his comming) conueighing with him great store of swords, bucklers, and iavelins, to furnish those with whom he had intelligence (for they are not permitted to haue weapons in those countries:) but as he passed betweene the two castels aboue mentioned, he was taken and put into one of them, both he and his men: notwithstanding the ship that caried him was suffred to passe. Letters were found about him which discouered the enterprise, and the Lord Constantine hath told me since, that the Venetians aduertised thereof both the Turkes garrisons that lay in those parts, and the Turke himselfe also, and had it not beene for the grife that was permitted to passe (the patron whereof was an Albanois, who informed him of all that was hapned) he had himselfe beene taken, but he escaped by sea, and fled into Pouille.

A discourse somewhat out of the course of the historie, wherein Philip de Commynes author of this present worke, treateth amply of the estate and government of the Seniorie of Venice, and of those things that he sawe there, and were done there during the time of his ambassage to the said Seniorie for the King
Chap. 15.

Will now leave the King in Naples, hauing atchieued his enterprise, and will speake somewhat of the Venetians, and the cause of mine ambassage thither. My departure from Asto Venice was, partly to thanke them for the good answeres they had made to two of the Kings ambassadors sent thither, and partly to keepe them still his friends, if it were possible by any meanes: for because of their great forces, wisedome, and good government, they might easily haue mated his enterprise in Italy; but they being his friends, none in the countrie were to be feared. The Duke of Milan helped to dispatch me, and wrote to his ambassador their resident (for he hath one there continually) to accompane me, and to give me instructions to whom I should addresse my selfe. His said ambassador received monethly of the Seniorie a hundred ducats, and had his house well furnished, and three barges (at their charge) to conuay him vp and downe the towne. Their ambassador hath the like allowance at Milan, saue that he hath no barge; for at Milan men ride altogether on horsebacke, but at Venice they are caried by bote. In my iournie thitherward, I passed through their cities, namely Bresle, Verronne, Vincense, and Padua with diuers others; at every one of the which I was very honorably entertained, for the honor of him whom I represented: for alwaies either the Potestare or the Captaigne came to receiue me, accompanied with a goodly traine: but they both issued neuer foorth of the towne; for the captaigne vsed to come no further than the gate. After I was entred the towne, they conuayed me to my lodgynge, commanding the host that I should be plentifullly serued, and all my charges they defraied, entertaining me with very honorable words. But if a man consider what he muste stow vpon drums and trumpets, he saueth not much though he lie vpon

Upon free cost, notwithstanding the entertainment is verie honorable. The same day I entred into Venice, they sent as far as Chafousine ¹ to receiue me, which is a place ^{Littia or Li- refusia, Itali- ans.} ffe miles from the towne, where men leue the boates that conuay them downe the river from Padua ², and enter into other little boates very proper and neare, couered with tapestrie, and furnished within, with goodly hangings and velvet cushions to sit vpon. Thus far the sea floweth, and this is the nearest passage from the firme land to Venice: but their sea is maruellous calme (vnles a tempest happen to arise (which is the cause that so great plentie of all kinde of fish is taken there. I woondred to behold the feate of this citie, so many steebles, so many religious houses, and so much building, and all in the water; but especially that the people had none other passage to & fro in the town but by boates, wherof I thinke there are to the number of 30000. but they be verie small. Further, about the citie (I meane within the compas round about of lesse than halfe a French league) are 70. houses of religion, as well of men as women, all in Ilands, sumptuously built, richly furnished within, and hauing goodly gardens belonging to them. Those within the citie I comprehend not in this number; for within, there are, besides these, the fower orders of friers, and threescore and twelue parishes, besides a number of chappells of the companies of occupations, commonly called Confraries ³. And sure it is a strange sight to behold so many great and goodly churches built in the sea. To the said place of Chafousine came ffe and twentie gentlemen to receiue me, sumptuously apparelled in silke and scarlet, the which welcommned me with an oration, and conuaied me to the church of Saint Andrew neare to the towne, where as many other gentlemen met me, being accompanied with the ambassadors of Milan and Ferrara: and heere also they received me with an oration, & afterwards led me into other boates which they cal flat, being much greater than the former, two of them were couered with crimson sattin, and decked within with arras, ech of them being large enough to haue received 40. persons. They placed me between these two ambassadors, (for the midst in Italy is the honorablest place) and conuaied me along through the great streeete called the great chanell ⁴, which is so large that the gallies passe to & fro through it, yea I haue seen hard by the houses ships of four hundred tun & aboue. Sure in mine opinion it is the goodliest streeete in the world and the best built, and reacheth in length from the one end of the towne to the other. Their buildings are high and stately, and all of fine stone ⁵. The ancient houses be all painted; but the rest that haue beene built within these hundred yeeres, haue their frons all of white marble, brought thither out of Istria an hundred miles thence, and are beautified with many great peeces of Porphyre ⁶ and Sarpentine ⁷. In the most part of them are at the least two chambers, the seeling whereof is gilded, the mantletrees of the chimneys verie rich, to wit, of grauen marble, the bedsteds gilded, the presses painted and vermiled with golde, and maruellous well furnished with stuffe. To be short, it is the most triumphant citie that ever I sawe, and where ambassadors and strangers are most honorably entertained, the commonwealth best gouerned, and God most devoutly serued; so far soorth, that notwithstanding they haue diuers imperfections, yet thinke I verily that God prospereth them, because of the reuerence they beare to the seruice of the Church. In the companye of these fistic gentlemen I passed to Saint Georges, which is an abbey of reformed blacke monks where I lodged. The next day they returned againe to me, and led me to the Seniorie, where I deliuered my letters to the Duke, who presideth in all their assemblies, being honored as a King ⁸, and all letters are directed to him, but of himselfe he cannot do much. Notwithstanding this Duke is of great authoritie, yea others the 74. greater than euer was any of his predecessors ⁹; and no maruell, for he hath beeene ¹⁰ Duke

Duke these twelue yeres ¹⁰: and for my part I ever found him a vertuous and a wise man, of great experience in the affaires of Italie, and a curteous and gentle person: This was all that I did the first day, saue that they led me into the palace, and shewed me three or fower chambers, the sealings whereof were richly gilded, and likewise the beds and presses: and sure it is a verie stately and sumptuous building for the greatness thereof: for it is all of square marble, and all the front vermiled with gold, and likewise the edges and borders of the angles, about the breth of an inch. There are moreover fower goodly halls within it richly gilded, and a number of faire lodgings, but the court is verie small. The Duke out of his chamber may heare masse at the high altar of the chappell of Saint Marke.¹¹, which is the goodliest and richest Church in the world, bearing but the name of a chappell: for it is built throughout of the curious worke called Musaïque, or Marqueterie ¹²; the art also whereof they vaunt themselues to be authors of: and sure they haue diuers workemen thereof, as my selfe can testifie. In this chappell is their treasure so famous through the world, being onely things appointed for the furniture of the Church; among the which are twelue or fowerteene Rubie ballais, the greatest that ever I saw: for two of them waigh the one aboue seuen hundred, and the other aboue eight hundred carrets, but they are vnpolished. There are twelue other stones like to little pillers set in golde, and garnished and bordred with excellent good stone. Moreover, twelue crownes there are of gold, wherewith in times past at certaine feasts in the yeere twelue women decked themselues (whom they called Queenes) the which went about these ylands and churches: but the said Queenes, and the greatest part of the women of the citie, were stolen and carried away perforce by theees that came out of Istria or Friole ¹³, being borderers vpon the Venetians, the which lurked priuily behind these yles: but their husbands pursued these theees, and recovered their women, and offered all these crownes to Saint Marke, and built also a chappell vpon the place, whither the Seniorie resorteth yeerly the same day they obtained this victorie. Sure this is a goodly furniture for the Church: for besides these things aboue rehearsed, there are diuers other jewels of gold, and a sute of Amethysts and Agates, and a fewe Emeraulds. But this is no such treasure to make account of as ready money: and yet of money they haue no treasure: for the Duke himselfe told me before the Seniorie, that it is among them a capitall crime to make mention of treasure in coine. And sure in mine opinion they do therein very wisely, for feare of diuision that thereby might arise among them. Afterward they shewed me their other treasure, namely their Arsenal ¹⁴, where they arme their galleyes, and prepare all other furniture necessary for their nauie, which vndoubtedly is the goodliest thing at this day in the world, and the best in order for that purpose.

To be short, I abode there eight moneths vpon their charge, as did all the other ambassadors there resident. And sure thus much I dare boldly say of them, that they are men of such wisedome, and so inclined to inlarge their dominions, that vntille they be looked to in time, all their neighbors shall repent it too late: for the Kings comming into Italie, and the warrs that haue been betweene him and them since that time (which yet endure) haue made them much skilfuller in fortification and defence of places then they were before. Besides that, they haue of late enlarged their Seniorie, for they haue seuen or eight cities engaged to them in Pouille, which I doubt me they will never restore. At the Kings first comming into Italie they could not be persuaded that places might be taken so easily, and in so short space: for they made not war with such expedition ¹⁵; but both they and diuers others haue forfied since, and do daily fortifie many places in Italie. They cannot grow mighty vpon

¹⁰ Reckon these 12. years not at the time that the author was at Venice, but at the time that he wrote this historie: for at his being there, he had been Duke but 8. yeeres.

¹¹ Saint Marks church is described by Contaren. in the verie end of the fourth booke.

¹² Mousaïque or Marqueterie, Musæa, Musaïca, or Musæa. in Latine, worke wrought of stones of divers colours & diuers mettals into knots and deuises so curiously, that they seeme all one, & not to be wrought in any art.

¹³ Forum Iulij.

¹⁴ This Arsenal is described by Contaren lib. 4.

¹⁵ He meaneth, because they vnderstood not the state of artillerie.

on a sudden as the Romaines did, for their bodies cannot endure such labour and trauell as theirs could, because they are vnaccustomed therunto, by reason that none of them go into their warrs vpon their firme land ¹⁶ (as the Romaines did) saue their prouisors and treasurers which accompanie their generall ¹⁷; assist him with their counsell, and prouide all things necessarie for their armie. True it is that their armies vpon the sea are led ¹⁸ by their gentlemen, who are capaines of their galleyes and ships; and consist wholy of their owne subiects. Moreover, another good order haue they as touching these prouisors whom they send in person with their armies vpon the land, which is, that they imploye in that seruice no man of such courage and vertue as may seeme woorthe to be their Prince (as the Romaines did) whereby they auoid all factions in the citie, which sure is a great point of wisedome. And vnder ¹⁶ The Venetians armes vpon the land are all strangers. Contaren. lib. 5.

¹⁷ Their Ge- nerall vpon the land is al- so a stranger. ¹⁸ Contaren. ibidem.

doubtedly against ciuill contention they haue maruellously well prouided diuers and sundrie other waies, for they haue no tribunes of the people, as they had in Rome, which partly were cause of their ruine. But the people at Venice beare no swaie, neither are called to counsel in any matter ¹⁹: for all their officers ²⁰ be gentlemen, saue their secretaries ²¹. And the greatest part of their people be strangers. Moreover, they vnderstand by T. Linus what imperfections were in the state of Rome; for they haue his historie, and his bodie lieth buried in their palace at Padua. For these reasons and diuers others which I could alleage, I say yet once againe, that they are in ¹⁹ Vnderstand any matter of weight. ²⁰ Vnderstand their principal officers. ²¹ Their chan- cellor also is no gentleman, neither may a gentleman be chanceller or Secretarie. Contaren. lib. 5.

I must now declare the cause of mine ambassage to them, which was, to thanke them for the good answers they had made to two ambassadors sent thither by the King: and for the good comfort they had given him, in willing him vpon their word to proceede with his enterprise. All the which was done before he departed out of Ait. At my arriuall I discoursed vnto them of the ancient league that had beene betweene the Kings of Fraunce and them. And further, I offered them Brandis and the towne of Otrante, vnder this condition, that when we delivered them better townes in Greece, they shold be bound to restore these. They vsed very honorable termes both of the King and his affaires, supposing that he could not enter farre into Italic. And as touching the offer I made, they answered that they were his friends and seruants, and would not sell him their friendship, (and in dede as yet we had not the places offered.) Further they said, that they had force sufficient in a readines to moue war against him, if they were so disposed, but they would not so do; notwithstanding that the ambassador of Naples daily sollicited them thereunto, and offered them in consideration thereof, whatsoeuer they would demaund. Moreover, King Alphonse (who then raigne) confessed that he had many waies misbehaued himselfe towards them, and declared vnto them the great danger themselues shold be in, if the King obtained his purpose. The Turke on the other side sent an ambassador to them with all speede, (whom my selfe sawe diuers times) the which at the Popes request threatened them, vntille they declared themselues the Kings enemies. They gaue euerie one of these good answers, notwithstanding at the first they stooode in no feare of vs, but laughed at our voiage: and the rather because the Duke of Milan sent them word by his ambassador, that they shold not trouble themselues about this enterprise: for he would finde meanes to send the King home with emptie hands. The like message sent he also to Peter of Medicis, as himselfe told me. But when both they and the Duke of Milan sawe all the Florentines places, especially Pisa in the Kings hands, they began to feare & to consult how to stop him from passing further: but their matters were long in debating, and in the meane time while ambassadors passed to and fro betweene them, the King marched forward. The King of Spaine in Bb 2 like

like manner began to feare, because of the yles of Sicilie and Sardinia. And the King of Romaines enuied our Kings good successe: for diuers there were that put him in doubt of the crowne imperiall, saying, that the King would take it, and had required the Pope to giue him leaue so to do, but this was most vntrue. Notwithstanding for these doubts, these two Kings sent honorable ambassages to Venice, I being there, as you haue heard. The King of Romaines, because he was their neighbor, sent first the principall of his ambassage was the Bishop of Trente, accompanied with two knights and a doctor of the law: they were verie honorably and solemnly received, and their lodgings made and furnished as mine. Moreouer, they had ten ducats a day allowed them for their diet, and their horses which they had left behinde them at Trevis, were kept vpon the Seniories charge. Soone after arriued also a worshipfull knight of Spaine ²² well accompanied and well apparellled, who was in like manner honorably received, and his charges defraied. The Duke of Milan, besides his ambassador there resident, sent thither the bishop of Come, and Master *Francis Bernardin Viscount*, all the which began at the first to negotiati togither couerly and in the night by their Secretaries: for they durst not as yet openly discouer themselves against the King, especially the Duke of Milan and the Venetians, because they doubted what successe the league which was in communication should haue. These ambassadors of Milan came to visite me, and brought me letters from their Master, pretending the cause of their comming to be, for that the Venetians had sent two ambassadors to Milan, whereas they were woont to haue but one resident there: no more had they in the end; and this was but a colour of their lying, deceit, and false dealing: for they were all assembled togither to conclude a league against the good King, but so many strings could not be turned on a sudden. They desired me afterward (if I could) to informe them what the cause was of the King of Spaines and the King of Romaines ambassadors arriuall, to the ende they might aduertise their Master thereof. But I had intelligence alreadie from diuers places, both by the said ambassadors seruants and others, that the ambassador of Spaine had passed through Milan disguised, that the Almaines gouerned their affaires wholy by the Duke of Milans counsell and aduise, and that the ambassador of Naples deliuered howerly packets of letters from his Master. For you must vnderstand, that the treatie of their league was begun before the King departed from Florence, and I spent money large-ly to haue intelligence of all their doings, and wrought by good instruments, so that I knew alreadie all their articles, which were propounded but not agreed vpon: for the Venetians are verie long in their resolutions. For these causes I seeing the league in such forwardnes, would no longer pretend ignorance therein, but answered these ambassadors of Milan, that sith they vsed such strange termes to me, I thought good to say thus much vnto them, that the King would not lose the Duke of Milans friend-ship if by any meanes it might be kept, and that I as his seruant would doe my dutie to my Master, and excuse him of the euill reports which peraduenture had beene made of him to the Duke their Master, who I thought was misinformed: saying further, that he ought well to bethinke himselfe, before he lost the recompence of the great seruice he had done the King: for the Kings of France were neuer ingrate; adding also, that the speaking of a foolish worde ought not to dissolute their friend-ship, the continuance whereof was so necessarie for them both. Wherefore I desired them to open vnto me their grieses, that I might aduertise the King thereof before they proceeded further: they sware all vnto me and protested, that there was no such matter as I imagined; but they lied, for they were come thither to treat of the said league.

²¹ The King of Spaine vse this colour for breach of his league with K. Charles, because there was a clause that they should not be bound to any thing prejudicall to the church, & the realme of Naples was held of the church. Further, another clause there was, that he should not resist K. Charles his conquest, if it appeared by law the crown of Naples to appertaine to him, which he sought not to procure, but proceeded by force.

The next daie I went to the Seniorie to commune with them about their league, and to tell them my opinion thereof: Among other things I alleaged, that by the league concluded betweene the King and them, and the late King *Lewis* his father and them, they might not maintaine the one the others enemies: wherefore they could not conclude the league now treated of without breach of their promise. Then they caused me to withdraw my selfe a little, and at my returne the Duke saide vnto me, that I must not beleue all that I heard in the towne: for all men liue there in libertie, and might speake what them listed; and that as touching them they never meant to enter into league against the King, neither heard euer of any such matter: but on the contrarie side they sought to conclude a league betwene the King, and these two other Kings and all Italy, against the Turke, at the common charges of them all, and that if any in Italy refused to paie that he should be rated at, the King and they would constraine him thereunto by force. Moreover, they said that they trauelled to conclude a good peace for the King, to wit, that he should receive of *Dom Ferrand* presently a summe of money, which they offered to lend, so that they might haue engag'd for it, those places in Pouille which now they posesse, and that the realme should be held of the King by the Popes consent ²³, and pay him ycerely a certaine tribute. And further, that he should hold in it three places, and I would to God the King would then haue giuen eare to this offer: but I answered them that I durst not deale therein, because I had no commission nor authoritie so to do. Moreover, I desired them not to be hastie in concluding this league, because I would aduertise the King of these their ouvertures. I required them also (as I had done the others) to open vnto me their grieses, and not to dissemble them as they of Milan had done.

²³ This is added, because realme of Naples was held of the church.

Then they told me plainly that they were greeued because the King held certaine of the Popes townes, but much more because of the Florentines places, especially Pisa, saying, that the King himselfe had written both vnto them and diuers others, that he would take nothing in Italy, but the realme of Naples onely, and afterward go against the Turke: but now it plainly appeareed that he would conquer all that he could in Italy, and leaue the Turke in peace. They said further, that the Duke of Orleans (whom the King had left behinde him in Ayl) put the Duke of Milan in great doubt and feare, and that his seruants vsed maruellous threatening words against him. Notwithstanding they promised to conclude nothing before they received answere from the King, at the least not before a conuenient time to receive answere were expired, and they dealt more honorably with me than they of Milan had done ²⁴. Of all these matters I aduertised the King, and received a cold answere from him: from that day forward they began daily to assemble togither, because they knew their enterprise to be discouered. The King was yet at Florence, and if he had found any resistance at Viterbe (as they thought he should) they would have sent men to defend Rome: yea or if King *Ferrande* had not abandoned Rome, as they thought vndoubtedly he would neuer haue done: but when they heard of his departure thence they began to feare. Notwithstanding the ambassadors of these two Kings pressed them earnestly to conclude, saying, that otherwise they would depart, for they had beene there fower moneths daily negotiatiing with the Seniorie. In the meane time I labored all that might be to ouerthrow their league.

²⁴ He mea-
neth, because
they dealt
plainly with
him, but they
of Milan had
dissembled.
Notwithstan-
ding the
French had it
thus: They
showed greater
honor to me
than to them of
Milan: but in
mine opinion
it was the
Printers fault,
who for que-
ceulx de Milan,
had put qu'a
cruix de Milan:
for sure the
fence is much
better thus.

But when the Venetians saw all these places yeelded, and were also aduertised, that the King was entred into Naples, they sent for me, and tolde me thicke newes, seeming greatly to rejoice thereat: notwithstanding they saide that the castle was verie wel furnished, and I perceiued by them, that they hoped assuredly it would haue held good. Moreouer, they licensed the ambassador of Naples to leuy men at Venice

to send to Brandis; and they were euen vpon the point to haue concluded their league, when suddenly they received letters from their ambassadours, that the castell was yeelded also to the King. Then they sent for me againe in a morning, and I found fiftie or sixtie of them assembled togither in the Dukes chamber, who lay sicke of the collicke. He told me these newes with a cheerfull countenance, but none of the rest could dissemble so cunningly as himselfe: for some of them sate vpon a lowe bench leaning vpon their elbowes, other some after one sort, and others after another; their outward countenances bewraying their inward griefe. And I thinke verily when word came to Rome of the battell lost at Cannas against *Hannibal*, that the Senators which remained in the citie, were not more astonished nor troubled than these: for none of them once looked vpon me, nonc of them gaue me one word but the Duke alone; so that I woondred to beholde them. The Duke asked me if the King would performe that which hee had alwaies promised both by his letters and by me: I assured him that he would, and opened certaine ouvertures of peace, and offered my selfe to travell therein, trusting to put them out of all doubt, and so departed.

Their league was as yet neither fully concluded, nor fully broken off; for the which cause the Almaines would needes haue departed in great heate. The Duke of Milan would not yet condescend I wot not to which of their articles: notwithstanding in the ende he sent word to his ambassadours to seale with spedde to all; and thus at the length was their league concluded. During the space that these practises were thus entertained among them, I had from time to time aduertised the King of them all, pressing him earnestly to resolute either to tarrie in the realme, and to make prouision of greater forces of footemen and money; or in time to retire homeward before his enimyis were all assembled, leauing the principall places well manned. I aduertised also the Duke of Orleans (who lay in Aist with his houshalde seruants onely, for his company was with the King) of all that was done, willing him to put men into the towne, and assuring him that they would incontinent assaile him. I wrote also to the Duke of Bourbon (whom the King had left regent in Fraunce) to send men to Aist with all speed possible to defend the towne, because that place being lost, no aide could come to the King. In like maner I aduertised the Marchionesse of Montferrat of all these proceedings (who was a great friend to vs, and deadly enimie to the Duke of Milan) to the end she might aide the Duke of Orleans with men, if neede so required: for Aist being lost, the Marquisats of Montferrat and Saluces were also lost.

Their league was concluded one night very late ²⁵. The next morning the Seniorie sent for me earlier then they were accustomed. And when I was come and set downe, the Duke told me, that in the honor of the holy Trinitie, there was a league concluded betweene our holy father the Pope, the Kings of Romaines and Castile, them, and the Duke of Milan, for thre purposes. The first, for the defence of the estate of Christendome against the Turke; the second, for the defence of Italy; and the third for the preseruation of their owne estates, whereof he willed me to aduertise the King. They were assembled to the number of a hundred or more, and looked vp with cheerefull countenances, and sate not as they did the day they aduertised me of the taking of the castle of Naples. The Duke tolde me moreouer that they had written to their ambassadours that were with the King, to take their leaue and to retume home, their naines were Master *Dominic Loredan*, and Master *Dominic Tremisar*. I was maruellously troubled with this newes, for I stood in doubt both of the Kings person, and of all his companie, supposing their armie to haue beene readier than in

²⁵ Their league was concluded in April. *Guicciard.*

deed it was, as did themselues also. I feared further least the Almaines had beene at hand; and not without cause; for if they had, vndoubtedly the King had neuer departed out of Italie. I was resoluued not to speake much in this heate; but they so prouoked me that I was forced to change my minde; and then I said vnto them, that both the night before and diuers other times, I had aduertised the King of their league, and that he also had sent me word that he had intelligence thereof both from Rome and from Milan. They looked all maruellous strangely vpon me, when I said that I had aduertised the King thereof the night before: for there is no nation vnder the sunne so suspiciois as they, nor so secret in their affaires, so that oftentimes they banish men vpon suspition onely, for the which cause I said thus much vnto them. I told them moreouer that I had sent word thereof both to the Duke of Orleans and to the Duke of Bourbon, to the ende they might put men into Aist: which words I vitered hoping to delay their going thither. For if they had indeed been as readie as they vaunted and supposed themselues to haue been: they must needs haue taken the towne, for it was vnmanned both then and long after. Then they told me that they meant not to attempt ought against the King, but onely to defend themselues, adding that they would not haue him thus to abuse the world with words, in saying that he would take nothing but the realme of Naples, and afterward go against the Turke: and yet do cleane contrary, & seeke to destroy the Duke of Milan, & the Florentines, & hold also the places of the Church. Wherunto I answered that the Kings of Fraunce had euer iularged & augmented the dition of the Church, and defended it, and that the King my Master would rather do the like than the contrarie. Wherefore these (I said) were not the reasons that mooued them to enter into this war, but that they desired to trouble the estate of Italy, thereby to make their owne profit, as in the end I thought they would; which words they tooke in euill part as afterward I was aduertised: notwithstanding it appeereth by those townes in Pouille which they haue in gage of King *Ferrand* to aide him against vs, that I sadtrue. At this instant I would haue risen to depart, but they caused me to sit downe againe, and then the Duke asked me if I would make any ouverture of peace, because the day before I had offered so to do, but that was vnder condition that they should haue staid the conclusion of their league fiftene daies, to the end I might aduertise the King thereof, and receive his answere thereunto. Our communication being ended, I returned to my lodging, and then they sent for the ambassadours of the league one after another, and as I came foorth from them I met with the ambassadour of Naples, who ware a faire new gowne and shewed a cheerefull countenance, so had he great cause to do, for these were good newes for him. After dinner all the ambassadours of the league accompanied with their seruants met togither, at the charges of the Seniory, vpon the water (which is all the pastime of Venice) I thinke they were in all fortie boates, euery ambassadour hauing his boate garnished with a flagge of his Masters armes. I saw all this company passe vnderneath my window with goodly melodie. And the ambassadours of Milan (at the least one of them) who had been woont very often before to beare me company; made a countenance now as though he knew me no more. By the space of three daies I never stirred out of my lodging, neither any of my seruants: notwithstanding that, not one man in the towne gaue me or any of mine a foule word at any time. The same night they made great pastime with squibs, which were set on fire a high in the steeples and turrets of the towne, and a number of torches were lighted in the top of these ambassadours houses, and diuers peeces of artillerie discharged. I was in a couered barge vpon the water to behold all this triumph, about ten of the clocke at night, especially before these ambassadours lodgings,

lodgings, where was banqueting and greate cheere: notwithstanding this was not the great festiuall day, on the which their league was proclaimed: for the Pope had giuen commandement that the proclamation thereof should be deferred till Palmesunday, and that every one of the confederated Princes when it should be proclaimed, and the ambassadours that should be present therat, should beare in their hands an olive branch in token of peace and confederacie as he said. He commanded further, that vpon that day it should be proclaimed both in Spaine and in Almaine. Moreouer, at Venice they made a scaffold of wood, which they raised a great height from the ground, as they vse to do vpon Corpus Christi day, and it was richly hanged, and reached from the palace to the end of the market place of Saint Marke. Vpon this scaffold (after the Popes ambassadour had soong masse, and giuen full absolution to all men that should be present at the said proclamation) they went on procession, the Senators and the ambassadours being all very well apparelled: for vnto diuers of the said ambassadours the Seniorie had giuen crimosin veluet gownes, especially to the Almaines, and new gownes also to all their servants, but they were verie short. After their returne from procession, a great number of pageants and deuises were shewyd, representing first Italy, and then all these Kings and Princes, and the Queene of Spaine. And as they returned from beholding the said pageants, at a Porphire stone where all their proclamations are made, they proclaimed the said league, and the Turks ambassadour hard it, standing close at a window, & hauing his dispatch, saue that they staied him to behold this triumph. At night he came to talke with me by meanes of a certayne Greeke, and was with me fower howers in my chamber, being very desitrous that his Prince and the King my Master might enter toghether into amitie. I was twise invited to this feast, but I excused my selfe. I remained in the towne about a moneth after this proclamation, being as well entertained as at my first arriuall. Afterward the King sent for me, and I tooke my leaue and departed, being safely conueied by them, and vpon their charges to Ferrara, where the Duke came foorth and receiued me, and feasted me two daies, and defraied me. The like did Master *John de Bentivole* at Bolonia, whither the Florentines sent for me. Wherfore I departed thence and went to Florence there to abide the Kings comming, of whom I will now returne to speake.



THE EIGHT BOOKE CONTINVING THE DISCOVRSE OF THE PRINCIPALL ACTS OF KING CHARLES THE EIGHT.

*Of the order and prouision the King left in the realme of Naples
at his returne into Fraunce.*

Chap. I.



O continue the better this my historie, and to informe you of all that happened, I must now returne to speake of the King, who from the time he entred into Naples till his departure thence, thought onely vpon sports and pleasures, and those that were about him vpon their owne priuate profit and gaine: notwithstanding his yoong yeeres excused him; but on their behalfe, no iust excuse can be made: for he committid all his affaires to their gouernment. And if they had aduised him to leaue well furnished in the countrie at his departure but thre-

or fower castells onely, namely that of Caietta, and one or two more; but yet the castell of Naples alone (the prouision whereof he had giuen away as already you haue heard) the realme had never beene lost: for if the castell of Naples had beene kept, the towne had neuer revolted. So soone as he vnderstood the league aboue mentioned to be concluded, he commanded his whole forces to repaire to him, and appointed ffe hundred men of armes French and 2500. Swiffers¹, and a few French footemen for the defence of the realme, determining with the rest to returne home the same way he came; but the confederates made preparation to stop his passage. The King of Spaine had sent and daily did send certaine Carauels² into Sicilie, the which notwithstanding that they were but slenderly manned, had before the Kings departure, put men into Reges in Calabria neere to Sicilie. I had eftsoones aduertised the King that there they would land, for the ambassadour of Naples had so informed me himselfe, supposing they had already beene landed: but if the King had sent thither in time, he had taken the castell; for the towne held for him. Out of Sicilie came certaine bands also to Mantia and to Turpia, all through our owne fault, because we had sent no forces thither. In like maner the towne of Otrante in Pouille (which had once set vp the armes of Fraunce) seeing the league concluded, and themselues seated neere to Brandis and Gallipoli, and no meanes possible to leue men to put into their towne, reared vp againe the armes of Arragon; and Dom *Ferd*rick being at Brandis, sent a garrison thither. To be shott, fortune began now to frowne vpon vs, which but two moneths before so highly had fauored vs, in such sort, that through the whole realme they began to revolt, as well bicause of the league, as also of the Kings departure, and the small forces he left behinde him, which was nothing in respect of the number of soldiers, though diuers of the capitaines were of great valor. He appointed for his lieutenant generall in the said realme, the Lord of Montpensier of the house of Bourbon, a valiant and a hardy knight, but of no great iense, and so careles, that he kept his bed euery day till noone.

In

¹ *Guicciardini*,
left behinde
him his Swis-
sers, part of
his French
footmen, 800.
French laun-
ches, and 500.
Italian men of
armes.

² These are
certaine ships
hauing both
saile and ore,
the which are
very much
used in the
meridional
seas.

In Calabria he left the Lord of Aubigny a Scottish man borne, a vertuous, wife, honorable, and a valiant knight, him he created high Constable of the realme, and gaue him (as before you haue heard) the Earledome of Acri, and the Marquisat of Squillazzo. He had made Lord great Chamberloine of the realme at his first comming thither, the Seneschall of Beaucaire, called Stephan de Vers, who was also captaine of Caietta, Duke of Nola, and Lord of diuers other Seniories. Further, all the treasure of the realme passed through his hands, so that his charge was much too waigtie for him; but sure he was well affected to the defence of the realme. He created the Lord Don Julian Lorrain a Duke, and left him in the towne of Saint Angelo, where he behaued himselfe passing well. He left in Manfredonia Master Gabriel of Montfaulcon, a man of whom he made great account; and to all these he gaue goodly possessions: but this Gabriell behaued himselfe very childishly; for at fower daies end he yeclded the towne for lacke of victuals: notwithstanding that at his entrie into it he found it very well furnished; besides that it was seated in a countrie abounding with all kinde of graine. Diuers sold all the prouision they found in the castels, and the report went that this Gabriell fled himselfe, and left William of Vilneufue for defence of the towne, whom his owne seruants sold to Dom Frederick, who put him into the gallics, where he remained a long time. At Tarente the King left George of Suilly, who carried himselfe there very gallantly, and died of the plague: and this citie held for the King, till famine forced it to yeeld. In Aquila he left the bailife of Vitry, where he did great seruice: and in Abruzzo Master Gracian des guerres, who likewise made good prooife of his valor rhere. They were all left vnfurnished of monie: for order was giuen that they shold receiue their pay there, of the reuenues of the crowne, but all was too little. Notwithstanding the King left the Printes of Salerne and Bisignan very well appointed, who did him good seruice as long as they were able. He dealt also very bountifullly with the Coulonnois: for he grataed them all their deinaunds, and put aboue thirtie places into their hands and their friends, which if they would haue defended for him, as both by dutie & oth they were bound, they had done him great seruice, and purchased to themselues both honor and profit. For I thinke they were not so highly aduanced these hundred yeeres, as by the King at that time: yet notwithstanding before his departure they began to practise with his enimies. True it is that they serued him in fauor onely of the Duke of Milan, bicause they haue euer beene of the faction Gibilin, but they ought not in respect thereof, to haue dealt faithlesly with him, who so highly had aduanced and pleasured them, not onely this way but diuers others. For in their fauor he led prisoners with him vnder gard, the Lord Virgill Vrfin, and the Earle of Petillane ³, with diuers others of the Vrfin their enimies, yea and that against all right and reason: for notwithstanding that they were taken prisoners, yet knew the King right well that they had a safe conduct, the benefit also whereof he meant they shold enjoy, as himselfe well declared: for he was determined to leade them no further than Ast, and there to release them. All this did he at the Coulonnois request, and yet before his returne to Ast they shrunke from him, yea they were the very first that revolted, though they could alleage no cause that moued them thereunto.



How

¹ Virginia Vrfin
and the Earle
of Petillane
followed the
King onely
vpon their
word not to
depart with-
out leaue.

How the King departed from Naples, and passed againe through Rome, whereupon the Pope fled to Oruiette: of the communication the King had with Monsieur D' Argenton at his returne from Venice: how he tooke advise whether he shold restore the Florencnes places to them or not: and of the Sermons worthy of memo- rie of Frier Jerome of Flo- rence. Chap. 2.

He King hauing giuen order for his affaires, as he thought ¹ He departed from Naples the 20. of May. good, put himselfe vpon the way homeward with the rest of his forces, ¹ being (as I suppose) nine hundred men of armes at the least (comprehending therin the ordinary retinue of his house) ² and two thousand five hundred Swissers, so that I thinke the ³ The King departed Naples with 800. French laun- ces, two hundred gentle- men of his garde, a hun- dred laun- ces under Triuiale three thousand footemen Swissers, a thousand French, and a thousand Gascoines. ⁴ He arrived at Rome the first of June, and abode there two daies. ⁵ For Parma it is better to reade Creme or Bergame: for the Venetians dominions lay not neere to Parma; besides that the ricer Olio is not neere Parma: for the Par- tweene Par- ma and it, so that the Venetians must haue passed the Par- tweene Par- ma after they had pac- sed Olio, be- fore they could haue come to Parma. ⁶ The French Corrector readeth it Montyell, called in Italian Monte Vecchio, which is a certaine trea- sure the Venetians haue to pay the interests due vnto the anciellit creditors of their common wealth, as speareth in the booke of Donato Giannotti.

King

* What these
Estradiots
were looke af-
ter Cap. 5.

King in writing the number of their horsemen, foote men, and Estradiots ⁶, and the names of their captaines: but few of those that were neerest about him credited my words.

After the King had repos'd himselfe two daies at Sene, and well refreshed his horses and his company, I earnestly pressed him to depart: for his enimies were not yet assembled, and I feared onely the Almaines arriuall, of whom the King of Romaines mustered great force, and leuied great summes of money for their paignement. But notwithstanding all my solicitation, the King put foorth two matters to his Councell which were foone debated: the one, whether he should restore the Florentines places to them and accept the offers they made for the restitution of them, being these, to pay him the thirtie thousand ducats remaining yet vnpaid of the summe they gave him ⁷; to lend him besides, seauen thousand, and to serue him as he passed out of Italie with three hundred men of armes, and two thousand footemen vnder the leading of Master *Francis Secco*, a valiant knight and in good credit with the King. My selfe and diuers others were of opinion that he should accept these conditions, retaining onely Ligorne in his hands till his returne to Ast.

And if he had so done, he might haue paied his soldiers, and reserved money yough to haue withdrawn part of his enimies forces, and then haue fought with them. But this resolution tooke no place; for Monsieur *de Ligny* a yoong man cosin german to the King ouerthrew it, not alleaging any reason to the contrarie, but onely for pitie of the Pisans. The other point debated was a matter that Monsieur *de Ligny* himselfe caused to be propounded by *Gaucher of Tinteville*, and by one of the facti-
⁸ They had gi-
uen the King
21000. ducats,
as men-
tion is made
Cap. 9. lib. 7.

* The people
of Sene were
dividid a-
gainst the
order of Monte-
noue, which
held a gard of
soldiers in the
palace. The
citizens pro-
mised *de Ligny*
20000. ducats
a yeere, to
protect them
against the
said Monte-
noue, but
forthwith
after the Kings
departure the
faction of
Montenoue
chased *Ligny*
and his men
out of the
towne. Gui-
tier.

Ones of the Senois, the which desired the said Monsieur *de Ligny* for their captaine. For you shall vnderstand that these Senois are euer in diuision, and governe their com-
mon wealth more sondly than any other towne in Italy ⁸. I being first asked mine ad-
uise said, that I thought it best for the King to march forward, and not to busie him-
selfe with these foolish offers which could not stand him in steed one weeke to an
end: alleaging further that because this was an imperiall towne, we should by this
meanes prouoke the whole Empire against vs. All the rest were of the same opinion,
yet was the cleane contrarie done: for the Senois received Monsieur *de Ligny* for their
Captaine, and promised him yeerely a certaine summe of money, whereof he never
received peny. This foolish matter staied the King there sixe or seauen daies, during
the which space he solaced himselfe with the Dames. Further, he left there three
hundred of his men diminishing his force by so much, and then remoued to Pisa
passing by Poggibonzi a castle of the Florentines. But they whom he left at Sene
were chased thence within a moneth after.

I had forgotten to tell you how I being at Florence iourneying towards the King, went with one of the stewards of his house named *John Francois* a wise and discreet person, to visite a Frier *Jacbin* called Frier Hieronime ⁹, a man of holy life (as all men reported) abiding in a reformed couent where he had remained fifteene yeers. The cause why I went to commune with him was, for that he had euer preached very fauorably on the Kings behalfe, so far foorth that his words had staide the Florentines from revolting from vs, for never preacher caried so great credit in any citie: he had euer assured them of the Kings comming, whatsoeuer was said or written to the contrarie; affirming that he was sent of God to chastice the tyrants of Italie, and that no force should be able to withstand him. He preached further that the King should come to Pisa and enter into the towne, and that the selfe same daie the estate of Florence should be altered as also it happened: for the same day was *Peter of Medicis* banished the towne. Diuers other things, also foretold he long before

they happened, namely the Lord of *Lawrence of Medicis*: all the which he said he vnderstood by revelation. He preached yet further that the estate of the Church should be reformed by the sword. This is not yet come to passe, but was verie neare, and he auoweth still that it shall be. Many found great fault with him because he saide that God revealed these things to him, but some beleued him: sure I for my part account him a holy man. I asked him whether the King should passe out of Italy without danger of his person, seeing the great preparation the Venetians made against him, whereof he discoursed perfectlier than my selfe that came from thence. He answered me that the King should haue some trouble vpon the way, but that the honor thereof should be his, though he were accompanied but with an hundred men, and that God who had guided him at his comming, would also protect him at his return. Adding notwithstanding that because he had not done his duerie in the reformation of the Church, but had suffered his men to spoile and rob the people, as well those that tooke his part, and voluntarily received him into their cities, as his enimies: God had pronounced sentence against him, and would shortly scourge him. Neverthelesse he bad me tell him that if he would haue compassion on the poore people, and endeouour himselfe to keepe his men from doing euill, and punish the offendours (as he was bound by his office to do,) that then God would reuoke his sentence, at the least mitigate it: adding thereunto that he ought not to thinke it a sufficient excuse, that he in his owne perlon did no harine. He said moreouer that himselfe would go and tell the King thus much, and it indeed he did, and perswaded with him to restore the Florentines places to them. When he spake thus of Gods sentence, the death of my Lord the Dauphine came suddenly to my minde, for I saw no other thing that could greatly trouble the King. Thus much I haue written to the end it may yet more manifestly appeare, that this voyage was in deed a meere miracle of God.

How the King retained in his bands the towne of Pisa, and certaine other
of the Florentines places: and how in the meane time
the Duke of Orleans entred on the other
side into Nourre, a towne of
the Duchie of Milan.

Chap. 3.

 After the King was entred into Pisa, (as you haue heard) all the Pisans both men and women besought their guests for Gods loue to make intercession to the King, that they might no more returne vnder the Florentines tyrannie, who in truth handled them extremely; but diuers cities in Italy that be in subiection to others, are as euill intreated as they: besides that, the Pisans and Florentines had beene in wars together the space of three hundred yeeres before the Florentines subdued them. These lamentable words before mentioned ioined with teares mooued our men to pitie, and caused them so far foorth to forget the Kings promise and oath made vpon the aultar of Saint John at Florence, that all sorts of men busied themselues in this matter, euen the poore archers and the Swiflers, who also threatened those that they thought perswaded the King to performe his promise, namely the Cardinall Saint Malo, so often before named generall of Languedoc, whom my selfe heard an archer threaten. There were in like manner that gaue very rough language to the Marshall of Gie. The president *Gunnay* by the space of three daies and more, durst not lye in his lodging. But

the Earle of Ligny aboue all the rest sauoured the Pisans cause, who came in troupes weeping and lamenting to the King, in such sort, that we all pitied them, and would willingly haue releued them, if it had lien in vs so to do. One day after dinner, fortie or fiftie gentlemen of the Kings house assembled themselves togither, and went with their partisans into the Kings chamber, where he was playing at tables with Monsieur de Piennes, accompanied onely with two grommes of his chamber. One of these gentlemen sonne to Sallezard the elder, spake as mouth of the rest to the King, desiring him to be gratiouse Lord to the Pisans, and accusing certaine of those lately named as traitors to him. But the King with so stour language commaunded them to depart, that after, the like never hapned. The King spent sixe or seuen daies needlesly in the towne of Pisa, and then changed the garrison, and made captaine of the Citadelle one Entragues, a man of lewd conditions, seruant to the D. of Orleans, whom he thus preferred by Monsieur de Lignys sute, and left with him in the said Citadelle certaine footemen of the Duchie of Berrie. Further, the said Entragues procured such friendship (I suppose by his money) that he was also made captaine of Petro-
sancte, and of another place neere to it called Mortron¹, and in like manner of Li-
brefacto, which is neere to Luques. The castell of Serzane being very strong, was put
at the request of the said Earle of Ligny, into the hands of a bastard of Roussi, and an
other place called Serzanelle, into the hands of another, being both his owne ser-
uants. In these places the King left a great part of his forces: notwithstanding that
he shall never haue such neede of men, as he had at that time. Moreover, he refused
the Florentines aid and offers aboue mentioned, and draue them into vter despaire.

¹ The French
correcor sup-
poseth it
should be
Motron, but
the author
himselfe after-
ward chap. 14.
calleth it Mo-
tron. Guicciar.
hath it Mu-
tron.
Yet was he aduertised before his departure from Sene, that the Duke of Orleans
(whom he had left behind him in Ast)² had taken the city of Nouarre in the Duchie
of Milan, and therefore was well assured that the Venetians would declare them-
selues his enimies: for they sent him word that if he invaded the Duke of Milan, they
would aide the Duke with their whole force, according to their league lately made,
sea at Rapalo, and their force was great and in a readines. Now you shall vnderstand that presently
upon the conclusion of their league, the Duke of Milan thought to haue surprised
the King, two
gentlemen
called Opi-
zins brought
the Duke of
Orleans into
Nouarre.
Guicci.

² The Duke of
Orleans im-
mediately af-
ter the skir-
mish vpon the
sea at Rapalo,
fell sick of an
ague, and re-
turned to Ast:
Ast, supposing to finde it vterly vnmanned: but my letters had hastened the forces
and passed no
further with
the Duke of
Orleans into
Nouarre.
Guicci.

and came thither in good time. Soone after them arrived also fiftie hundred footmen,
sent thither by the Marques of Saluce. The comming of the which staied the Duke
of Milans forces led by Master Gales of Saint Seuarin, who hearing these newes re-
tired to Nom, a castle of the Duchie of Milan, two miles from Ast. In the necke of
these arrived also three hundred and fiftie men of armes, and certaine gentlemen of
Daulphine, and two thousand Swissers, with certaine franke archers of the said coun-
try of Daulphine, so that their whole number was 7500. men taking pay. But they
lingred so long vpon the way that they serued not to the purpose they were sent for.
For the K. sent for them to come & succor him, but in stead of aiding him he was for-
ced to aid them. The K. had also giuen commandement to the D. of Orleans and his
captaines not to attempt any thing against the Duke of Milan, but onely to defend
the towne of Ast, & to meet him at the riuier of Thesin to helpe to conuey him ouer
it, for that was the onely riuier to trouble him. But notwithstanding all that the King
writ to the Duke of Orleans, this enterprise of Nouarre (which is but ten leagues
from Milan) liked him so well, that he was contented to giue eare thereunto, and was
receiued into the citie in great triumph both of the Guelphes and Gibelinges, which
his exploit the Marchionesse of Montferrat greatly furthered. The castle held two of
three

three daies and then yeelded also. But if in the meane time, the Duke had gone or
sent to Milan (where he had good intelligence) he had beeene receiued into the towne
with greater ioy, than euer he was into his castle of Blois, as divers of the noblest
men of the countrey haue informed me. And the three first daies he might haue
gone thither in safetie, for when Nouarre was taken, the Duke of Milans whole force
lay yet at Nom neere to Ast, and returned not to Milan till the fourth day after. But
I suppose the Duke beleueed not all the intelligence he receiued thence.

*How King Charles passed divers dangerous straights in the mountaines betweene
Pisa and Serzane: how the towne of Pontremo was burned by
his selmaines, and how the Duke of Orleans
behaved himselfe in the meane
time at Nouarre.*

Chap. 4.

 Ou haue heard alreadie of the Kings departure from Sene to
Pisa, and of all that he did at Pisa. Thence he remooued to Lu-
ques where the citizens honorably received him, and there he
abode two daies. Afterward he marched to Petrosancte (which
Entragues held) making no account of his enimies, neither
himselfe nor those that carried all the credit with him. He pas-
sed maruellous straights in the mountaines betweene Luques
and Petrosancte, which a handfull of footemen might easily

haue defended against him: but our enimies were not yet assembled. Neere to the
said Petrosancte is the straight of Seiere on the one side, and the straight of Roctaille
on the other, being great deepe salt marshes, where we were forced to passe ouer a
narow way, like to a causey in a standing poole: and this was the straight that between
Pisa and Pontremo I most feared, and which was reported to be most dangerous: for
one cart set ouerthwart the way with two good peeces of artillerie, and but a hand-
full of men, might haue stopped our passage, had our force beene never so great.
From Petrosancte the King remooued to Serzane, where the Cardinall Saint Peter
ad Vincula offered to make Genua revolt, and desired to haue some part of the Kings
forces sent thither. The matter was debated by the Kings Councell, my selfe being
present at it in the companie of a great many wise men and good capitaines: all the
which concluded, that no eare should be giuen to this enterprise, because if the King
obtained the victorie, Genua would yeeld of it selfe; and if he were ouerthrown, it
could do him no seruice: and this was the first time that I perceived any of them to
doubt the battell. Report was made to the King of our resolution; yet notwithstanding
thither he sent the Lord of Bresse afterward Duke of Sauoy, the Lord of Beau-
mont, the Lord of Polignac my brother in lawe, and the Lord of Aimbeiou of the
house of Amboise, with sixescore men of armes, and fiftie hundred crossebow men
newly come out of Fraunce by sea. But I woondred that so yoong a Prince had no
trustie seruants about him, that durst boldly tell him into how great danger he put
himselfe by diminishing his force after this sort: for as touching me, me thought he
beleueed not all that I said.

We had a small armie vpon the sea returning from Naples, vnder the leading of
the Lord of Myolens gouernor of Daulphine, and one Stephan de Nues of Mont-
pellier. They were in all about eight gallies, and sailed to Specie and Repalo, where at
this present they were all defeated and led prisoners to Genua, in the selfesame place
where

where he had vanquished King *Alphonse's* forces at the beginning of this voyage, and by the selfesame men that tooke part with vs at that battell, namely Master *John Lewis de Flisco*, and Master *John Adorne*: but if the matter had been wel ordered, they should haue beeene with the King, and all little ynoch. The Lord of Bresle and the Cardinall aboue mentioned went and lodged in the suburbs of Genua, supposing that their faction within the towne would haue risen in their favor. But the Duke of Milan and the *Adornes* that gouerned the towne, and Master *John Lewis de Flisco* (a wise knight) had giuen so good order to preuent this mischiche, that our men were in great danger to be defeated heere also, as the others were before vpon the sea: for their number was small, and had it not beeene because the faction that ruled at Genua durst not issue foorth of the towne, for feare least the Fourgoules should rebell and shute the gares vpon them, vndoubtedly they had all beeene slaine; for this notwithstanding they were in great distresse vpon the way as they retired to Ast: besides that, they were not at the battell with the King, where their seruice might haue stood him in good stead. From Serzane the King marched to Pontremo, through the which he was forced to passe, because it is the verie entrie into the mountaines. The towne and castell were well fortified, and the seate of them maruellous strong, but within them were not aboue three or fower hundred footmen; for if they had beeene well manned, they had beeene impregnable. Wherefore Frier *Jerome's* prophetic proued true, which was, that God would leade the King by the hand, till he were out of danger: for it seemed that his enimies were blinded and bereft of their wits, in that they defended not this straight. To the said place of Pontremo the King sent his vaward led by the Marshall Gie, accompanied with Master *John James of Treuoul*, whom the King had received into his seruice at Naples after King *Ferrandes* departure thence, with whom he was then in pay: he was a gentleman of Milan of a good house, a good captaigne, a very valiant man, and great enimie to the Duke of Milan: for he was banished by him when King *Ferrande* received him into his service. By the said Master *John James* his meanes, the place yeelded immediately without batterie, and the garrison that was within it departed. But a great inconuenience hapned there: for (as before is mentioned) when the Duke of Milan passed last that way, they of the towne and certaine of our Swissers fel at variance (of whom about fortie at that time were slaine) for reuenge whereof, the said Swissers at this present (notwithstanding the composition) slue all the men they found in the towne, spoiled it and burnt both victuals and all that was within it, and aboue ten also of themselues being drunke, neither could the Marshall Gie by any meanes make them to retire. They besieged the castell also, meaning to haue done the like to those that were within it, being the said Master *John James* of Treouules seruants, whom he had put into it when the garrison of the enimies yeelded it, neither would the said Almains depart thence till the King himselfe sent to them. It was great pitie that the towne was thus destroied, both because of the dishonor we received thereby, and also because there was great plentie of victuals within it, whereof we were alreadie in great distresse¹, notwithstanding that the people were no where against vs, saue onely the people of the countrey neere to Pontremo, because of the harmes we did there. Now to proeede, if the King would haue followed the said Master *John James* his advise, diuers places of the Duchie of Milan would haue yeelded, and diuers gentlemen of the countrey haue revolted to him: for he gaue him counsell to reare vp in euerie place the yoong Dukes armes, whom the Lord *Lodouic* held in his hands, being sonne to *John Galeas* the Duke that last died at Pauia, as before you haue heard. But the King refused so to do, for the fauor he bare to the Duke of Orleans, who pretended and

¹ The cause of their lacke was the barrennes of the countrey.

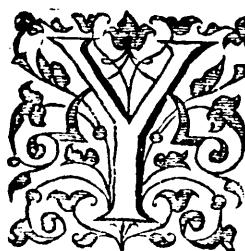
and doth yet pretend title to the said Duchie. Thus marched the King beyond Pontremo, and lodged in a little valley neere to a village that had not ten houses in it; the name whereof I know not. There he abode fve daies vpon no occasion, his armie being almost famished, and his battell lying thirtie miles behinde his vaward in the middest of huge and sharpe mountaines, ouer the which sucht great cannons and culuerins passed then, as neuer had passed before. For Duke *Galeas* in his time conueied ouer but fower faulcons, wayng not past fve hundred pound a peece, which was a great woonder in those daies.

I must now returne to the Duke of Orleans, who after he had taken the castell of Nouare, staid there a few daies to no purpose, and then went to Vigesue, neere to the which were two little townes that sent vnto him, offering to receiue him, but by wise aduise he refused their offer. They of Pauia sent also twise to him to the same end, and them he should not haue refused. Moreouer, he marched in order of battell before the said towne of Vigesue, where the Duke of Milans whole force lay, being led by the two brethren of Saint Seuerin, so often aboue named. The towne is hardly so good as Saint Martin-de-Candé, which is not woorthe sixe pence. My selfe arrived there not long after, at which tyme the Duke of Milan being there with certaine of his captaines, shewed me the place where both the armies had stood in order of battell hard by the towne and within the towne. And if the Duke of Orleans had marched but an hundred paces further, they had retired beyond the riuier of Thesin, for they stood hard by the riuier side, and had built a great bridge of boates ouer it. Moreouer, I saw them at my being there, beat downe a great bulwark of earth which they had made on the other side of the riuier to defend the passage; whereby it ap- peared that they were fully minded if the Duke had marched forward, to abandon both the towne and castell, which had beeene much to their disaduantage. This is the place where the Duke of Milan vseth most to reside, and sure it is seated in the pleasantest countrey for all kinde of pastime, especially hauking and hunting, that euer I sawe. But peraduenture the Duke of Orleans thought the place strong where his enimies lodged, and himselfe to haue passed far ynoch: wherefore he retired to Trecas, the Lord whereof (who had charge vnder the Duke of Milan) and my selfe communed togither of these affaires a fewe daies after. To the said towne of Trecas certaine of the principall of Milan sent to the Duke of Orleans, promising to receiue him into the towne, and offering for performance thereof, to deliuer their children in hostage. Which their enterprise they might easilly haue executed, as diuers of great authoritie being then within the towne and acquainted with all these practises haue aduertised me: saying that the Duke of Milan could not haue found men ynow to haue defended the castell of Milan for him, because both nobles and people desi- red the destruction of this house of Sforze. The Duke of Orleans also and his men haue informed me of these practises aboue mentioned, but they had no great affiance in those that negotiated with them, and they lacked a man that vnderstood these affaires better than themselues: whereunto I also adde, that the said Dukes captaines were not all of one opinion as touching this enterprise. With the Duke of Milans forces ioined two thousand Almains, whom the King of Romanes sent thither, and a thousand Dutch horsemen vnder the leading of Master *Frederic Capelare*, borne in the countie of Ferrette. Their arriuall so much encouraged Master *Galeas* and his compaines, that they went before Trecas to present the battell to the Duke of Orleans, who refused it notwithstanding that his force were greater then theirs, because his captaines as I suppose would not hazard the battell, fearing least the losse thereof should be the Kings destruction, of whom they could haue no newes, because the passages

passages were all stopped; wherefore they retired to Nouarre, giuing no order for their prouision of victuals, no not for the preseruation of the store they had within the towne alreadie, much lesse for any new supply, whereof notwithstanding they might plentifully haue beeene furnished at that time in the countrey about without money, whereas afterward they were greatly distressed through their owne follie. To conclude, their enimies came and lodged within halfe a league of them.

How the Kings great artillerie passed the mounts Appenines by the Almains helpe, of the danger the Marshall of Gie was in with his vaward, and how the King arrived at Fornoue.

Chap. 5.

Ou haue heard how the King vpon no occasion lay in a valley on this side Pontremo fwe daies togither, in great distresse of victuals. Our Almains did there one great pece of seruice: for those that committed the foule fault at Pontremo abouemen-
tioned, fearing that they had thereby procured themselues the Kings indignation for euer; came and offered to passe the artill-
ery ouer these monstrous waies in the mountaines, for so may I wel terme them, bicause they were so high and steep that there lay no beaten way ouer them. I haue seene all the highest mountaines both of Italy and Spaine, which vndoubtedly are not comparable to these. The Almains made this offer vpon condition that the K. would pardon their fault, which he promised to do. We had fourteen great and massie pieces of artillery, and immediately after we were out of the valley, we mounted vp such a maruellous steepe and vpright hill, that our mules could hardly clime vp to it. But these Almains coupled themselues two and two togither with strong cordes, and drew a hundred or two at a time, and when one companie was weariest, a fresh succeeded. Besides this, all the horses appointed for conuiance of the artillery helped them, and every man of the Kings house that had any traine, lent a horse to conuey it ouer with the more speed: but had it not been for the Almains, the horses would never haue passed it ouer. To say the truth they con-
ueighed ouer not the artillerie onely, but the whole armie, for had it not beeene for them there could not a man haue passed. But it is no maruell if they drew with good courages, because thereby they passed as well themselues as vs, whereof they were no lesse desirous than we. They did much harme I confess, but their good seruice far surmounted their euill deedes. The greatest difficultie was not to draw vp the artillerie, for when they were at the top of the mountaine, they might behold a great deepe valley vnderneath, for the way is such as nature hath made it, and by Art it was never holpen. Wherfore vndoubtedly the difficultie was much greater in con-
ueighing the artillerie downe than in drawing it vp; for both horses and men were forced to draw countermount at the taile of euerie pece: besides that, carpenters or siniths were continually working vpon them, for when a pece fell, great trouble it was to hoise it vp againe. Many gaue aduise to breake all the great artillery, but the King would in no wise agree therunto.

The Marshall of Gie who lay with our vaward thirtie miles before vs, pressed the King to make haste: but it was three daies before we could ioine with him. The enimies campe lay directly in his face within halfe a league of him, who in mine opinion shold haue had a good boote if they had assailed him. Afterward he lodged in

the village of Fornoue to keepe them from assailing vs in the mountaines, for the which purpose the village serued well, bicause it is at the foote of the mountains, and the very entrie into the plaine. Notwithstanding we had a better protector than him, I meane God, who put another conceit into our enimies heads: for so great was their couerousnes that they resolued to tarie vs in the plaine, to the end none of vs should escape, supposing if they had assailed vs in the mountaines, that we would retire to Pisa and the Florentines places that we held. But therein they were much deceived, for we were too far from those places; besides that, if our force and theirs had ioyned and fought, they might haue pursued as fast as we could haue fled, especially knowing the countrey better than we: hitherto in all this voyage we had no war¹, but now it began. For the Marshall of Gie aduertised the King that he was past the mountaines, and had sent fortie light horse to giue an alarme to the enimies campe thereby to discouer their actions, who were incontinent encountered by the Estradiots², the which slew a gentleman of ours named *le Beuf*, and cut off his head and hung it at one of their launces, and caried it to their Pronifors to receiue a ducat for it. These Estradiots are soldiers like to the Turkes Ianizaries, and attired both on foote and horsebacke like to the Turks, saue that they weare not vpon their head such a great roule of linnen as the Turkes do, called Tolliban. They are rough soldiers, for both they and their horses keepe the fields winter and sommer. They were all Greeks come from the places that the Venetians hold there, some from Naples,³ in the countrie of Morea, some out of Albanie, and some from Duras. Their horses are excellent good, for they are all Turkish. The Venetians vse their seruice much and trust them well. I saw them all when they landed at Venice, and mustered in an Ile wherein the Abbey of Saint Nicholas standeth: they were to the number of fifteen hundred, and are valiant men, and trouble an army exceeding-
ly with their alarmes when they are disposed so to do. These Estradiots followed the chase euen to the Marshals lodging, and entred into our Almains campe, of whom they slew three or fower, and caried their heads away with them, for such is their maner. Bicause when the Venetians were in war with the Turke *Mahomet Op. thoman* this Turkes father that now raigneth: he commanded his men to take no prisoners, but gaue them a ducat for euerie head, and the Venetians did the like, which maner I thinke they now vse, the more to terrifie vs, as indeed they did. But the said Estradiots were no lesse daunted themselues with our artillery: for one faulken shot slew one of their horses, whereupon they retired incontinent, for they vnderstood not the feat of artillery: but in their retrait, they tooke a Captaine of our Almains prisoner, who was mounted on horsebacke to see if they retired. He was stricken through the bodie with a launce, for he was unarmed. He was a wise fellow, and they led him to the Marques of Mantua Generall of the Venetians armie, being then accompanied with his vncle the Lord *Rodolphe* of Mantua, and the Earle of Caiaze Captaine of the Duke of Milans forces, who knew this Captaine that was taken very well. Now you shall vnderstand that our enimies whole force was abrode in order of battell⁴, at the least all that was assembled: for all their forces were not yet come togither, notwithstanding that they had lien their eight daies making their musters, so that the King had leasure ynochough to haue returned into Fraunce without all danger, had it not been for the long abode he made to no pur-
pose in the places aboue rehearsed. But God had otherwise disposed of this busines.

The said Marshall fearing to be assailed, encamped vpon the mountaine, hauing with him onely eight score men of armes and eight hundred Almains as he told me himselfe: and as touching vs we could not haue succoured him, for it was a daie and

¹ For you heard before how easily without blowes they entred into Naples.

² It seemeth that this word is derived of the Greeke, for *στρατιώτης* in Greeke signifieth a soldier.

³ This Naples is a towne in Morea or Pe-
loponnesus vnder the Ve-
netians go-
vernment, cal-
led in times past *Nauplia*, and now *Nea-
polis Romanie*.

⁴ For they were come fourth of their campe with intent to haue assailed the Marshall.

Understand this day and a halfe after before we could ioine with him bicause of our artillerie ⁵. The King lodged by the way at two yoong Marqueses houses. Our vaward lay vpon the hill in great feare waiting howerly when their enimies (who stood in order of battell, a prettie way from them in the plaine) would assaile them. But God who alwaies manifestly declared that he would preserue the companie, tooke away our enimies senses from them: for the Earle of Caiazze asked our Almaine who it was that led this vaward, and how great the force was, for he knew our number better than our selues, bicause he had been with vs all the sommer. The Almaine made the force great, and reported them to be three hundred men of armes, and fifteene hundred Swiessers: whereunto the Earle answered that he lied, alleging that in the whole armie were but three thousand Swiessers, and that it was vnlke we would send the halfe before with the vaward. Then this Almaine was sent prisoner to the Marques of Mantuas paullion, and they consulted whether they should assaile the Marshall or no. But the Marques crediting the Almaines report, alleged that their foote-men were not able to match our Almaines, and that part of their force was not yet arriued, without the which they should do wrong to fight. Adding further, that if they should happen to be discomfited, the Seniorie might iustly be displeased: wherefore he liked better to tarie vs in the plaine, seeing we could passe no way but iust before them: of which opinion were also the two prouisors, against whose advise they durst not fight: but others said that if this vaward were defeated, the King must of necessarie be taken: notwithstanding in the ende they agreed all to tarie vs in the plaine, trusting that not one of vs should escape. All this I vnderstood by the parties themselves aboue named: for after the battell we and they met togither, and the Marshall of Gie and my selfe had great communication with them about these affaires. Thus they retired into their campe, being well assured that within a day or two the King would passe the mountaines and lodge in the village of Fornoue. In the meane time all the rest of their forces arriued, and we could not passe but hard before them: so straight and narrow was the way. When we came downe the mountaines we beheld the champaigne countrey of Lombardy, which is the pleasantest, best, and fruitfuller soile in the world. But notwithstanding I call it champaigne; yet is it verely troublesome for horsemen, bicause it is full of ditches like to Flaunders, yea fuller I thinke: but withall it is much pleasanter and plentifuller both of good corne, good wines, and fruits, for their grounds beare every yeere. We were right glad to behold it, bicause of the great famine and penurie we had sustained in our iourney euer since our departure from Luques. But our artillerie tired vs exceedingly as we came downe the hill, so steepe and painfull was the way. Our enimies campe was well furnished of tents and paullions, which made it shew maruellous great and sure so was it: for the Venetians had performed their promise made to the King by me, which was that they and the Duke of Milan would put fortie thousand men into the field, at the least if they performed it not fully, they failed not much thereof: for in this armie were fiftie and thirtie thousand taking pay, fower parts of fiftie being of Saint Marke ⁶.

They were at the least two thousand men of armes barded, every one of them accompanied with fower men on horseback, bearing crosse bowes or some other weapon ⁷, their Estradiots and light horse men, were to the number of fiftie thousand, the rest were footemen, and they lodged in a strong place well fortifid, and well furnished with artillerie.

The King came downe the mountaine about noone, and lodged in the village of Fornoue, vpon sunday being the fift of Iulij, the yeere 1495. We found in the village

great

great plentie of meale, wine, and prouender for horses, brought thither by the people of the countrey, who received vs friendly euery where (for no honest man did them harme) and victualled vs with bread and wine and some fruit, whereby they somewhat eased the armie: but their bread was little and blacke, and they sold it deere, and three parts of their wine was water. My selfe caused some of their victuals to be bought for me, which notwithstanding I durst not tast of, because we suspected they meant to poison vs, so that at the first no man durst aduenture to eate of them; and the suspition increased, bicause two Swiessers were found dead in a sellier, having drunke themselues to death, or taken cold after they had drunke. But before mid-night the horses began first to feede, and afterward the men, and then we refreshed our selues well. I must here speake somewhat in the honor of the Italian nation, bicause we neuer found in all this voiage that they sought by poison to do vs harme, yet if they would, we could hardly haue auoided it. We arriued at Fornoue (as you haue heard) vpon sunday at noone: the King lighted and ate and dranke a little, to refresh himselfe, but a number of gentlemen there were that hardly could get a morsell of bread, for there was small store of other victuals than such as we found in the place, whereof till midnight (as before you haue heard) none of vs durst taste.

Immediately after dinner, certaine of their Estradiots campe and gaue vs a hot alarme eu'en within our campe. Our men were as yet vnaquainted with them, for the which cause all our armie came foorth into the field in very good order, and in three battells, vaward, battell, and rereward, the one being not aboue a bowles cast from the other, so that ech of them might with speed haue succoured other: but in the end this hote alarme prooued nothing, wherefore we returned to our lodging. We had a few tents and paullions, and our campe lay in length auancing it selfe towards theirs: besides that, there was a wood through the which the enimies might come vnder couert almost to vs ⁸, by meanes whereof twentie of their Estradiots might easilly giue vs alarme at all times, and so I warrant you they did, for they lay continually at the end of our campe. We encamped in a valley, betweene two little hils ⁹, through the which ran a riuier, that a man may easilie passe ouer on foote, vnaesse it happen to arise, as it doth often vpon a sudden in that countrey, but the waters tarrie not long, the riuers name is Tarro. All the said valley is grauell and great stone, very troublesome for horsemen, and not aboue a quarter of a league broade. Vpon the hill on the right hand lay our enimies (hardly halfe a league from vs) so that we were forced to passe iust before them, the riuier running betweene vs: for notwithstanding that on the backe side of the hill on the left hand (vnderneath the which we encamped) there lay another way that we might haue taken, yet would we not so do, least we shoulde seeme to flie, but encamped in the valley at the foote of the said hill, in the face of our enimies. Those in our campe that were of the wiser sort began now to feare, in such sort, that about two daies before, they had desired me to go and parle with the enimies, taking one with me to view them, and to number how great their force was. I was loth to take this iourney vpon me, bicause without safe conduct I could not go in safetie. Wherefore I answered that both at my departure from Venise, and the same night also that I arriued at Padua, I was entred into good intelligence with their prouisors, so that I thought they would not refuse to commune with me in the midway betweene both the armies: but if I shoulde offer my selfe to go to them I shoulde thereby too much encourage them; adding further, that this matter was mooued too late. Notwithstanding, the selfe same sunday that the King arriued at Fornoue, I wrot to their prouisors (one of the which was named Master Jacques Pisan, and the other Master Melchior Trenisan) desiring them that vnder safe conduct,

¹ The Kings
campe lay a-
mong fal-
lowes and
willowes. An-
nal. Franc. &
Aquit.

² Of the seats
of both the
camps reade
Gucciar. fol.

38. pag. 2.

conduct, one of them would come and parle with me, according to their offer made at our departure from Padua, (as before you haue heard.) They answered that they would willingly haue satisfied my request, if the war had not been begun vpon the Duke of Milan: notwithstanding, they promised that one of them (whether of the twaine should be appointed) would come into some place in the midway to commune with me if we so thought good; which answere I receiued the same sunday at night: but those that had all the credit with the King, made no account thereof. As touching my selfe, I durst not take too much vpon me, nor presse the matter too earnestly, least they should charge me with cowardise: wherefore I waded no further in it that night; notwithstanding, that I would with all my hart haue helped the King and his army out of that straight, if I might haue done it without danger.

About midnight the Cardinall of Saint Malo, whose pavillion was hard by mine, told me as he came from the King, that we shold depart the next morning by break of day, and that the King would commaund a cannon to be shot into the enimies campe as we passed along by them, to signifie that he was there ready to present them battell, and so march forward without ony more adoe. And I suppose that this aduise proceeded from the Cardinall himselfe, as a man vnable to talke of the wars, neither vnderstanding what they meant. But it had beene requisite that the King should haue assembled the wisest men and best Captaines in his armie, to debate so weightie a matter as this was. And yet perhaps that should haue beene but to small purpose neither; for I sawe many matters debated in this voiage, the which were executed cleane contrarie to the resolution. I answere the Cardinall that if we appreched so neere them, as to shoote into their campe, vndoubtedly men would issue foorth on both sides to the skirmish, the which could neuer be retired without battell: alleaging further, that this was cleane contrarie to that I had already begun with their Prouisors, and it greeued me, that we shold take this course: but such had mine estate beene euer since the beginning of the Kings raigne, that I durst not wade too far in any matter, least I should haue procured my selfe the displeasure of them that were in authoritie about him, which was so great where he liked, that it was but too great.

The selfesame night we had two other great alarmes all through our owne fault, because we had giuen no order against their Estradiots as we ought to haue done, and the vse is to do in the wars against light horsemen: for twentie of our men of armes with their archers would haue matched two hundred of them; but they were as yet strange to vs. There fell also this night a terrible raine, and such lightning and thundering as was neuer since the world began: so that heauen and earth seemed to go together, or that this foreshewed soone great inconuenience to ensue. For notwithstanding that we knew well, that the reverberation of these great mountaines (at the foote of the which we lay) made this thunder seeme greater than indeed it was; and further, that thunder and lightning be naturall in a hot countrie, especially in sommer: yet seemed they at that present the more dreadfull and terrible to vs, because we sawe so many enimies encamped before vs, we hauing none other meanes to passe through them but by battell, our force being so small as it was; for we were not aboue nine thousand able men good and bad: of the which two thousand were noble mens seruants of the campe; but I comprehend not in this number pages nor straglers, nor such kinde of people.

Of the castell of Fornone, wherein the enimies of Fraunce were put to flight, and how the Earle of Petillane, who the same day brake the Kings prison, relied them together againe.

Chap. 6.

He monday morning about seuen of the clocke, being the sixt day of July, the yeere of our Lord 1495, the noble King mounted on horsebacke calling often for me. At my comming to him I found him armed at all peeces, and mounted vpon the brauest horse that euer I saw, called Sauoy, which some said was a horse of Bresse. Duke *Charles* of Sauoy gaue him to the King: he was blacke, and had but one eie, and of a meane stature, but tall ynough for him he carried. This yoong Prince seemed that day altogether another man than either his nature, person, or complexion would beare: for naturally he was, and yet is very fearefull in speech, because he had euer been brought vp in great awe, and with men of meane estate: but this horse made him seeme great, and he had a good countenance and a good colour, and his talke was stout and wise: whereby appeared (as I then called to minde) that Frier *Jerom* told me truth, when he said that God would leade him by the hand, and that he should haue somewhat to do vpon the way, but that the honor thereof should be his. His words to me were these; if these men will parliament, go and commune with them, and because the Cardinall was there present, he named him to accompany me, and the Marshall of *Gie*, who was out of patience because of a broile that had happened betweene the Eatles ¹ of Narbonne and *Guise*, the which *Guise* sometime had led certaine bands, and ought of right to haue led the vaward ², as all men said. I answered the King, that I would do his commandement, but that I neuer saw two so great forces so neere together, de- part without battell.

Our whole armie marched foorth vpon the plaine in good order, the one battell neere to the other as the day before: but as touching the force, it seemed but a handfull to that I had seene with Duke *Charles* of Burgundie, and King *Lew* (this Kings Father. Vpon the said plaine the Cardinall and I withdrew our selues aside, and endited a letter to the two Prouisors aboue named, the which was written by one Master *Robertet* a Secretarie of the Kings, and in good credit. The contents of our letter were, that it appertained to the estate and office of the Cardinall to procure peace, and vnto me also hauing so lately beene ambassador at Venice; for the which cause I might as yet take vpon me the office of mediator between the King and them. We signified further to them on the Kings behalfe, that he would but passe foorth his way without doing harme to any man: wherefore if they minded to parliament according to the order taken the day before, we for our parts were willing thereto; and would imploy our selues to do all the good we could. The skirmishes were al ready begun round about vs, and after our armie had marched a while, softly passing along before them, the riuier running betweene them and vs (as you haue heard) we approached so neere to them, that we came within a quarter of a league of their camp, within the which they stood all in martiall array: for their maner is to make their campe so large, that they may all stand in order of battell within it.

They sent foorth incontinent part of their Estradiots and crossebow men on horsebarke, and certaine men of armes, the which came along vpon the way almost

¹ Vicount of Narbonne.

² Ferrou.

¹ Rereward after the French corrector, the leading wherof *Louis* giueth to two that strake for it. Ferrou and our author to Narbonne (otherwise called Earle of Foix) alone.

² *Amal. Franc.* to Monsieur de la Trimoille Vicount de Touars and to Monsieur de Guise: but it appeareth lib.

³ 7. cap. 13. when the King thought to haue fought with Dom Fer- rand at Saint Germain that Monsieur de Guise led the vaward, so that I know not how it is best here to be read.

vnder

vnder couert, towards the village of Fornoue, (out of the which we were departed) meaning there to passe this little riuere, and to assayle our carriage, which was so great, that I thinke it laded aboue 6000. miles, horses, and asses. They had set their battels in such order in many daies before they fought, that better they could not be ordered: for they were so placed, that their great number halfe assured them of the victory, because they assayled the King and his armie on euery side, in such sort that not one of vs could haue escaped if we had beene broken, considering the straite we were in. Those aboue mentioned came and assayled our carriage, and on the left hand came the Marquesse of Mantua, the Lord *Rodolph* his vncle, and the Earle *Bernardin* of Dalmouton, with all the flower of their armie, being to the number of sixe hundred men of armes, as themselues afterward confessed, all the which entred into the plaine directly behinde vs. Their men of armes were all barded, & furnished with braue plumes and goodly bourdonasses ³, and well accompanied with crossebowe men on horsebacke, Estradiots, and footemen. Against the Marshall of Gie and our vaward, marched the Earle of Caiaze with fower hundred men of armes (accompanied as the others aboue mentioned) and with a great band of footemen: with him also was another company of two hundred men of armes, led by Master *John de Bentiuol* of Bolonia his sonne, a yoong man, who before had never seene the wars, for they were as slenderly provided of good capitaines as we. This yoong *Bentiuolle* was placed there, to giue a newe charge vpon our vaward immediately after the Earle of Caiaze had charged it. With the Marquesse of Mantua was also a like companie of men of armes for the same purpose, vnder the leading of Master *Anthony* of Vrbin bastard to the late Duke of Vrbin. Besides these there remained yet in their campe two great troupes of men of armes, as I vnderstood the next day by themselues when they and I communed togither, and I saw them also with mine eies. And this they did because the Venetians would not hazard all at once, nor vnfurnish their campe. Norwithstanding in mine opinion it had beene better for them to haue aduentured their whole force, seeing they meant to fight.

I will now tell you what became of the letter, the Cardinall and I sent to their campe by a trumpeter. The Prouisors received it, and immediately after they had read it, brast foorth the first piece of our artillerie, then shot theirs which was not so good as ours. The said Prouisors incontinent sent backe our trumpeter, accompanied with a trumpeter of the Marquesses, who brought word that they were content to parliament, if we would cause our artillerie to cease, saying, that they on their side would do the like. I was then a great way from the King, who rid about heere and there, and sent backe these two trumpeters with answere, that he would make the artillerie to cease, and gaue commandement to the Master of the ordinance to stay the shot, and so all ceated a while on both sides. But soone after vpon a sudden they discharged one of their peeces, and then shot ours againe freshlier than before, and we approached three of our peeces neerer to them. After the two trumpeters were arrived at their campe, they tooke ours and sent him to the Marquesse's pavilion, resoluing to fight. For the Earle of Caiaze (as those that were present haue informed me) said that it was now no time to parliament, seeing that we were halfe vanquished already; and one of their Prouisors was of his opinion, and agreed to fight (as I haue heard himselfe report) but the other would not consent thereunto. The Marquesse in like maner desired the battell, but his vncle, who was a vertuous and a wise gentleman, and loued vs well, and bare armes against vs with an euill will, withstood it to the vitemost of his power; but in the end they agreed all to fight.

Now you shall understand, that the King had put his whole force into his vaward,

³Bourdonasses were hollow horse-mens staves vied in Italy, cunningly painted: our author himselfe in this Chapter describes them at large.

in

in the which were three hundred and fiftie men of armes, and three thousand Swis- fers (the onely hope of our army) with whom he commanded three hundred archers of his garde to ioine themselues on foote, and likewise certaine crossebowe men on horsebacke of the two hundred that were also of his garde, which was a great di- minishing of the safetie of his person. In our army were but few footemen besides these, for all that we had were placed in the vaward. On foote with our Almaines were the Lord *Englebert* brother to the Duke of Cleues, Lornay, and the bailife of Digeon, the said Almains captaine, and before them marched our artillerie. Here they whom we left in the Florentines places, and those that were sent to Genua would haue done good seruice, contrarie to the opinion of all men. Our vaward had now marched almost as far as their campe, so that all men thought they should haue begun the bat- tell: but our two other battels were not so neere it, nor so well placed to haue suc- courred it as the day before. Further, because the Marquesse of Mantua (who was entred into the plaine and past the riuere) was directly vpon our backe, about a quar- ter of a league behinde our rereward, marching with his force softly and close to- gether, which was a maruellous pleasant sight to behold; the King was forced to turne his backe to his vaward, and his face towards his enimies, and so to approch neerer to his rereward, and retite from his vaward. I was then with the Cardinall attending an answere of our letter, but I told him I perceiued it was no time to stay any longer there; wherefore I departed being hard by the Swis- fers, and went to the King. But be- fore I could come to him, I lost a page who was my cosin germaine, and a groome of my chamber, and a lackey which followed a pretie way behinde me, so that I saw not when they were slaine.

I had not ridden aboue a hundred paces, when suddenly a crie began to arise in the selfe same place from whence I was departed, or but little beyond. For you shall un- derstand that their Estradiots at this verie instant came to our carriage, and entred into the Kings lodging where were three or fower houses, in the which they slew or hurt fower or five soldiers, but the rest escaped, they slew also about an hundred of our straglers, and put our carriage in great disorder. When I came to the King, I found him dubbing of knights, but because the enimies were at hand, we caused him to cease, and then I heard the bastard of Bourbon named *Mathew* (who was in good credit with the King) and one *Philip de Moulin* (a poore gentleman but verie valiant) call the King, saying, passe foorth sir, passe foorth: whereupon he went into the front of his battell, and placed himselfe before his standard, so that (the bastard of Bourbon excepted) I sawe none neerer the enimies then himselfe. Our enimies mar- ched lustily forward, in such sort that within lesse than a quarter of an hower after my arriuall, they were come within a hundred paces of the King, who was as euill garded and as euil waited on, as ever was Prince or noble man; but maugre the diuel, he is wel defended whom God defends. And surethe prophesie of the reuerend fa- ther frier *Hierom* prooued true, who told me (as before you haue heard) that God led him by the hand. His rereward stood vpon his right hand, being reconciled somwhat from him; and the neerest companie to him on that side was the D. of Orleans com- panie, being to the number of 80. launces led by *Robinet* of Frainezelles, and Mon- sieur *de la Trimoilles* company, being about forty launces, and the hundred Scottish archers of his gard, who thrust themselues into the preffe as men of armes. My selfe stood vpon the left hand with the gentlemen, pensioners, and seruants of the Kings house. This rereward was led by the Earle of Foix: but as touching the names of the other capitaines, I passe them ouer for breuitie.

Within a quarter of an hower after my arriuall, the enimies being so neere the King,

King, as you haue heard, charged their staves, and began a soft gallop. They were divided into two troupes; one of the which charged the two companies of our horsemen, and the Scottish archers standing on the Kings right hand; and the other, the King himselfe; so that both they and the King were charged almost at one instant: we that stood vpon the left hand charged them vpon the flanke greatly to our aduantage; and vndoubtedly it is impossible for men to meeet roughlier than we met. But the Estradiots that accompanied them, seeing our mules and carriage flied towards our vaward, and their companions ⁴ get all the bootie, turned their horses that way, and forsooke their men of armes, who by meanes thereof were vnfollowed; whereby it manifestly appeareth, that God meant to preserue vs: for if these fifteene hundred light horsemen had broken in amongst vs with their Cimenterres (which are terrible swords like to the Turks) vndoubtedly we had beene defeated, our number being so small. The Italian men of armes, immedately after they had broken their staves fled, and their footemen or the greatest part shrunke aside, and fled also.

At the selfesame time that they charged vs, the Earle of Caiazze gaue a charge also vpon our vaward, but they met not so roughly as we: for at the very instant that they should haue couched their staves, they began to faint, and disordered themselves in such sorte, that fifteene or twentie of them being scattered amongst our bands, were taken and slaine by our Almaines; the rest were but easily pursued: for the Marshall of Gie endeouored to keepe his forces togither, because he saw yet a great troupe of enimies not far from him. Notwithstanding part of his men followed the chase, and part of the Earle of Caiazzes men that fled, passed ouer the place where the Marques and we had fought, with their swords in their hands; for they had throwen away their staves. But they that assailed the King fled immedately after they had charged, and were maruellous swiftly pursued, for wee all followed the chase: part of them tooke the way to the village from whence we were departed, the rest fled the next way to their campe, we all pursuing them, saue the King who staid behinde with a few men, and put himselfe in great danger, because he followed not after them with vs. One of the first that was slaine of their side, was the Lord Rodolph of Mantua, vncle to the Marques, who should haue sent word to the aboue named Master Anthoine of Vrbin, when he should march; for they thought that this battell would haue endured as their battels in Italy doe; which their error serued the said Master Anthoine for a good excuse: but to say the truth, I thinke he saw yngough to stay him from marching. We had a great number of straglers and seruants following vs, all the which flocked about the Italian men of armes being ouerthrowned, and slue the most of them. For the greatest part of the said straglers had their hatchets in their hands, wherewith they vsed to cut wood to make our lodgings, with the which hatchets they brake the visards of their head peeces, and then clare their heads, for otherwise they could hardly haue beene slaine, they were so surely armed; so that there were euer three or fower about one of them. Moreover, the long swords that our archers and seruants had, did that day a great execution. The King tarried vpon the place where the charge was giuen, accompanied with seuen or eighty yoong gentlemen, whom he had appointed to attend vpon him, for neither would he follow the chase, neither retire to his vaward because it was somewhat farre off. He escaped wel at the first encounter, considering that he was one of the foremost, for the bastard of Bourbon was taken within lesse then twenty paces of him ⁵, and led prisoner to the enimies campe.

The King abode in the said place maruellous weakly accompanied: for he said with him nor a man more than one groome of his chamber called Anthoine de Am-

⁴ By their
companions
he meaneth
the Estradiots
that had assai-
led the Kings
carriage at the
first.

⁵ Annal. Franc.
write that this
bastard Ma-
sue, Monseur
de Ligny, and
Monleur de
Piennes were
armed like to
the King and
continually
about him.

bu, a little fellow and evill armed: the rest were scattered heere and there, as him selfe told me at night eu'en in the presence of those that were appointed to waite vpon him, who deserued great reproche for leaving their Prince in such estate. Notwithstanding they arriued in time, for a certaine small broken troupe of Italian men of armes passing along vpon the plaine (where they saw no man stirring) came and assailed the King and this groome of his chamber: but the King being mounted vpon the brauest horse in the world for a man of his stature, remoued to and fro, and defended himselfe valiantly: and at that very instant certaine of the rest of his men being not far from him arriued, whereupon the Italians fled, and then the King followed good aduice and retired to his vaward, which had never mooved out of the place they first possessed. Thus the King with his battell had good successe: and if his vaward had marched but one hundred paces farther, our enimies whole army had fled. Some said they ought so to haue done, but others held opinion that they did best to staie.

Our companie that followed the chase pursued the enimies hard to their campe, which lay in length almost as far as Fornoue, and not one of vs received a blow saue Julien Bourgneuf, whom I sawe fall dead to the ground with a stroke that an Italian gave him as he passed by (for he was evill armed:) wherupon certaine of vs staied, saying, let vs returne to the King, and with that word all the whole troupe stood still to giue their horses breath, which were verie wearie because they had chased a great way, and all vpon sharpe stones. Hard by vs fled a troupe of thirtie men of armes, whom we let passe quietly fearing to assaile them. When we had breathed our horses, we ridde foorth a fast trot towards the King, not knowing what was become of him, but after a while we desried him a far off. Then caused we our seruants to light on foote, and gather vp the launces wherewith the place lay strawed, especially with Bourdonasses, which were not much woorth, for they were hollowe and hardly so waightie as a iuelin, but trimly painted, and by this meanes we were better furnished of launces than in the morning. Thus as we rid towards the King, by the way we met a broken band of the enimies footemen crossing ouer the field, being of those that had liuen hid among the hils, and had led the Marques of Mantua vpon the Kings backe: many of them were slaine, and the rest escaped, and waded through the riuier, and we staied not long about them. Divers of our men cried often during the whole conflict, remember Guynegate, which was a battell lost in Picardie in the time of K. Lewis the eleventh against the K. of Romaines ⁶, through the follie of our men, who fell to spoile the enimies carriage: notwithstanding in that battell no whit of their carriage was taken nor spoiled: but in this, their Estradiots tooke all our carriage horses, of which notwithstanding they led away but fise and fiftie being the best and best couered, namely all the Kings, and all his chamberlains. They tooke also a groome of the Kings chamber called Gabriell, who had about him the ancient iewels of the Kings of Fraunce, which he then caried with him, because the King was there in person. True it is that a number of coffers were also lost, but they were ouerthrown and spoiled by our owne men, for we had in our campe a great many varlets and harlots that stripped the dead bodies, and spoiled all that they could come by, but as touching the enimies they tooke onely those aboue rehearsed. There were slaine on both sides (as I haue been credibly enformed both by them and certaine of our owne men) to this number. We lost Julian Bourgneuf, the sergeant porter of the Kings house, a gentleman of the Kings house, and nine Scottish archers, of horsemen of our vaward to the number of twentie, and about our carriage three or fower score horse-keepers. And they lost three hundred and fiftie men of armes, slaine vp-

⁶ Of this bat-
tell he writteh
lib.6. cap.6.

on the place: but not one of them was taken prisoner, which chance I thinke never hapned before in any battell. Of these Estradiots few were slaine, for they turned al to the spoile as you haue heard. There died of them in all three thousand and ffe hundred men, as diuers of the best of their army haue enformed me: others haue told me more, but sure they lost many gentlemen: for I sawe my selfe a role wherein were the names of eightene gentlemen of good houses, and among them fower or ffe of the Marques owne name which was *Gonzague*, besides the which, the Marques lost also at the least three score gentlemen of his owne dominions; all the which were horsemen, and not one footeman among them. It is strange that so many were slaine with hand strokes; for as touching the artillerie, I thinke it flew not ten on both sides. The fight endured not a quarter of an hower, for so soone as they had broken or throwen away their launces they fled all: the chase continued about three quarters of an hower. Their battells in Italy are not fought after this sort, for they fight squadron after squadron, so that a battell endureth there sometime a whole day, neither partie obtaining victorie.

The flight on their side was great, for three hundred of their men of armes and the greatest part of their Estradiots fled, some to *Rege*⁷ (being far thence) and others to *Parma*, being about eight leagues off⁸. In the morning the very same hower that the two armies ioined, the Earle of *Petillane* and the Lord *Virgile Vysin* escaped from *Parma* called vs. The said *Virgile* went but to a gentlemans house thereby, where he remained in Latin *Regiam Lefidi*, and upon his word, but the Earle fled straight to our enemies, and to say the truth, we did them both great wrong to leade them with vs after this sort. The Earle being a man well knownen among the soldiers (for he had alwaies had charge both vnder the *Florentines* and vnder King *Ferrand*) began to crie *Petillane Petillane*, and ranne after them that fled aboue three leagues, saying that all was theits, and calling them to the spoile, by the which meanes he brought backe the greatest part of them, and put them out of all feare, assuring them vpon his word that there was no danger, so that had it not been for him alone, their whole army had fled: for the word of such a man newly departed from vs was no small stae to them. The said Earle (as himselfe hath since told me) gaue aduise to assaile vs againe the same night, but they would not haue leane the *partenthesis* out. The Marques hath also since communed with me of these affaires challenging this aduise as his: but to say the truth had it not beene for the Earle alone they had all fled the same night.

When we were come to the King, we discouered a great number of men of armes and footeemen standing yet in order of battell without their campe, whose heads and launces onely we could desrie. They had stood there all the day, and never moued from that place, notwithstanding they were further from vs than they seemed: for they and we could not haue ioined without passing the riuer, which was risen and arose howerly, because all the day it had thundred, lightened, and rained terribly, especially during the battell and the chase. The King debated with his captaires whether we should assaile these new discouered enimies or not: with him were three Italian knights, one named Master *John Iames* of *Treuoul*, who is yet living, and behaved himselfe that day like a woorthie gentleman; another Master *Francis Secco* a valiant knight, in pay with the *Florentines*, and of the age of 72. yeeres; and the third Master *Camillo Vitelli*, who with his three brethren was in seruice with the King, and came vnsent for from *Ciuita de Castello*, as far as *Serzane* (which is a great iourney) to be at this battell: but perciuing that he could not ouertake the King with his companie, he came himselfe alone. These two latter gaue aduise to march against these enimies newly discouered: but the Frenchmen were of a contrarie opinion, saying,

saying, that they had done ynough, and that it was late, and time to make their lodgings. But the said Master *Francis Secco* maintained stonyly his opinion, shewing people that passed to and fro vpon the high way that leadeth to *Parma* (the neerest towns that the enimies could retire into) whom he affirmed to be enimies flying thither or returning thence, and in deede he said true, as we vnderstood afterward; and sure both his wordes and countenance shewed him to be a hardie and a wise knight. For all their captaines confessed to me (yea some of them before the Duke of *Milan* himselfe) that if we had marched forward, they had all fled; by meanes whereof we shold haue obtained the goodliest, honorablist, and profitablist victorie that happened in ten yeeres before: for if a man could haue vised it well, haue made his profit of it, haue behaued himselfe wisely, and entreated the people gently, the Duke of *Milan* by the space of eight daies after, should not haue had any one place to hold for him in his countrey, except the castell of *Milan*, yea and I doubt of that too: so desirous were his subiects to rebell. The like would also haue happened to the *Venetians*, so that the King shold not haue needed to take care for *Naples*: for the *Venetians* shold not haue beene able to leuie a man out of *Venice*, *Bressa*, and *Cremone*, which is but a small towne, because all the rest that they held in *Italie* would haue revolted. But God had performed that which Friar *Jerom* promised, to wit, that the honor of the field shold be ours; for considering our small experiance and euill gouernment, we were vnwoorthie of this good successe that God gaue vs, because we could not then tell how to vse it: but I thinke if at this present, which is the yeare of our Lord 1497. the like victorie should happen to the King, he could tell better how to make his profit thereof.

While we stood debating this matter, the night approched, and the band of our enimies, which we saw before vs, retayned into their campe, and we for our part wete and lodged about a quarter of a league from the place of the battell. The King himselfe lay in a farme house, being an old beggerly thing: notwithstanding the barnes about it were full of corne vntressed, which I warrayed you our army quickly found. Certaine other old houses there were also, which stood vs but in small stead: euery man lodged himselfe as commodiously as he could; for we had no lodgings made. As touching my selfe I lay vpon the bare ground vnder a vine, in a vetye straighte roome, hauing nothing vnder me, no not my cloke: for the King had borrowed mine in the morning, and my carriage was far off, and it was too late to seeke it. He that had meate ate it, but few there were that had any, ymles it were a morsell of bread, snatched out of some of their seruants bosoms: I waited vpon the King to his chamber, where he found certaine that were hurt, namely the *Seneschall* of *Lyons* and others, whom he caused to be dressed. Himselfe was merrie and made good cheere, and each man thought himselfe happie that he was so well escaped: neither were we puffed vp with pride and vaine glorie, as before the battell, because we sawe our enimies encamped so neere vs. The same night all our *Almaines* kept the watch, and the King gaue them three hundred crownes; whereupon they kept the watch vterly diligently, and strake vp their drums brauely.

How Monsieur d' Argenton went himselfe alone to parle with the enimies when
he saw that those that were appointed to go with him would not go :
and how the King returned safe and sound with his
armie to the ronne of Aft.

chap. 7.

He next morning I determined to continue our treaty of peace, desiring nothing more than the Kings safe passage. But I could get never a Trumpeter to go to the enimies campe, partly because nine of theirs were slaine in the battell being unknownen, and partly because they had taken one of ours, & slaine another, whom the King (as you haue heard) sent to them a little before the battell began : notwithstanding in the end one went and carried the Kings safe conduct with him, and brought me one from them to commune in the midway betweene both the armies, which me thought a hard matter to bee brought to passe, but I would not seeme to draw backe nor make difficultie therein. The King named the Cardinall of Saint Malo, the Lord of Gie Marshall of France, and the Lord of Piennes his Chamberlaine to accompanie me : and they named for them, the Marques of Mantua Generall of the Venetians armie, the Earle of Caiaze (who not long before had taken part with vs, and was capteine of the forces the Duke of Milan had there) and Master *Jaques Pijan*, and Master *Melchior Tressan* prouisors of the Seniorie of Venice. We approached so neere them, that we might easly discouer them fower vpon the plaine. The riuier ran between vs & them, which was risen exceedingly since the day before : on their side there was not one man without their campe but themselues onely, neither any on ours, but only we and our watch which stood ouer against them. We sent a herald to them to know whether they would passe the riuier, whereunto me thought it a hard matter to perswade either partie, for I supposed both parties would make difficultie therein as well as well appeered by them : for they answered that the place of communication was appointed in the midway betweene both the armies, and that they were come alreadie more than the halfe way : wherefore they would not passe the riuier, nor put themselues in such danger being all the principall of their armie. They also of our side alleged the like doubts, making no lesse account of their persons than the others. Wherefore they willed me to go to them, giuing me no instructions for my direction : I answered that I would not go alone, but would haue some body with me to testifie of al that should be done. Wherefore being accompanied with one master *Robertet* the Kings Secretarie, and a seruant of mine owne, and an herald, I passed the riuier : for notwithstanding that I well perceived I should do no good, yet thought I by this means to acquit my selfe towards them, being come thither by my procurement. When I came to them, I told them they were not come halfe the way according to their promise, wherefore I desired them, at the least to come to the riuers side, assuring my selfe that if he were once so nigh together, we should not depart without communication. They answered, that the riuier was so brode, and ran with so great violence and noise, that no talke could be heard from the one side to the other ; wherefore they would go no neerer to parlament, neither could I by any meanes bring them one foote further : but they willed me to make some ouverture, which I had no commision to do. Wherefore I answered, that alone I could doe nothing ; but if they would propound any conditions of peace, I would make report thereof to the King.

While

While we were in this communication, one of our herauks arrived, who brought me word that the Lords aboue named that had accompanied me, were ready to depart, and willed me to make what ouverture I thought good ; which I refused to do, because they vnderstood further of the Kings pleasure than I did : for they were neerer him than I was, and had also talked with him in his eare at our departure : notwithstanding as touching these affaires which I now speake of, I vnderstood what was to be done in them as well as the best of them. The Marquesse of Mantua entred into great communication with me of the battell, and asked me (if he had beene taken) whether the King would haue slaine him. I answered, no ; but haue entertained him well, alleging that he had good cause to loue him, seeing the honor he had woon by his assailling him. Then he recommended vnto me the prisoners we had, especially his vncle the Lord *Rodolph*, whom he supposed to beyer living : but I knew well the contrarie ; notwithstanding I answered, that all the prisoners should be well intreated, and recommended in like maner to him the bastard of Bourbon whom they had taken. Small entertainment would serue all the prisoners we had ; for we had none, which I suppose never happened before in any battell. But the said Marquesse lost there of his kinsmen to the number of seuen or eight, and of his owne company at the least sixscore men of armes. This talke being ended, I tooke my leave of them, saying, that before night I would returne againe ; whereupon we made truce till night.

At my returne to the King with the said Secretarie, they asked me what newes, and the King sat in counsell in a poore chamber where nothing was concluded, but each man beheld other. The King talked with the Cardinall in his eare, and afterward bad me returne againe to the enimies to see what they would say. But because this communication of peace proceeded of me, the enimies looked that I should make some ouverture and not they. Afterward the Cardinall bad me conclude nothing, but that speech was needlesse, for I was not like to conclude any thing, because they gaue me no direction : notwithstanding I would not replie to the Kings commandement, nor breake off my iorney ; for besides that I was sure to do no harme, I was in some hope to gather somewhat by our enimies countenances, who vndoubtedly were more afraid than we, and happily might passe some speeches that would turne both the parties to good. Wherefore I tooke my iourney thitherward, and came to the riuers side almost at night, where one of their trumpeters met me, and aduertised me that the fower aboue named sent me word to passe no further that night, because their watch was alreadie set, being altogether of Estradiots, who knew not one man from another, wherefore I might happily endanger my selfe, if I passed further : notwithstanding the trumpeter offered to tarike with me all night, to the end he might conuey me thither the next morning : but I sent him backe againe, saying that the next morning I would returne to the riuers side where I willed him to tarike me, or if the King should otherwise determine, I promised to send thither a herald to aduertise them thereof ; for I would not bring this trumpeter into our campe, partly because I would not haue him priuie to our actions there that night : and partly because I knew not what the King meant to do, for I sawe whispering in his eare, which put me in some doubt, wherefore I returned to aduertise the King what I had done.

Every man supped with that he could get, and slept vpon the ground. Soone after midnight I repairet to the Kings chamber, where I found his chamberlaines readie to mount on horsebacke, who told me that the King would depart with all speed towards Aft, and the Marchioness of Montferrees territories, willing me to stay behinde, to hold the Parliament according to my promise : but I made my excuse, saying,

ing, that I would not willingly kill my selfe, but be on horsebacke with the foremost. Soone after the King arose and headt maffe, and mounted on horsebacke. Nor past an hower before day, a trumpeter sounded *Bon gue*, but at our dislodging nothing was sounded, neither needed it, for euery man was in a readines. Notwithstanding this was sufficient to haue put the whole armie in feare, at the least those that were acquainted with the wars: for besides this we turned our backs to our enimies, seeking wholly our owne safetie, which is a dangerous matter in an armie. Further, the waies at our departure from our lodging were very cumbersome, in such sort that we were forced to march ouer mountaines, and through woods and by-waies, for we had no guides to lead vs: my selfe heard the soldiers aske the ensigne bearers, and him that executed the office of Master of the horse, where the guides were, who answered that there were none. To say the truth we needed none, for as God alone had guided the armie at our going foorth: euен so (according to *Friet Hieromes* prophesie) meant he to do at our retурne: otherwise it is not to be thought that such a Prince would haue ridden in the night without a guide, in a place where ynow mighthau beene had. But God shewed yet a manifester token that he meant to pre-serue vs, for our enimies vnderstood nothing of our departure till the afternoone, but waiting for this parlementing I had begun: besides that, the riuere was risen so high, that it was fower of the clocke at after noone before any man durst aduencure ouer to follow vs, and then passed the Earle of Caiaze with two hundred Italian light horse, in such danger bicause of the force of the water, that one or two of his men were drowned, as himselfe afterward confessed. We trauelled ouer hills and through woods, and were constrained by the space of sixe miles to march one by one after another in the narrow waies, and then came we to a goodly large plaine, where our vaward, artillerie, and carriage lay, which seemed so great a band a far off, that at the first we stood in feare of them, bicause Master *John James* of Treuoules ensigne was square and white, like to the Marques of Mantuas the day of the battell. The said vaward was in like maner afeard of our retурne, which they saw a farte of foriske the high way to come the next way to them, whereupon both they and we set our selues in order of battell: but this feare soone ended, for the scoutes issued foorth on both sides, and discouered one another incontinent. From thence we wene to refresh vs at Bourg Saint Denis, where we our selues made an alarme of purpose to retire our Almains out of the towne, least they should haue spoiled it. Thence we remooued and lodged all night at Florensole, the second night we encamped neere to Plaisance, and passed the riuere of Trebia, leauing on the other side of the riuere two hundred launces, all our Swiffers, and all the artillerie except sixe peeces, which the King passed ouer with him. For he had giuen this order, to the end he might be the better and more commodiously lodged, thinking to command them to passe at his pleasure, bicause the riuere is commonly very shallow, especially at that time of the yeere: notwithstanding about ten of the clocke at night, it arose so high that no man could passe ouer it, neither on horsebacke nor on foote, neither could the one company haue succoured the other, which was a great danger, considering how neere our enimies were to vs. All that night both they and we sought to remedie this mischiefe, but no helpe could be found till the water fell of it selfe, which was about fife of the clocke in the morning, and then we stretched coardes from the one side to the other to helpe ouer the footeemen, who waded in the water vp to their neckes: immediately after them passed also our horsemen and our artillerie. This was a sudden and dangerous aduenture, considering the place where we were, for our enimies lay hard by vs, I meane the garrison of Plaisance, and the Earle of Caiaze, who was enured in thither,

ther, bicause certaine of the citizens practised to put the towne into the Kings hands, vnder the title of the yoong Duke sonne to *John Galeas*, Duke of Milan that last died, as before you haue heard. And vndoubtedly if the King would haue giuen eare to this practise, a great number of townes and noble men would haue revolted by Master *John James* of Treuoules meanes: but he refused so to do, bicause of the fauor he bare the Duke of Orleans his cosin, who was already entred into Nouarre, although to say the truth on the other side he desired not greatly to see his said cosin so mightie, wherefore he was well content to let this matter passe as it came. The third daie after our departure from the place of the battell the King dined at castle S. John and lodged all night in a wood. The fourth day he dined at Voghera, and lay that night at Pontcuron. The fift day he lodged neere to Tortone & passed the riuere of Scriuia which *Fracasse* defended with the garrison of Tortone, being under his charge for the Duke of Milane. But when he vnderstood by those that made the Kings lodging that he would onely passe without doing harme to any man, he retired againe into the towne, and sent vs word that we shold haue as great plentie of victuals as we would; which promise he also performed: for all our armie passed hard by the gate of Tortone, where the said *Fracasse* came foorth to welcome the King, being armed, but accompanied only with two men: he excused himselfe very humbly to the King, that he lodged him not in the towne, and sent our great store of victuals, which refreshed well our armie, and at night came also himselfe to the Kings lodging. For you shall vnderstand, that he was of the house of S. Seuerin, brother to the Earle of Caiaze and Master *Galeas*, and had not long before beene in the Kings seruice in Romania, as you haue heard. From thence the King remooued to Nice de la Paille in the Marquisat of Montferrat, whereof we were right glad, bicause we were then in safetie, and in our friends countrie. For these light horsemen that the Earle of Caiaze led, were continually at our backe, and traueiled vs maruellously the three or fower first daies, bicause our horsemen would not put thermeselues behinde to make resistance: for the neerer we approched to the place of safetie, the more vnwilling were our men to fight; and some say such is the nature of vs French men. Wherefore the Italians write in their histories, that the French men at their arriall are better than men; but at their retурne worse than women. The first point vndoubtedly is true: for they are the roughest men to encounter within the world, I meane the horsemen: but all men at their retурne from an enterprise are lesse couragious than at their departure from their houses. Now to proceede, our backs were defended by three hundred Almains, hauing among them a great band of harquebusiers on foote, with whom also a number of harquebusiers on horsebacke were ioyned: these made their Estradiots, being but few in number, to retire. Further, notwithstanding that their whole armie which had fought with vs, marched after vs as fast as they might, yet could they not ouertake vs, both bicause they were departed from the place of the battell a day after vs; and also bicause of their barded horses, so that we lost not one man vpon the way. The said armie neuer came within a mile of vs; wherefore seeing they could not ouertake vs, and peraduenture not being greatly desirous so to doe, they marched straight towards Nouarre, whither both the Duke of Milan and the Venetians had already sent certain bands, as before you haue heard. But if they could haue ouertaken vs neere to the places of our retrait, peraduenture they might haue sped better than in the valley of Fornoue.

I haue shewed before suffiently in diuers places how God guided this enterprise, but yet for further prooef thereof, a word or two more. You shall understand therefore, that notwithstanding that from the day of the battell till our arriall at the

the said place of Nice de la Paille, the lodgings were vnorderly and vnequally made; yet euery man lodged with patience as commodiously as he could, without strife or contention. Of victuals we had great lacke: notwithstanding they of the countrey brought vs some, who might easly haue poisoned vs if they would, both in their meates and wines, and also in their wels and waters, which were dried vp sometimes in a moneth, because they were but small springs. If they had minded to haue poisoned them, they would sure haue done it; but because they did it not, it is to be thought that our Sauiour and redeemer Iesus Christ tooke from them all desire to do it. I sawe such thirst in our army, that a number of foortemen dranke of stinking puddles in the villages through the which we passed. Our iourneies were long, and our drinke foule standing water, which notwithstanding our men were so greedy of, that they ran into the pooles vp to the girdlestead to drinke. For you shall vnderstand, that a number of people followed vs, being no men of war, because our carriage was maruellous great. The King departed from his lodging euery morning before day, and I remember not that euer he had guide. Moreouer, he rode till noone before he baited; and euery man made prouision for himselfe, and looked to his owne horse, and was forced to prouide prouender for him, and to beare it to him in his armes, as my selfe did twise; and two daies I ate nothing but naughty blacke bread: yet was I none of those that stood in most need. Sure one thing was especially to be commended in this armie, to wit, that neuer man complained of necessity, yet was this the misera-blest voiage that euer I saw; notwithstanding that I haue beeene in diuers sharp and hard voiages with *Charles Duke of Burgundie*. We marched no faster than the great artillerie, the mending whereof often troubled vs: besides that, we lacked horses to draw it; but at all times when we stood in neede, we borrowed of the gentlemen in our armie, who willingly lent theirs; so that there was not one peece nor one pound of powder lost. And I thinke neuer man saw artillerie of such greatness passe so speedily ouer such places as this did. All the which disorder both in our lodgings and all other things, happened not for lacke of wise and expert men in the campe, but it was their chaunce to haue least credit at that time; for the King was yoong and wedded to his owne will, as before you haue heard. To conclude therefore, it seemed that our Lord Iesus Christ wold, that the honor of this voiage should be attributed wholy to himselfe. The seueneth day after our departure from the place of the battell, we marched from Nice de la Paille, and encamped altogether hard by Alexandria; our watch that night being very strong. The next morning before day we departed and went to Ast: the King and his houshold lodged in the towne, but the soldiers encamped without: we found the said towne of Ast furnished of all kinde of victuals, where-with the whole armie was well refreshed, which vndoubtedly stood in great neede therof, because they had indured great hunger, thirst, and heate, and lacked sleepe; besides that, their apparell was all tottered and torne. Immediately after the Kings arriuall thither, before I slept, I sent a gentleman called *Philip de la Coudre* (who sometime had beeene my seruant, and serued then the Duke of Orleans) to Nouarre, where the said Duke was besieged by his enimies, as you may vnderstand by that which is aboue rehearsed: but the siege was not yet so straight but that men might passe in and out, because the enimies onely endeuer wasto famish the towne. I aduertised the Duke by this gentleman, of diuers treaties that were entertained between the King and the Duke of Milan, in one of the which my selfe negotiated by the Duke of Ferraras meanes; wherefore I aduised him to repaire to the King, hauing first assured his men whom he shold leue behinde him, either shortly to returne, or bring force to leue the siege. Within the said towne were with him to the number

ber of 7500. soldiers both French and Swiessers, being as goodly a band, so many for so many, as euer was seene. The King the next day after his arriuall, was aduertised both by the said Duke of Orleans and others, that the two armies were ioyned together before Nouarre: wherefore the said Duke desired aide, because his victuals daily diminished; for the which they had giuen no order at their first entrie into the towne. For they might then haue recovered ynow in the townes about, especially corne; and if their prouision had beene made in time, and well looked to, they should neuer haue beene forced to yeelde the towne: for if they could haue held it but one moneth longer, they had come foorth with honor, and their enimies departed with shame.

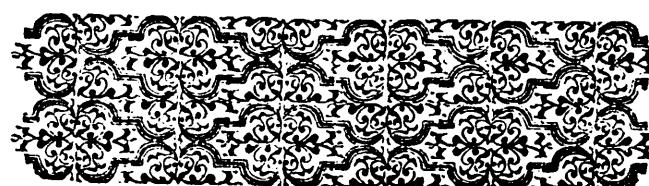
How the King sent ships to the sea to succour the castles of Naples, and why the said castels could not be succoured. Chap. 8.

After the King had reposed himselfe a fewe daies in Ast, he re-moued to Thurin, dispatching at his departure from Ast one was sent to of the stewards of his house called *Peronde Basche* with a com-Nice, being mision to arme certaine ships to the sea¹, to succour the ca-a hauen towne stles of Naples which held yet for vs. The said *Peron* did as he in Prouence to prepare this was commanded, and appointed *Monseur d'Arban* Admirall²: I suppose of that fleete, which sailed as far as the citie of Pruce³: where this to be (our men being within the view of our enimies:) a sudden tempest arose which some hauen would not suffer the two armies to ioine, by meanes whereof this Nauie did no ser- from Naples, uice: for the said *d'Arban* returned to Ligorne³, where the most part of his men or rather fled to land and abandoned their ships. But the enimies Nauie came to the hauen of should be Bougen⁴ neere to Plambin, whence it departed not the space of two moneths, so read the Ile that our men might without all danger haue succoured the said castles: for the na- of Prusse, whereof men-ture of this hauen of Bougen is such, that a ship cannot come foorth of it but with tion is made one winde which bloweth seldome in winter. The said *d'Arban* was a valiant soldier cap. 14. which Guicciar cal-and a very good sea man⁵.

While the King lay in Thurin, diuers treaties were entertained betweene him and the Duke of Milan: in one of the which the Dukes of Sauoy was a deale, she was daughter to the Marques of Montferratte, and a widow, and mother to the yoong Duke of Sauoy then liuing. Others negotiated also as well as she: and among the rest my selfe laboured for conclusion of the peace as before I haue made mention; and the confederates, that is to say, the capitaines that were in the enimies campe before Nouarre, desired to deale with me, and sent me a safe conduct. But enuie euer raigneth in Princes courts; for the Cardinall so often aboue named, ouettrew all that I did, and would that the Dukes of Sauoy negotiation should go forward, which was committed to the said Cardinals hoste, who was Treasurer of Sauoy, a wife man and a faithfull seruant to his Mistres. This treatie endured so long without effect that in the ende all hope of peace ceasing, the Bailife of Digeon was sent ambassador into Swisserland to leue there fife thousand men.

I haue made mention already how the Kings Nauie that departed from Nice in prouence to succour the castels of Naples, could not succour them for the reasons of there rehearsed. Wherefore the Lord of Montpensier and the other gentlemen that Italy led him) pres Piombino.⁶ Guicciar saith, *Arban* was vnskilfull on the sea, and I doubt this place be corrupted here, and that we should read for, & experimenter, mais peu experimenter.

were with him in those castels vnderstanding of this misfortune, espied a conuenient time when the army that the King left behinde him in diuers parts of the realme lay neere to the said castles, and by helpe thereof salied foorth (leauing within force sufficient for their defence according to the proportion of their victuals which was very small) and departed themselues with two thousand and ffeue hundred soldiers, appointing *Ognas* and two other gentlemen captaines of the castles. The said L. of Montpensier, the Prince of Salerne, the Seneschall of Beaucaire, and the rest that were with them departed to Salerne, for the which cause King *Ferrand* said, that he might lawfully put to death the hostages deliuered to him a few daies before, whose names were these, the Lord of *Alegre*, one called *de la Marche d'Ardaine*, the Lord *de la Chapelle d'Aniou*, one named *Roquebertin Carelane*, and one *Genly*: for you shall vnderstand that not past three moneths before, the said King *Ferrand* was entred into Naples by intelligence, or rather through the negligence of our men, who vnderstood of all their practises in the towne, and yet never sought to countermine them. But hereof I will write no farther, because I speake but vpon report: for notwithstanding that I had mine intelligence from the principall of those that were there, yet do I not willingly discourse long of any matter, that I haue not beene present at my selfe. The said King *Ferrand* being in Naples, was aduertised that the King was slaine at the battell of *Fornoue*, as were our men also within the castle by the Duke of *Milans* letters, to the which credit was giuen: notwithstanding that they repored no thing but lies. And thereupon the *Coulonnois* (whose maner is, alwaies to turne with the strongest) revolted incontinent storn vs, though sundry waies bound to the King, as before you haue heard. Wherefore our men (partly through these vntre reports, but especially because a great number of them were retired into the castell, being vtterly vnfurnished of victuals, and partly also because they had lost their horses, and all their goods within the towne:) made a composition, the sixt day of October in the yeere 1495. after they had beene besieged three moneths and fower-teene daies, promising if they were not succoured within a certaine space, to depart into Prouence, and yeeld the castles without making further war, either by sea or land vpon the realme of Naples; for the performance of which conditions they deliuered these hostages aboue named; and yet within twentie daies after the composition, departed as you haue heard: for the which cause King *Ferrand* said that they had broken the composition in that they departed without leaue: and notwithstanding that our men maintained the contrary, yet were the hostages in great danger and not without cause. For although I will not deny but that our men did wisely to depart notwithstanding the composition; yet had they done much better if the day of their departure they had yeelded the castles for their hostages safetie, and receiued againe the said hostages. For the castles held but twentie daies after they were departed, partly for lacke of victuals; and partly because they despaired of succours. To conclude, the losse of the castell of Naples, was the losse of the whole realme.



of the great famine and miserie the Duke of Orleans and his men were in at Nouarre: of the Marchionesse of Monferrats death, and likewise of Monsieur de Vendomes: and how after long deliberation the King inclined to peace, to save those that were besieged.

Chap. 9.

He King being at Thurin (as you haue heard) and at Quiets, (whither he went sometime to solace himselfe) attended daily for newes of the Almains whom he had sent for, and travelled to recouer the Duke of Milan, whose friendship he much desired, neither cared he greatly for the Duke of Orleans successe, who began now to be sore distressed for victuals, and wrote daily for succors because the enimies were approched neerer the towne. Besides that their force was increased with a thousand Almaine horsemen, and eleuen thousand footemen called launce Knights, leuied in the King of Romaines dominions: the horsemen being led by Master *Frederic Capelare* of the countie of Ferrette (a valiant knight who long had been trained vp both in Fraunce and Italy,) and the footemen by a couragious knight of Austriche called Master *George d'Abecfam*, ¹ All the Italiants name him *Georgio di Pietrapiana*. The author himselfe also afterward named him *Petrplane*, which variance ariseth, because the one is his surname, the other the name of his seniorie. made a composition, the selfe same that tooke Saint Omer for the King of Romaines. The King therefore seeing his enimies forces daily to increase, and that no honorable ende could be made, was aduised to remoue to Vercceil, there to devise some way to save the Duke of Orleans and his company, who (as before you haue heard) had giuen no order at all for their victuals at their first entrie into Nouarre. And sure the Duke should haue done much better, in following the advise I gaue him at the Kings retурne to Ast, as before is mentioned; which was to depart out of Nouarre, putting all that were vnable to do seruice out of the towne, and to repaire himselfe to the King: for his presence would much haue furthered his affaires, at the least those that he had left behinde him, should not haue suffered such extreme famine as they did: for he would haue made a composition sooner, when hee had seene no remedie. But the Archbishop of Rouen, who had been with him in Nouarre from the very beginning, and for the furtherance of his affaires was come to the King, and present at the debating of all matters; sent him word daily not to depart, because shortly he should be succoured, grounding himselfe wholy vpon the Cardinall of Saint Malos promise, who had all the credit with the King. Good affection caused him to write thus, but I was well assured of the contrarie. For no man would returne to the battell, vnelle the King went in person; and as touching him he desired nothing lesse: for this was but a priuate quarrell for one towne which the Duke of Orleans would needes retaine, and the Duke of Milan needes haue restored, because it is butten leagues from Milan; so that of necessarie one of them must haue had all. For there are in the Duchie of Milan nine or ten great cities, the one neare to the other. Further, the Duke of Milan said, that in restoring Nouarre, and not demanding Genua, he would do any thing for the King. We sent meale oftentimes to Nouarre, whereof the halfe was euer lost vpon the way; and once threescore men of armes were defeated going thither, being led by a yoong gentleman of the Kings house, named *Chastillon*: some of them were taken, some entred the towne, and the rest hardly escaped. It is impossible to expresse the great miserie of our men within Nouarre; for every day some died of famine, and two parts of them were sick, so that pitious letters came from thence

thence in cipher, though with great difficultie. They received ever faire promises, and all was but abuse. But those that gouerned the Kings affaires desired the battell, *not considering that no man was of that opinion but themselves*: for all the best men of war in the armie, namely, the Prince of Orenge lately arrived, and to whom the K. gaue great credit in martiall affaires, & all the other captaines, desired to make a good ende by treatie. For winter approched, we were vnfurnished of money, the number of the French was small, and many of them sicke; so that they departed daily, some with the Kings leaue, and some without leaue: but notwithstanding all these inconueniences, all the wise men in the campe could not dissuade those above mentioned, from sending word to the Duke of Orleans not to depart the towne; whereby vndoubtedly they greatly endangered him. And this they did, because they trusted vpon the great force of Almaines, whereof the Bailife of Digeon assured them; to whom also certaine of them sent word to bring as many as he could leue. To be short, their companie was diuided, and every man said and writ what him listed.

Those that would haue no peace, nor meeting to treate thereof, alleged that the enimies ought to make the first ouuerture, and not the King but they on the other side said, that they would not first breake the yce: in the meane time the miserie of our men in Nouarre daily increased, in such sort, that now their letters made mention only of those that died daily for hunger, and that they could hold the towne but ten daies, and afterward eight daies, yea and once they came to three daies, but they had first passed their day before prefixed. To be short, so great extremitie hath not beene seene of long time, no I am sure that a hundred yeeres before we were borne, neuer men sustained so great famine as they did.

In the meane time died the Marchionesse of Montferrat (a great friend to the French,) wherupon some strife arose in that countrey for the gouernment, the which on the one side the Marques of Saluce demanded, and on the other the Lord *Constantine* vncle to the said Marchionesse, who was a Greeke, and she a Greekeesse, daughter to the King of Seruia, but the Turke had destroied them both. The said Lord *Constantine* had fortified himselfe in the castell of Casall, and had in his hands the late Marques his two sonnes, begotten of this wise and beautiful Lady, the which died the 29. yeere of her age, her eldest sonne being but nine yeeres old. Other particular men also aspired to the gouernment, so that great part taking arose about that matter in our campe. The King commanded me to go thither, and determine the controuersie for the childrens safetie, and to the contention of the greatest part of the people. For he feared that this variance would make them call the Duke of Milan into their countrey, greatly to our discontentment: for the friendship of this house of Montferrat stood vs in great stead. I was loth to depart before I had brought into better tune those that contraried the peace: for I considered both the inconueniences above rehearsed, and also that winter approched, and feared least these Prelats should perswade the King to aduenture another battell, whose power was small, vniuersall great force of Swiflers hapned to come, and though so many came as they vaunted of, yet seemed it to me a dangerous case to put the King and his estate into their hands. Further, our enimies were mightie, and lodged in a strong place, and well fortifed. Wherefore all these points being well weighed, I aduentured to perswade the King not to hazard his person and estate for a trifle. I desired him to remember the great danger he was in at Fornoue, which could not then be avoided because necessarie forced him to fight: but now (I said) there was no such necessarie. I aduised him further, not to refuse a good end, because of this fond obiection, that he ought

ought not first to breake the yce, for if it so pleased him, I would finde meaneies that ouuertures should be made in such sort, that the honor of both parties should be saued. He bad me repaire to the Cardinall; and so I did: but the Cardinall gaue me strange answers, and desired the battell, assuring himselfe of the victorie: and further alleaging that the Duke of Orlans had promised him ten thousand ducats of yeerely reuenues for one of his sonnes, if he obtained the Duchie of Milan. The next day, as I went to take my leaue of the King to depart to Casal (being distant from thence about a daies iourney and a halfe) I met with Monsieur *de la Trimoille* by the waie, whom I aduised of my communication had with the King: and because hee was neere about him, I asked his advise whether I should presse forwarde the matter, whereunto he earnestly perswaded me, for all men desired to repaire home. The King was in a garden, and when I came to him, I began to perswade with him (as the daie before) in presence of the Cardinall, who answered me that it appertained to him being a Church man, to be the first mouer of the King to peace: whereunto I replied that if he would not, I would. For I perceived well that both the King and those that were neerest about him desired to returne home. Then I tooke my leaue, and at my departure told the Prince of Orenge (who had the principall charge of the army) that if I entred into any communication of peace, I would addresse my selfe wholy to him. This being done I tooke my iourney towards Casall, where I was well received by the whole kinred of this house of Montferrat, and found the greatest part of them inclined to the Lord *Constantine*, whose government was thought by them all most conuenient for the childrens safetie, because he could pretend no title to the succession as the Marques of Saluce did. I assembled by the space of certaine daies both the Nobles of the countrey, the Spirituall men, and the Burgesies of the good townes, and at the request of them, at the least the greatest part of them, declared the Kings pleasure to be, that the Lord *Constantine* should remaine gouernor. For I was sure they would not withstand the Kings commandement, both because of the force he had then on that side the mountaines, and also because of the good affection the whole countrey beareth to the house of Fraunce.

About three daies after my attiuall at Casall, the Marquesse of Mantua the Venetians Generall, sent the steward of his house thither to condole the late deceased Marchionesse death: for the said Marquesse was of kinne to this house of Montferrat. The same Steward and I entered into communication how we might agree these two armies without battell: for both the parties disposed themselves to fight, and the King lay in campe neere to Verceil, but to say the truthe he did but passe the riuer onely & lodge his campe, which was vtterly vnprouided of tents and pavilions: for our men had brought foorth but few with them, and those few also were lost. Moreouer the ground was wet, both because winter approched, and because the countrey lieth low. The King lodged in his campe but one night, and the next day returned to the towne: but the Prince of Orenge abode still with the armie, so did also the Earle of Foix, and the Earle of Vendome, who fell into a fluxe there whereof he died, which sure was great pitie: for he was a goodly gentleman, yoong, and wife, and was come thither in poste, because the bruite ranne that there we shold fight. For you shall understand that he had not beene with the King in this voiage into Italy. Besides these the Marshall of Gis abode also in the campe and diuers other capraines, but the greatest force were the Almaines that had beene with the King in this voiage: for the French men would by no meanes lodge abroad, the towne being so neere; besides that, diuers of them were sicke, and many returned home soone with leaue, and some without leaue. Nouarre was distant from our camp

ten great Italian miles, containing six French leagues at the left, the way is cumber-some: for the ground is tough and soft as in Flaunders, because of ditches that are on both sides of the way, much deeper than the ditches of Flaunders. In winter the waies there are verie foule, and in sommer maruellous dustie. Moreover, betweene our campe and Nouarre, there was a little place which we held, called Bourg, about a league from vs, & another that they held about a league from their camp, called Camarian. But the waters were risen so high, that a man could hardly passe betweene vs and them.

The Marquesse of Mantuas steward aboue mentioned that was come to Casall, & my selfe continued stil our communication of peace, and diuers reasons I alleaged to him to perswade his Master to shun the battell. First, I put him in minde of the great danger he had boene in at Fornoue: secondarily, I told him that he fought for them that never had aduaunced him, notwithstanding the great seruices he had done them: wherefore his best way should be to incline to peace, which I for my part promised to further on our side as much as in me lay. He answered that his Master desired nothing more than peace, but that we must make the first motion thereof, as word had beene sent me heretofore, considering that their league, that is to say, the Pope, the Kings of Romanes and Spaine, the Venetians, and the Duke of Milan were more woorthie than the King alone. I answered, that to make such a ceremonie about so small a trifle, was meere follie: notwithstanding if any ceremonie were to be obserued, that the King ought to haue the preheminence and honor thereof, considering that himselfe was there in person, and the others had but their lieutenants there. But to auoid all such fond cauillation, I offered that he and I iointly as mediators (if he so thought good) would breake the yce, so that I were sure his Master the Marquesse of Mantua would agree thereunto, and proceed accordingly. Whereupon we concluded, that the next day I should send a trumpeter to their campe, by whom I should write to Master *Lucas Pisan*, and Master *Melchior Treuian* the two Venetian Prouisors, the which are officers appointed to consult with their capaines, and to provide things necessarie for their armie. According to the which resolution, the next morning I writ vnto them the effect of that I had said before to the steward: for I had good colour to continue still a mediator, because I had promised so to do at my departure from Venice. Besides that, I was shre the King desired peace, and me thought also that our affaires required it. Lastly, there are euer men ynow to breake off a good appointment, but few that haue skil & will withall to travell for the pacifying of so great a controuersie, nor that will endure so many hard speeches as are vsed of them that deale in such affaires; for in great armies all are not of one humor. The said Prouisors were glad of these newes, and promised that I should shortly haue answere of my letter: whereof soorthwith they sent word to Venice in Post, and received answere with great expedition from the Seniorie, and not long after, sent an Earle that serued the Duke of Ferrara, to our campe. The said Duke had men in their armie; for his eldest sonne was in pay with the Duke of Milan³, but another of his sonnes with the King our Master. This Earles name was *Albertin*, and he pretended openly, that the occasion of his arriuall was to visite Master *John James* of Treuoul, with whom he had a sonne in seruice⁴. He addressed himselfe to the Prince of Orenge, according to the stewards agreement and mine at our departure from Casall, and aduertised him that he had a commission from the Marquesse of Mantua, the Prouisors, and the other capaines of their armie, to demaund a safe conduct for the said Marquesse and others, to the number of fiftie horses, to come and treat with such as it should please the King to appoint; for they acknowledged that it was rea-

³ His eldest sonnes name was *Alfonse Guicciard*.

⁴ He vsed this colour openly because the Venetians would not seeme first to seeke peace.

son they should first come to the King and his Commissioners, and declared also that they would do him that honor. Afterward the said Earle desired to commune with the King apart: which his request being graunted, he then counselled him not to make peace, reporting our enimies armie to be in so great feare, that shortly they would raise their siege & depart: by which words he seemed rather desirous to break off the treatie than to further it; notwithstanding that his commission openly were such as you haue heard. At this communication M. *John James* of Treuoul was present, who because he was great enimie to the Duke of Milan, would also gladly haue broken off the treatie. But aboue all others, the Duke of Ferrara the said Earle *Albertin*, Master (being newly arriuued at the Duke of Milans campe, who had married his daughter) desired war; for he was great enimie to the Venetians, because they withheld from him diuers countries, namely, the Polesan and others. After the King had communed with this Earle, he sent for me, and debated with his Counsell, whether he should graunt this safe conduct or not. Those that would gladly haue broken off the treatie, as Master *John James*, and others (who spake in fauor of the Duke of Orleans, as they pretended) desired the battell, saying, that they were sure the enimies would shortly dislodge because they starued for hunger: but the greatest part of those that gaue this aduise were clergie men, who would not haue beene at the battell themselves. Diuers others, and my selfe among the rest, were of the contrarie opinion, saying, that we should sooner starue for hunger than they, being in their owne countrie. And as touching their dislodging we answered, that their force was too great to flie for feare of vs, & by that means to cast themselves away. Wherefore these words (we said) proceeded of men that would haue vs fight and hazard our liues for their particular quarrels. To be short, the safe conduct was granted and sent, and promise made, that the next day by two of the clocke at after noone, the Prince of Orenge, the Marshall of Gie, the Lord of Piennes, and my selfe should meete the said Marquesse and his collegues betweene Bourg and Camarian, neere to a towre where they kept their watch, to the end we might there commune togither. According to the which appointment the next day thither we went, accompanied with a good band of soldiers: and there the said Marquesse of Mantua and a Venetian that had the charge of their Estradiots met vs⁵, and gave vs verie courteous language, saying, that for their parts they desired peace. Further, we there concluded, that to the end we might the more conueniently commune togither, they should send certaine Commissioners to our campe, and afterward the King certaine of his to them: wherunto they agreed, and sent vnto vs the next day on the Duke of Milans behalfe Master *Francisco Bernardin Viscomte*, and with him one of the Marquesse of Mantuas Secretaries; with whom we aboue named, and the Cardinall of S. Malo began to negotiate. They demanded Nouarre where the Duke of Orleans was besieged, and we Genua, saying, that it was held of the King by homage, and that the Duke of Milan had taken it by confiscation⁶. Then they made their excuses, saying, that they had attempted nothing against the King, but onely in their owne defence, that the Duke of Orleans had taken the said citie of Nouarre with the Kings forces, and had right to haue first mooued this warre: and further, that they thought their Masters would never agree to such conditions, but willingly do any other thing to content the King. They were with vs two daies and afterward returned againe to their campe, whither the Marhsal of Gie, Monsieur de Piennes and my selfe were sent after them, to demand the said citie of Genua; and as touching Nouarre, we offered to deliuer it to the King of Romanes men that were in their campe, vnder the leading of Master *George de Pietreplane*, and Master *Frederick Capelare*, and one named Master *Hawne*. For we could

⁵ This Venetians name was *Bernarde Contaren Guicciard*.

⁶ Seeing it was forfeited, it ought of Duke of Orleans had taken the said citie of Nouarre with the Kings forces, and had right to haue first mooued this warre: and further, that they thought their Masters would never agree to such conditions, but willingly do any other thing to content the King. They were with vs two daies and afterward returned againe to their campe, whither the Marhsal of Gie, Monsieur de Piennes and my selfe were sent after them, to demand the said citie of Genua; and as touching Nouarre, we offered to deliuer it to the King of Romanes men that were in their campe, vnder the leading of Master *George de Pietreplane*, and Master *Frederick Capelare*, and one named Master *Hawne*. For we could

not sueour it but by battell, and that we desir'd not: wherefore this offer we made to discharge our selues of it with honor; for the Duchie of Milan is held by homage of the Emperor. Diuers messengers ran to and fro betweene our campe and theirs, but nothing was concluded. Nowithstanding I lodged euery night in their campe; for the Kings pleasure was that I should so do, because he would breake off no ouerturc. In the end all we aboue named returned againe to them, being accompanied with the President of Gannay, and *Morwiller* Bailife of Amiens, which two went with vs to open the articles in Latin; for hitherto I had negotiated with them in such bad Italian as I had. Our order of proceeding was this. When we arrived at the Dukes lodging, he and the Duchesse came foorth to receive vs at the end of a gallerie, and then we entred all before him into his chamber, where we found two long ranks of chaires, set neere togither the one before the other; in the one of the which they sate downe, and we in the other. They sate in this order; first one for the King of Romanes, then the ambassador of Spaine, then the Marquesse of Mantua, & the two Prouisors of Venice, and an ambassador of Venice, then the Duke of Milan and his wife, and last of all the ambassador of Ferrara: of their side none spake but the Duke alone, and of our side but one. But our maner is not to proceed so calmly nor so orderly as they: for we spake sometimes two or three togither; but then the Duke vised to reclame vs, laying ho, one to one. When we came to pen the articles, all that was agreed vpon, was written by one of our Secretaries, and likewise by one of theirs, which also at our departure the two Secretaries read, the one in Italian and the other in French, and likewise at our next meeting, as well to the end that nothing should be altered, as also for the more expedition: and sure it is a good manner of proceeding in great and waightie affaires. This treatie endured about fifteene daies or more: but it was agreed the first day, that the Duke of Orleans might depart out of the towne, and the selfesame day we made truce, which continued from day to day till the peace was concluded. Moreover, the Marquesse of Mantua ² put himselfe in hostage into the Earle of Foix his hands, rather for his owne pleasure, than for any doubt we had of the Duke of Orleans person. But they made vs first swere that we would proceed in the treatie of peace vprightly and sincerely without dissimulation, onely to deliuer the said Duke.

² The Marquesse of Mantua put himselfe in hostage, because the Duke of Orleans was to passe through the Italiens campe. Guicciard.

How the Duke of Orleans and his company were deliuered by composition out of their great miserie in Nouarre where they were besieged: and of the Swiflers arrivall that came to succour the King and the said Duke of Orleans.
Chap. 10.

THe Marshall of Gie accompanied with certaine of the Duke of Milans seruants, went to Nouarre, and caused the Duke of Orleans with a small traine to come foorth of the towne whereof he was right glad. They within the towne were so miserably persecuted with famine and sickenes, that the said Marshall was forced to leaue his nephew called Monsieur de Romefort in hostage with them, promising that within three daies they should all come foorth. You haue heard before how the Bailife of Digeon was sent into Swisserland to leue ffe thousand men among their Cantons, the which were not yet arrived when the D. of Orleans came forth of Nouarre: for if they had, vndoubtedly

tedly in mine opinion we had fought. But notwithstanding that we were certainly aduertised that there came a much greater number than we sent for: yet could we not tarie their comming because of our mens great distresse in Nouarre, where there died at the least two thousand of famine and sicknes: the rest also being so poore and miserable that they seemed rather dead carcases than liuing creatures. And I thinke verily (setting the siege of Hierusalem aside) that neuer men sustained such hunger as they did. But if at their first entrie into the towne they had made good prouision of Corne, whereof they might haue recovered plentie in the villages there about) they should neuer haue beene brought to such extremitie: but on the other side, their enimies haue beeene forced to depart with great dishonor.

Three or fower daies after the Duke of Orleans departed out of Nouarre, it was agreed by both the parties that all the soldiers should likewise be permitted to come foorth, and the Marques of Mantua, and Master *Galeas* of Saint Seuerin, Captaines, the one of the Venetians, the other of the Duke of Milans forces, were appointed to conueigh them in safetie, and so they did. Further, as touching the towne of Nouarre it was put into the citizens hands, who were sworne to receive into it neither French nor Italian, before the treatie of peace were fully concluded. Moreover, thirtie of our men remained still in the castell, whom the Duke of Milan permitted to have victuals for their money from day to day. Vndoubtedly a man would neuer beleue the great miserie they were in that came foorth of the towne, vniuersall he had seene them. Horses they brought foorth but fewe, for they were in maner all eaten, and there were hardly sixe hundred men among them able to doe seruice, notwithstanding that there came foorth 5500. A great number lay by the waies whome the enimies themselues releued. I for my part for the value of a crowne saued fiftie of them, as they lay succourlesse in a garden neere to a little castle that the enimies held called Camarian, where I caused porridge to be giuen them, which so well refreshed them that in the said garden there died but one, and afterward vpon the way about fower, for it was ten miles from Nouarre to Vercueil; whither when they arrived, the King bestowed his charitie vpon them, and commaunded eight hundred franks to be deuided among them, and paide them also their wages, as well the dead as the liuing, and the Swiflers in like maner, of whom about fower hundred died in Nouarre: but notwithstanding all this their good cheerishing three hundred of them died at Vercueil after their returne, some by feeding too greadily after their long famine, and some by sicknes, so that a great number lay dead vpon the dunghils of the towne. About this present, after all our men were come foorth of the towne, except thirtie that remained in the castell: (some of the which also daily falled foorth) arrived the Swiflers, eight or ten thousand of the which came and lodged with vs in our campe, where were already two thousand that had beeene with the King in this voiage of Naples: the rest of their company being likewise to the number of ten thousand encamped neere to Vercueil. The King was aduised not to suffer these two bands to ioyne togither, in the which were to the number of twentie and two thousand men: so that I thinke so many soldiers of their countrey were neuer togither before. For the opinion of all those that knew their countrey was, that they left but few able men behinde them, and sure the greatest part of these came whether we would or not, in such sort that their wiues and children would have come with them, had not the straights at the entrie into Piemone beeene defended to stop them. A man may doubt whether this their comming proceeded of good affection or no, because the late King *Lewis* had bestowed great benefits vpon them, and was the cause of the great honor and renoune they haue won

won in the world. True it is that there were some olde men among them, that had borne great goodwill to King *Lewis*: for there came a number of Captaines aboue seauentie two yeeres of age, the which had serued against Duke *Charles* of Burgundy: but the chiefe cause of their comming was couetousnes and pouertie. To say the truth all the able men that they could leue came, and such a number of tall fellowes they were, and so goodly a bande, that me thought it impossible to discomfite them, otherwise than by famine or cold, or some such distresse.

Let vs now retorne to the principall matter, to wit the treatie. The Duke of Orleans (after he had well refreshed himselfe eight or ten daies, being accompanied with men of all sorts) supposing his honor to be stained, because such a number of men as were with him in Nouarde, had suffered themselves through meete folly to be brought to so great extremite, began to wish that we might fight, and talked verie stoulty of the battell, and one or two more of his followers. Further, Monsieur *de Ligny*, and the Archbishop of Rouen (who gouerned the said Dukes affaires) and two or three other meane personages, suborned certaine Swiflers to come and offer themselves to fight. But no reason could be alleaged why we should so do: for the Duke of Orleans had no men in the towne more than the thirtie remaining in the castle, so that there was no cause why we should aduenture the battell; for the King had no quarell, neither meant to fight but onely for sauing the said Dukes person and his seruants. Besides this, our enemis were mightie, and it was impossible to assaile them in their campe, as well because they were entrenched round about, and their trenches full of water, as also because of the strong seat thereof. Moreover, they had no enimies to inuade them but vs onely, for they stood now in no more feare of the towne. They were aboue 2800. men of armes barded, and ffe thousand light horsemen, and 11500. Almaines led by good capitaines, to wit, Master *George* of Pictreplane, Master *Frederick Capelare*, and Master *Haunce*, besides great force of footemen of their owne countries; so that they seemed to speake but vpon a brauery, that said we might take them in their campe, or that they would flie. Besides all this, another thing there was greatly to be feared, to wit, least these Swiflers if they ioyned all together, should take the King and the noble men of the armie, being but a handfull in respect of them, and leade them prisoners into their countre; for some appearance there was that they meant so to do, as you shall heare at the conclusion of the peace.

How the peace was concluded betwene the King and the Duke of Orleans on the one side, and the enimies on the other: and of the conditions and articles thereof.

Chap. 11.


 Hile these matters were thus debated two and fro among vs, in such heate that the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Orenge fell at variance about them, so far foorth that the Duke gaue him the lie; the Marshal of Gie, the Lord of Piennes, the President *Gannay*, the Lord *Morvillier*, the Vidame of Chartres, and my selfe returned to the enimies campe and concluded peace¹: which notwithstanding that we perceiued by manifest tokens to be vnlke long to endure; yet necessarie forced vs to conclude it, both because of diuers realons aboue alleaged, because the winter constrained vs thereunto, because we lacked money: and also to the ende we might depart with an honorable peace, which

¹ This treatie of Vercell was concluded the 9. of October.

which should be sent abrode into the world in writing, as the King had concluded with his Councell, the Duke of Orleans being there present. The articles of the peace were these. That the Duke of Milan should beare the King his fauor to Genua against all men: and that in respect thereof, he should atme two shippes to the sea at his owne proper costs and charges, to succour the castels of Naples which held yet for the King. And further, that the next yeare he should furnissh the King of three shippes, and serue him in person in the conquest of the said realme, if the King himselfe happened to returne to conquer it againe. That he should give passage to the Kings forces. And if the Venetians would not accept the peace within two moneths, but continue to defend the house of Arragon; that then he shoulde take part with the King against them, and employ his person and subiects for the Kings seruice, vnder this condition, that all that should be conquered of their dominions should be his. That he should release to the King fower score thousand ducats of the hundred and fower and twentie thousand that he had lent him in this voyage. That for performance of these conditions, he should deliuer to the King two hostages of Genua: That the castell of Genua should be put into the Duke of Ferraras hands, as neuter for two yeeres, and that the Duke of Milan should pay the oue halfe of the garrison within it, and the King the other: and further, if the said Duke of Milan should refuse to do such seruices to the King for Genua, as he was bound to do by this treatie; that then it should be lawfull for the Duke of Ferrara to put the said castell into the Kings hands. Last of all, that the said Duke of Milan should deliver to the King two other hostages of Milan. These he deliuered, and so would he also the others of Genua, if the King had not departed so suddenly; but so soone as he sawe him gone, he made delaies.

After we were returned from the enimies campe, and had aduertised the King that the Duke of Milan had sworne the treatie, and the Venetians taken two moneths respit to accept or refuse it (for more they would not condescend vnto) the King swore it also, and the second day after determined to depart, being very desirous both he and all the company to returne into Fraunce: but the selfe same night the Swiflers that were in our campe assembed togither each Canton apart, and strake vp their druins, standing in order of battell by their ensignes, as their maner is in their consultations. All the which I write vpon the report of *Lornay*, who was then, and long time before had beene one of their capitaines, and vnderstandeth well their language, and lodged that night in their campe, and came and aduertised the King of all these their actions.

Some of these Swiflers gaue aduise to take the King and all his companie, that is to say, the principall of the armie; others would not agree thereunto, but gaue counsell to demaund paiment for three moneths, saying, that the King his father had promised them this paiment as often as they should depart out of their countre with ensigne displaied: others were of opinion to take the principall of the armie, not touching the Kings person. This last opinion tooke place, so far foorth that they began to dispose themselves to execute it, a great number of their men being already within the towne: but before they had fully concluded, the King parted and went to Trin, a towne in the Marquisat of Montferrat. Sure they did vs great wrong, to demaund three moneths paiment (whereas King *Lewis* had promised them but one;) especially hauing done no seruice. To be short, in the end we made an agreement with them, but they that had beeene with vs at Naples, had first taken the Bailife of Di-geon and *Lornay* (who had euer beene their capitaines) demaunding paiment of 15. daies for their departure. But the others had three moneths pay, amounting to ffe hundred

hundred thousand franks; for the which summe, they were contented to take pledges and hostages. All this disorder happened by practise of certaine of our owne men, who mooued them thus to do, because they disliked the peace, as one of their Capitaines came and told the Prince of Orenge, who aduertised the King thereof.

When the King arriuied at Trin, he sent the Marshall of Gie, the President *Gagnay* and me, to the Duke of Milan, to desire him to come and speake with him. We alleaged many reasons to perswade him thereunto, saying, that by this meanes the peace should be fully confirmed: but he gaue foorth diuers reasons to the contrary, and refused so to do; excusing himselfe vpon certaine speeches vttered by Monsieur *de Ligny* (who had aduised to take him prisoner when he was with the King at Pavia) and likewise by the Cardinall, who had all the credit with the King. But notwithstanding that many foolish words were indeede spoken, I know not by whom; yet sure I am that at this present the King greatly desired his friendship. He was in a place called Bolie, and agreed to speake with the King, so that a gracie might be betweene them built vpon abridge ouer a riuier. Vpon the returne of which answere the King departed to Quiers, where he stayed but a night or two, and then tooke his iourney to passe ouer the mountaines, and sent me againe to Venice, and others to Genua to cause the two ships to be manned², which the Duke of Milan was bound to lende him: but he performed no whit of that he promised; for after the King had beeene at great charges in arming of men to the said ships, the Duke would not let them depart; but on the contrarie side sent two to our enimies.

* The Duke was bound to arme these ships, but the King would haue manned them with his owne men.

How the King sent the Lord Argenson to Venice with certaine conditions of peace which they refused: and of the Duke of Milans false dealings.

Chap. 12.

* The Venetians hauing sent aide to King Ferrand had won Monopoly and Puliagnane, Guissiar.

MY ambassage to the Venetians was to know whether they would accept the peace, and agree to these three articles. First, to restore Monopoly to the King, which they had lately woon from vs¹. Secondarily, to reuoke the Marquesse of Mantua, and the forces they had in the realme of Naples, from King *Ferrande* seruice. Lastly, to declare King *Ferrande* to be none of their confederates, because none were comprehended in their league but the Pope, the King of Romans, the King of Spaine, and the Duke of Milan. When I arriuied at Venice, they receiued me very honorably, though not so honorably as at my former being there, and no maruell; for then we were in peace, but now in hostilitie. I did my message to the Duke, who welcommned me, and told me that shortly I should receiue mine answere, but that he would first consult with the Senate. Three daies they commanded generall processions and publike sermons, and dealt great almes, desiring God of his grace to direct them into the wifest course; which maner of proceeding (as I was there informed) they vse ordinarily in such like cases. Wherefore I must needs confess, that this city seemed to me the most deuout, as touching matters of religion, that euer I came in, & their Churches the best decked and trimmed; so that herein I account them equall with the ancient Romanes, and am fully perswaded, that thereof springeth the greatness of their Seniorie: which sure is woorthie rather to increase than diminish. But to returne to mine ambassage, I abode there fiftene daies before I was dispatched. The answere I received was a flat refusall of all my demands, with this excuse that they were not in war

war with the King, neither had done any thing but in defence of their confederate the Duke of Milan, whom the King sought to destroy. Afterward they caused the Duke to commune with me apart, who offered me a good composition, to wit, that King *Ferrande* by the Popes consent should hold the realme of Naples of the King by homage, and pay him yeerely fiftie thousand ducats for tribute, and a certaine summe of money presently, the which they offered to lend, meaning to haue in gage for it the places which they now hold in Pouille, namely Brandis, Otrante, Trani, and the rest. And further, that for performance of these conditions, the said Dom *Ferrande* should deliuere to the King, or leauue in his hands certain townes in Pouille, they meant Tarente which the King yet held, and one or two more that the said *Ferrande* should haue deliuered, which townes they offered vs on that side of Italie, because it was the furthest from vs, notwithstanding that they pretended the offer to be, because they stood commodiously to inuade the Turke: whereof the King had put men in great hope at his first entrie into Italie, saying, that he attempted this conquest of Naples, to the end he might with the more expedition transport his forces against the said Turke, which was a wicked deuice, and a meere lie; for he meant nothing lesse, but from God no man can hide his thoughts. Moreover, the Duke of Venice offered me, that if the King would attempt any thing against the Turke, he should haue free acces to these places aboue named, that all Italy should be contributors to the wars; that the King of Romanes should inuade also on the other side, and that the King and they would gouerne Italie in such sort, that no man should refuse to pay that he should be rated at; and further, that they for their part would aide him vpon their owne proper costs and charges with an hundred gallies vpon the sea, and fiftie thousand horses vpon the land.

I tooke my leaue of the Duke and the Seniorie, saying, that I would make report of their answere to the King. Then returned I to Milan, and found the Duke at Vigesue, and the Kings ambassador with him, who was one of the Stewards of his house named *Rigaut Doyelles*. The Duke came foorth himselfe to meeete me, vnder colour of going a hunting: for they vse there to receive ambassadors with great reverence, and lodged me in his castle very honorably. I desired to commune with him apart, and he promised that I should so do, though halfe against his will as it seemed. The castle of Naples held yet for the King: wherefore I meant earnestly to presse him for the two ships promised vs by the treatie of Vercceil, the which were ready to depart, he in outward appearance seemed willing thereunto: But *Peron of Basche* Steward of the Kings house, and *Stephen de Neues* (who were at Genua for the King) so soone as they vnderstood of my arriuall at Vigesue, wrote vnto me, complaining of the Duke of Milans falsehood, who would not suffer the two ships to depart which he had promised vs, but on the contrary side had sent two to aide our enimies. They aduertised me further, that one day the gouernor of Genua made them answere that he would not suffer the said ships to be manned with any French men, and another day that he would put into each of them but fiftie and twentie at the most, with diuers suchlike dissimulations, dallying and delaying the time till the castle of Naples were yeelded, which the Duke knew well to be victualled but for a moneth or little more. And as touching the armie that the King leuied in Prouence, it was not able to succour the castle without these two ships: for the enimies lay before it with a great Navie, as well of their owne, as of the Venetians, and the King of Spaines. Three daies I abode with the Duke, and one day he sate in counsell with me, seeming to be discontented that I disliked his answere touching the said ships, and alleged that by the treatie of Vercceil he had promised

promised to serue the King with two ships, but not that they should be manned with French men. Whereunto I answered that this seemed to me a very slender excuse: for if he should lend me a good mule to passe the mountaines withall, and afterward make me lead him in my hand and not to ride vpon him, but lookevpon him only, what pleasure did he me? After much debating, he and I withdrew our selues into a gallery, where I declared vnto him what great paines, both I and others had taken to conclude this treatie of Vercel, and into how great danger he brought vs by contraryng thus his promise, and causing the King by that meanes to lose the castles of Naples, and consequently the whole realme, whereby he should also ingender perpetuall hatred betweene the King and him. Further, I offered him the Princedome of Tarente and the Duchie of Bary, the which Duchie he held alreadie. Lastly I shewed him the danger he put both himselfe and the whole estate of Italie into, by suffering the Venetians to hold these places in Pouille ². And he confessed I said true, especially touching the Venetians: but his last resolution was that he could find no faith nor assurance with the King.

• For King Ferrand since King Charles his departure had ingaged to the Venetians sixe towns in Pouille vnder certaine conditions which are rehearsed hereafter. cap. 14.

After this communication I tooke my leaue of him, he accompaning me vpon the way about a league. But euuen at our very departure he deuised yet a cunninger lie than all the rest (if a man may vse such termes of a Prince,) for because I seemed to depart sad and melancholick: he said vnto me (as a man suddenly altered) that he would do me a friendly turne to the end the King might haue good cause to welcom me: for the next day he would send Master *Galeas* to Genua (more I could not wish when he named him to me) to cause the two ships to depart, and ioine with our armie, by meanes whereof he would saue the King the castle of Naples, and consequently the whole realme, as he should indeed if he had done as he promised. He said further, that immedately after their departure he would aduertise me thereof with his owne hand, to the end I might be the first man that should bring newes to the King, of this great seruice that I had done him, adding also that the Courier should ouertake me with his letters before my attiuall at Lyons. In this good hope departed I and tooke my iourney to passe the mountaines, thinking every Poste that came after me to be the same that should haue brought me these letters. Notwithstanding I doubted somewhat thereof, knowing the nature of the man so well as I did. But to proceede in my voiage, I came to Chambery where I found the Duke of Sauoy who honorably intreated me, and staied me with him a day. Afterward I arrived at Lyons (without my Courier) to make report to the King of all that I had done, whom I found banqueting and iusting, and wholy giuen to sport and pastime. Those that had mistiked this treatie of Vercel were glad that the Duke of Milan had thus deluded vs: for their credit increased thereby, but me they potted at, as in such cases is vsuall in Princes courts, greatly to my grieve and discontentment.

³ He meaneþ the enterprise of succouring the castle of Naples.

I made report to the King by mouth, and shewed him also in writing the Venetians offers aboue rehearsed, whereof he made small account, and the Cardinall who gouerned all, much lesse. But that notwithstanding I mooued it to him afterward againe: for me thought it better to accept this offer then to lose all. Besides that, the King had no men about him able to deale in so waightie an enterprise ³: for those that were able and of experience, they that had all the credit neuer or very seldome called to counsell in any matter. The King would gladly they shoule ofter haue beene called, but he feared to displease those that were of authoritie about him, especially those that gouerned his treasure, namely the said Cardinall and his brethren and kinsmen. Wherefore let all other Princes learne by the example of this, how fit and conuenient it is for themselues to take paines in the gouerning of their

their owne affaires; at the least sometimes, how requisite it is to call more than one or two to counsell, according to the varietie of the matters that are debated; and how necessarie it is to hold their counsellors almost in equal authoritie: for if one of them be so great, that the rest feare him (as one was both then and euer since about King Charles) he is King and Lord in effect, and the Prince himselfe is euill serued; as this King was by his gonemors, who sought onely their owne profit and little regarded his, whereby himselfe was the lesse esteemed and the woorse thought of.

How the King after his returne into Fraunce forgot those that he left behinde him in the realme of Naples: and how the Dauphine died, whose death the King and Queene much lamented.

Chap. 13.

 Returned to Lyons the yeere 1495. the twelfe of December, where the King was alreadie arrived with his armie, a veere and two moneths after his departure out of his realme. The castles of Naples held yet for him as before you haue heard, and Monsieur de Montpensier his lieutenant there, was yet at Salerne in the realme of Naples with the Prince of Salerne: likewise Monsieur d'Aubigny was yet in Calabria where he had done great service: notwithstanding that he had beene sicke almost euer since the Kings departure. Master Gracian des Guerres was yet also in l'Abuzzo, Dom Julian at Mont-saint-Ange, and George of Suly at Tarente: but they were all in greater distresse than is credible. Besides that, they could hardly receive any newes or letters out of France, and those few they did receive, were but abuses and faire promises without effect. For the King as you haue heard, dispatched nothing himselfe: and if they had been furnished in time but of the sixt part of the money that was spent afterward, they had neuer lost the realme. But in the end when all was yeelded, they received fortie thousand ducats onely, for part of a yeeres pay already passed: and yet if this small summe had come but one moneth sooner, the miseries and diuisions they afterward fell into, and the dishonor they received, had neuer chanced. All the which inconueniences hapned because the King dispatched nothing himselfe, neither would giue the messengers audience that came from them. And as touching his seruants to whom he committed the gouernment of his affaires: they were men of small experience, idle, and negligent, and some of them I thinke had intelligence with the Pope, whereby it maniflyt appeered, that God had now altogether withdrawn his grace from the King, which at his going to Naples he had poured downe so plentifullly vpon him.

After the King had soiourned at Lyons about two moneths, word was broughte him that the Dauphin his sonne lay at the point of death, and within three daies after that hee was dead, which newes he tooke heauily as nature would: notwithstanding his sorrow soone ended. But the Queene of Fraunce and Duchesse of Britaine called Anne, lamented the death of her sonne, a long time, as much as was possible for a woman to do. And I thinke verily that besides the naturall grieve that women vse to conceiue in such cases, her minde gaue her that some greater euill hung ouer her head. The King her husband (as I haue said) mourned not long, but sought to comfort her, by causing certaine yoong gentlemen to daunce before her, of the which the Duke of Orleans was one, being of the age of fower and thirtie yeeres,

yeeres, who seemed to reioice at the Daulphins death, because he was heire apparent to the crowne next after the King: for the which cause the K. and he saw not one another in a long time after. The Daulphin was about three yeeres olde, a goodly childe, bold in speech, and no whit fearing those things that commonly children vse to feare. Wherefore (to be plaine with you) his fathers sorrow soone ended: for he began already to doubt if this childe grew to yeeres, and continued in his noble conditions, that happily he might diminish his estimation and authoritie: for the King himselfe was a man of very small stature & of no great sense, but of so good a nature, that it was impossible to finde a gentler creature.

Hereby you may perceive in how miserable estate Kings and Princes live, who stand in feare of their owne children. King *Lewis* the eleventh who was so wise and vertuous a Prince, stood in feare of this King *Charles* his sonne, but he prouided well for it, and afterward died, leauing his said sonne King, being but fowerteene yeeres of age. The said King *Lewis* also had put King *Charles* the seuen his father in feare of him: for being but thirteene yeeres of age, he mooued warre against him with certaine noble men and gentlemen of the realme, that misliked those that bare the sway in Court, and governed the estate, as King *Lewis* himselfe hath eftsoones told me: but this broile soon ended. Afterward also being come to mans estate, he fell at great variance with his father, and retir'd himselfe into Daulphine, and from thence into Flaunders, leauing the countrie of Daulphine to the said King his father, as I haue made mention about the beginning of this historie written of King *Lewis* the eleventh. Wherefore it is manifest that no creature is exempt from trouble, but that all men eate their bread in trauell and sorrow, as God promised vs that we should soone after he had created man, the which promise he hath truely performed to all sorts of men. But great diuersitie there is of troubles and sorrowes: for those of the bodie are the leſſe, and those of the minde the greater: the sorrowes of wise men are of one ſort, and the sorrowes of fooles of another; but much greater griefe and paſſion endureth the foole than the wise man, and leſſe comfort receiueth he in his sorrowes, though many ſuppoſe otherwise. The poore man that trauelleth and toileth his bodie to get foode to ſustaine himſelfe and his children, and paieſt customis and ſubſidies to his Prince, ſhould liue in too great diſcomfort and diſpaire, if Princes and great men had nothing but pleaſure in this world, and he nothing on the contrarie ſide but trauell and miserie. But God hath otherwiſe diſpoſed thereof; for if I ſhould take vpon me to rehearſe the ſundrie griefes, ſorrowes, and paſſions that I haue ſeene diuers great perſonages ſustaine, as well men as women within theſe thirtie yeeres onely, a great volume would hardly containe them. I meane not ſuch great perſonages as *Bocace* writeth of in his hooke¹, but ſuch as we ſee abound with wealth, and liue in health and proſperitie; yea ſuch as thoſe that haue not beene conuerſant with them as I haue beene, would account in all respects happy: but I haue often ſeene their ſorrowes and griefes arife of ſo ſmall occaſions, that they that were vnaquaainted with them would hardly beleeue it, the moſt part being grounded vpon ielouies and reports, which is diſease that lurketh ſecretly in great Princes Courts, and traitheth with it infinite miſchief both to their owne perſons, their ſeruants, and all their ſubiects, and ſo much ſhorteneth their liues, that hardly any King of Fraunce ſince *Charles* the great hath paſſed the age of ſixtie yeeres. For the which cauſe, when King *Lewis* the eleventh approched neare to that age (being ſick of this diſease) he accounted himſelfe a dead man. His father King *Charles* the ſeuenth, who had done ſo manie noble acts in Fraunce, conueiued an imagination in his ſickenes, that his ſeruants went about to poison him, and therefore refuſed to receive ſuſtenance. Like-
wise

¹ Of vnfotu-
nate noble
men.

wife his father King *Charles* the ſixt was troubled with ſo many ſuſpicioſes, that he loſt his wits, and all by reports. And ſure this is the fault greatly to be blamed in Princes, that in theſe caſes they cauſe not ſuch matters as concerne themſelues (be they of neuer ſo ſmall importance) to be ripped vp: which if they did, they ſhould not ſo often be troubled with false tales. For if they would examine the parties the one before the other, I meane the accuſer, and him that is accuſed, no man durſt report any thing to them that were vnuſtric. But ſome Princes there are of ſo doltiſh diſpoſition, that they will promiſe and ſweare to the accuſers neuer to diſclose their reports, whereby they are often troubled with theſe anguiſhes before mentioned, and hate and iniurie their truſtiest and fauhiuſteſt ſeruants and ſubiects, at the pleaſure and vpon the complaint many times of lewd and naughtie perſons.

How the King was aduertised of the loſſe of the caſtle of Naples: and how the Florentines places were ſold to diuers men: of the treaty of Atelle in Pouille, to the great diſmāſſe of the French: and of the death of King Ferrande of Naples.
Chap. 14.


 He Daulphin the Kings onely ſonne died about the beginning of the yeere 1496, which was the greateſt miſfortune that euer happened or could happen to the King: for he neuer had childe after, that liued. But this miſcheife came not without company, for at the verie ſame time receiued he newes that the caſtle of Naples was yeelded by thoſe that the Lord of Montpensier left within it, who were forced thereunto, partly by famine, the places be- and partly to recouer the houſtages deliuered by the ſaid Montpensier to King Fer-
¹ Before cap. 3.
² he named him *de la Chasse d'Anjou*,
³ but if *Loudon* *nis in Anjou*
⁴ *reconciled*.
⁵ The Veneti-
⁶ ans paid the
⁷ money, for the
⁸ Pifans were
⁹ not able to
¹⁰ redeeme it:
¹¹ but after the
¹² Citadelle de-
¹³ livered, the
¹⁴ Pifans put
¹⁵ the Citadelle.
¹⁶ *Guicciar.*
¹⁷ This ba-
¹⁸ ſtards name
¹⁹ was *de Bienni*.
²⁰ *Guicciar.*
²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ ³⁸² ³⁸³ ³⁸⁴ ³⁸⁵ ³⁸⁶ ³⁸⁷ ³⁸⁸ ³⁸⁹ ³⁹⁰ ³⁹¹ ³⁹² ³⁹³ ³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵ ³⁹⁶ ³⁹⁷ ³⁹⁸ ³⁹⁹ ⁴⁰⁰ ⁴⁰¹ ⁴⁰² ⁴⁰³ ⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁰⁵ ⁴⁰⁶ ⁴⁰⁷ ⁴⁰⁸ ⁴⁰⁹ ⁴¹⁰ ⁴¹¹ ⁴¹² ⁴¹³ ⁴¹⁴ ⁴¹⁵ ⁴¹⁶ ⁴¹⁷ ⁴¹⁸ ⁴¹⁹ ⁴²⁰ ⁴²¹ ⁴²² ⁴²³ ⁴²⁴ ⁴²⁵ ⁴²⁶ ⁴²⁷ ⁴²⁸ ⁴²⁹ ⁴³⁰ ⁴³¹ ⁴³² ⁴³³ ⁴³⁴ ⁴³⁵ ⁴³⁶ ⁴³⁷ ⁴³⁸ ⁴³⁹ ⁴⁴⁰ ⁴⁴¹ ⁴⁴² ⁴⁴³ ⁴⁴⁴ ⁴⁴⁵ ⁴⁴⁶ ⁴⁴⁷ ⁴⁴⁸ ⁴⁴⁹ ⁴⁵⁰ ⁴⁵¹ ⁴⁵² ⁴⁵³ ⁴⁵⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ ⁴⁵⁶ ⁴⁵⁷ ⁴⁵⁸ ⁴⁵⁹ ⁴⁶⁰ ⁴⁶¹ ⁴⁶² ⁴⁶³ ⁴⁶⁴ ⁴⁶⁵ ⁴⁶⁶ ⁴⁶⁷ ⁴⁶⁸ ⁴⁶⁹ ⁴⁷⁰ ⁴⁷¹ ⁴⁷² ⁴⁷³ ⁴⁷⁴ ⁴⁷⁵ ⁴⁷⁶ ⁴⁷⁷ ⁴⁷⁸ ⁴⁷⁹ ⁴⁸⁰ ⁴⁸¹ ⁴⁸² ⁴⁸³ ⁴⁸⁴ ⁴⁸⁵ ⁴⁸⁶ ⁴⁸⁷ ⁴⁸⁸ ⁴⁸⁹ ⁴⁹⁰ ⁴⁹¹ ⁴⁹² ⁴⁹³ ⁴⁹⁴ ⁴⁹⁵ ⁴⁹⁶ ⁴⁹⁷ ⁴⁹⁸ ⁴⁹⁹ ⁵⁰⁰ ⁵⁰¹ ⁵⁰² ⁵⁰³ ⁵⁰⁴ ⁵⁰⁵ ⁵⁰⁶ ⁵⁰⁷ ⁵⁰⁸ ⁵⁰⁹ ⁵¹⁰ ⁵¹¹ ⁵¹² ⁵¹³ ⁵¹⁴ ⁵¹⁵ ⁵¹⁶ ⁵¹⁷ ⁵¹⁸ ⁵¹⁹ ⁵²⁰ ⁵²¹ ⁵²² ⁵²³ ⁵²⁴ ⁵²⁵ ⁵²⁶ ⁵²⁷ ⁵²⁸ ⁵²⁹ ⁵³⁰ ⁵³¹ ⁵³² ⁵³³ ⁵³⁴ ⁵³⁵ ⁵³⁶ ⁵³⁷ ⁵³⁸ ⁵³⁹ ⁵⁴⁰ ⁵⁴¹ ⁵⁴² ⁵⁴³ ⁵⁴⁴ ⁵⁴⁵ ⁵⁴⁶ ⁵⁴⁷ ⁵⁴⁸ ⁵⁴⁹ ⁵⁵⁰ ⁵⁵¹ ⁵⁵² ⁵⁵³ ⁵⁵⁴ ⁵⁵⁵ ⁵⁵⁶ ⁵⁵⁷ ⁵⁵⁸ ⁵⁵⁹ ⁵⁶⁰ ⁵⁶¹ ⁵⁶² ⁵⁶³ ⁵⁶⁴ ⁵⁶⁵ ⁵⁶⁶ ⁵⁶⁷ ⁵⁶⁸ ⁵⁶⁹ ⁵⁷⁰ ⁵⁷¹ ⁵⁷² ⁵⁷³ ⁵⁷⁴ ⁵⁷⁵ ⁵⁷⁶ ⁵⁷⁷ ⁵⁷⁸ ⁵⁷⁹ ⁵⁸⁰ ⁵⁸¹ ⁵⁸² ⁵⁸³ ⁵⁸⁴ ⁵⁸⁵ ⁵⁸⁶ ⁵⁸⁷ ⁵⁸⁸ ⁵⁸⁹ ⁵⁹⁰ ⁵⁹¹ ⁵⁹² ⁵⁹³ ⁵⁹⁴ ⁵⁹⁵ ⁵⁹⁶ ⁵⁹⁷ ⁵⁹⁸ ⁵⁹⁹ ⁶⁰⁰ ⁶⁰¹ ⁶⁰² ⁶⁰³ ⁶⁰⁴ ⁶⁰⁵ ⁶⁰⁶ ⁶⁰⁷ ⁶⁰⁸ ⁶⁰⁹ ⁶¹⁰ ⁶¹¹ ⁶¹² ⁶¹³ ⁶¹⁴ ⁶¹⁵ ⁶¹⁶ ⁶¹⁷ ⁶¹⁸ ⁶¹⁹ ⁶²⁰ ⁶²¹ ⁶²² ⁶²³ ⁶²⁴ ⁶²⁵ ⁶²⁶ ⁶²⁷ ⁶²⁸ ⁶²⁹ ⁶³⁰ ⁶³¹ ⁶³² ⁶³³ ⁶³⁴ ⁶³⁵ ⁶³⁶ ⁶³⁷ ⁶³⁸ ⁶³⁹ ⁶⁴⁰ ⁶⁴¹ ⁶⁴² ⁶⁴³ ⁶⁴⁴ ⁶⁴⁵ ⁶⁴⁶ ⁶⁴⁷ ⁶⁴⁸ ⁶⁴⁹ ⁶⁵⁰ ⁶⁵¹ ⁶⁵² ⁶⁵³ ⁶⁵⁴ ⁶⁵⁵ ⁶⁵⁶ ⁶⁵⁷ ⁶⁵⁸ ⁶⁵⁹ ⁶⁶⁰ ⁶⁶¹ ⁶⁶² ⁶⁶³ ⁶⁶⁴ ⁶⁶⁵ ⁶⁶⁶ ⁶⁶⁷ ⁶⁶⁸ ⁶⁶⁹ ⁶⁷⁰ ⁶⁷¹ ⁶⁷² ⁶⁷³ ⁶⁷⁴ ⁶⁷⁵ ⁶⁷⁶ ⁶⁷⁷ ⁶⁷⁸ ⁶⁷⁹ ⁶⁸⁰ ⁶⁸¹ ⁶⁸² ⁶⁸³ ⁶⁸⁴ ⁶⁸⁵ ⁶⁸⁶ ⁶⁸⁷ ⁶⁸⁸ ⁶⁸⁹ ⁶⁹⁰ ⁶⁹¹ ⁶⁹² ⁶⁹³ ⁶⁹⁴ ⁶⁹⁵ ⁶⁹⁶ ⁶⁹⁷ ⁶⁹⁸ ⁶⁹⁹ ⁷⁰⁰ ⁷⁰¹ ⁷⁰² ⁷⁰³ ⁷⁰⁴ ⁷⁰⁵ ⁷⁰⁶ ⁷⁰⁷ ⁷⁰⁸ ⁷⁰⁹ ⁷¹⁰ ⁷¹¹ ⁷¹² ⁷¹³ ⁷¹⁴ ⁷¹⁵ ⁷¹⁶ ⁷¹⁷ ⁷¹⁸ ⁷¹⁹ ⁷²⁰ ⁷²¹ ⁷²² ⁷²³ ⁷²⁴ ⁷²⁵ ⁷²⁶ ⁷²⁷ ⁷²⁸ ⁷²⁹ ⁷³⁰ ⁷³¹ ⁷³² ⁷³³ ⁷³⁴ ⁷³⁵ ⁷³⁶ ⁷³⁷ ⁷³⁸ ⁷³⁹ ⁷⁴⁰ ⁷⁴¹ ⁷⁴² ⁷⁴³ ⁷⁴⁴ ⁷⁴⁵ ⁷⁴⁶ ⁷⁴⁷ ⁷⁴⁸ ⁷⁴⁹ ⁷⁵⁰ ⁷⁵¹ ⁷⁵² ⁷⁵³ ⁷⁵⁴ ⁷⁵⁵ ⁷⁵⁶ ⁷⁵⁷ ⁷⁵⁸ ⁷⁵⁹ ⁷⁶⁰ ⁷⁶¹ ⁷⁶² ⁷⁶³ ⁷⁶⁴ ⁷⁶⁵ ⁷⁶⁶ ⁷⁶⁷ ⁷⁶⁸ ⁷⁶⁹ ⁷⁷⁰ ⁷⁷¹ ⁷⁷² ⁷⁷³ ⁷⁷⁴ ⁷⁷⁵ ⁷⁷⁶ ⁷⁷⁷ ⁷⁷⁸ ⁷⁷⁹ ⁷⁸⁰ ⁷⁸¹ ⁷⁸² ⁷⁸³ ⁷⁸⁴ ⁷⁸⁵ ⁷⁸⁶ ⁷⁸⁷ ⁷⁸⁸ ⁷⁸⁹ ⁷⁹⁰ ⁷⁹¹ ⁷⁹² ⁷⁹³ ⁷⁹⁴ ⁷⁹⁵ ⁷⁹⁶ ⁷⁹⁷

the Kings forces there. They offered further, to entertaine continually in the saide realme at their proper costs and charges, three hundred men of armes to doe the King seruice till the said conquest were fully atchieued, of the which conditions none were performed, because of this euill dealing aboue mentioned. Besides that, we were forced to restore the thirtie thousand ducats that they lent vs, all the which inconueniences happened through disobedience and priuy whispering in the Kings eare, for some of those that were neerest about him, encouraged Entragues to sell these places.

At the selfe same time within two moneths ouer or vnder, in the beginning of this yeere 1496, the Lord of Montpensier, the Lord *Virgill Virsin*⁶ Master *Camelli Vitelli*, and the rest of the French captaines, seeing all thus lost: put themselues into the field, and tooke certaine small places. But King *Ferrande* sonne of King *Alphonse*, who was entred into religion (as before you haue heard) accompanied with the Marquesse of Mantua, brother to the said *Montpensier* wife, and Generall of the Venetians, marched against them. They found the saide *Montpensier* lodged in a towne called *Atelle*, a place verie commodious for prouisions of viuentals, and seated on a hill, vpon the which our enimies fortified their campe as men fearing the battell, because the said King *Ferrand* and his forces had beeene discomfited in all places, as was also the Marques of Mantua at *Fornoue* where we fought with him. The said Marques the Venetians had lent to King *Ferrand* with a certaine summe of money, but of small value in respect of the places they had in gage for it, which were these sixe townes in *Pouille* of great importance, *Brandis*, *Trani*, *Galipoli*, *Crana*, *Otrante*, and *Monopoly*, the last of the which since the Kings departure they had woon from vs. Moreouer in the said summe of money they comprehended the wages of their soldiers that serued the saide *Ferrand*, so that they hold these places for two hundred thousand ducats; yea, and now they require the charges they haue beeene at in the fortification and defence of them, so that I am fully perswaded they minde never to restore them: for they vse not so to do, when towns lie commodiously for them, as these do, being scituat vpon the Adriatike gulfe, so that by meanes of them they are Lords of the said gulfe, which one of the things they principally desire; and no maruell, for it is from *Otrante* (which is the very point of the said gulfe) to *Venice* at the least nine hundred miles. And notwithstanding that the Pope held certaine places also vpon the said gulfe intermingled among these Venetian townes: yet were all passengers forced to pay custome to *Venice*: wherefore the possession of these places is more beneficall to them than the world weeneth for they receive yeerely from thence great plentie of corne and oile, which are two necessarie things for their prouision.

At the said place of *Atelle* aboue mentioned, our men fell at variance as well for their viuentals which began now to diminish, as also for their paie the soldiers were vnpaid for eighteene moneths and more, by meanes whereof they had liued in great miserie. To the Almains also much was due, but not so much: for all the money that Monsieur *de Montpensier* could leuie in the realme was paied to them, yet notwithstanding they were vnpaide for a yeere and more, but they had spoiled diuers small townes whereby they were maruellously enriched. If the fortie thousand ducats promised them had beeene sent in time, or if they had knownen they should haue receiued them at *Florence*, this variance had never hapned, but now they remained altogether in despaire: diuers of our captaines haue enformed me that if our men would haue agreed to fight, they were like ynoch to haue obtained the victory: and if they had beeene discomfited, yet should not their losse haue been so great, as by the shamefull

⁶ This *Virgill Virsin* is he a-boue mentio ned, who after the Coul onnois reuolt from King Charles, turned to him, and of his soe became his friend and seruant.

shamefull composition they made. *Montpensier* and *Virgile Virsin*, who were the best men of warre among them would haue fought, and euill hap it was to them that they did not: for King *Ferrande* brake the composition, and put them both in prison, where they miserably ended their liues. They laide the blame that they fought not vpon Monsieur *de Persi* a yoong gentleman of Auvergne, whom they accurled as a mutinous knight, and disobedient to his captaine. You shall vnderstand that in this armie were two sorts of Almains, the first were Swissers to the number of fiftieene hundred, whom the King left there at his departure from Naples, the which serued faithfully euuen till the hower of death, so that it was impossible for men to serue more valiantly than they did. The other sort were those whom we call commonly Lands kinghts (that is to say, seruants of the countrey) the which hate naturally the Swissers. They are of all parts of Germanie, as for example, of the countries lying vpon the Rhine, and of Swobland, some there were also of the countrie of *Vaulx* in Senonie⁷, and some of Gelderland. These were to the number of eight hundred newly sent thither with two moneths pay, the which being spent before they came thither, and at there arriuall there no newe paie being found: they seeing themselues in this distresse, declared that they bare vs no such good will as the Swissers do; for they practised with our enimies, and turned to King *Ferrande*, for the which cause partly, and partly for the diuision that was among our captaines, our men made a shamefull appointment with our enimies, the which King *Ferrande* sware to keepe and obserue, being forced so to do by the Marquesse of Mantua, who thought thereby to assure the person of his brother in lawe Monsieur *de Montpensier*, yet notwithstanding the said *Ferrande* brake the treatie, as afterward mention shall be made more at large.

By the said composition they yeeded both themselues and all the Kings artillerie to their enimies, promising further, to cause to be rendred all the places that the King held in the realme, as well in Calabria where Monsieur *de Aubigny* was, as in L' Abruzzo where Master *Gratian des Guerres* was, togither with the townes of *Caietta* and *Tarente*; vnder this condition, that King *Ferrande* should send them by sea into Prouence with bag and baggage, which was not much woorthe; but notwithstanding the composition King *Ferrande* commanded them all to be led to Naples, being to the number of fife or sixe thousand persons or more. So shamefull a composition hath not beeene made in our time, neither do I remember that euer I read of the like, saue that which the two consuls of Rome made (as rehearseth *Titus Livius*⁸) with the Samnites (whom I suppose to be those of Beneuent) at a place called then *Furcula Caudina*, which is a certaine straight in the mountaines: notwithstanding the Romanes would not agree to the composition, but sent the two Consuls prisoners to their enimies.

If our force had fought and beeene discomfited, yet should not their losse haue beeene so great, as by this composition: for two parts of them died euer of famine, or of the plague in their ships in the yle of *Prusse*⁹, whither they were sent from Naples by King *Ferrande*, and namely, there died Monsieur *de Montpensier* himselfe, some say of poyon, others of an ague, which I rather beleue. And I thinke verily that of all this company never returned fiftieene hundred: for of the Swissers which were thirteene hundred, returned but three hundred and fiftie all extreme sicke. Their faith and loyaltie was greatly to be commended: for they all chose rather to die than to serue King *Ferrande*, and so a number of them did in the said yle of *Prusse*, some of heate, some of sicknes, and some of famine: for they were held there a long tyme in their ships, in such penurie and lacke of viuentals, as is almost incredible. I saw neare to Naples *Guicciard* hath *Pozzole*.

⁷ The French corrector rea deth it *Sionnie*, meaning the country cal led in Latin *Valesia Sedusio rum*, whereof *Sedunum* cal led in French *Sion*, is the chiefe towne: or else he sup poseth it should be *Vaulx* in Sa uoy, whereof our author maketh men tion lib.5. cap.1.

⁸ *Decad.1. lib.9.*

⁹ *Procula* it is named by *Col leutius*, other Italians name it *Ponc*. I suppose it to be that, which *Plini lib.3. cap.6.* calleth *Procula* or *Prochita*, say ing that it li eth in *Sinu Pucolano* not far from Na ples, nor from the yle of *Ischia*. *Buccae* also *Decame 2. nouell.6.* re porteth both *Procula* and *Ponc* to be

Guicciard hath *Pozzole*.

them all that returned, especially the Swiflers, who brought backe with them all their ensignes: and sure it well appeareed that they had endured great miserie; for they were all so extreme sicke, that when they came foorth of their shippes to take the aire, they were faine to be staied vp from falling. It was also agreed by the said composition, that the Lord *Virgill Virs* should returne home to his countrey in safetie, and his son, & all the Italians that serued the King: yet notwithstanding the enimies detained him stilt, and his said legitimate sonne also; for he had but one: and as touching his base sonne called the Lord *Charles* (who was a verie valiant gentleman) certaine Italians of their companie spoiled him as he repaired homeward. If this miserie had fallen but vpon them onely that made this composition, they had not beeне greatly to be moned. Immediately after King *Ferrande* had received this honor aboue mentioned, and married King *Ferrande* his grandfathers daughter, being a yoong maide of thirteene or fowerteene yeeres of age, begotten of the King of Castiles sister that now raigneth (so that his wife was sister to his owne father King *Alfonse*) he fell into a continuallague, whereof soone after he died, and the crowne of the realme descended to King *Frederick* (the said King *Ferrandes* vnkle) now presently raigning. It abhorreth me to write of such a marriage as this, notwithstanding diuers such haue beeне contracted in this house of Arragon within these thirtie yeeres. King *Ferrande* died immediately after the composition aboue mentioned made in the towne of Atelle, the yeere of our Lord 1496. The said *Ferrande* during his life, and Dom *Frederick* also after he came to the crowne, excused the breach of this composition, because Monsieur *de Montpensier* had not performed the conditions thereof, nor rendred the places promised, which he could not to say the truth, Caietta and diuers others being out of his power. For notwithstanding that he were the Kings lieutenant, yet were not they that held these places for the King, bound to yeeld them at his commandement. Although all things well considered, the King should haue sustained no great losse, if they had then beeне yeelded; for he spent afterward great treasure in defending and victualling them, and yet lost them in the end. My selfe was present three or fower times at the dispatch of those that were sent to victual and succour, first the castles of Naples, and thrise after the towne of Caietta. And I thinke I shoud not lye, if I said that these fower voiajes cost the King aboue three hundred thousand franks: and yet all to no purpose.

How certaine practises entertained by diuers noble men of Italy on the Kings behalfe,
as well for the conquest of Naples, as of the Duchie of Milan,
failed for lacke of sending thither: and how
another enterprise against Ge-
nua sped euill also.
Chap. 15.

THe King after his returne from Naples abode at Lyons a long time (as before you haue heard) holding iustis and tourneys. It greeued him to lose the places in Italy aboue mentioned which he yet held; neither cared he what treasure he spent in defence of them, but he would take no paines himselfe in gouerning his owne affaires. Moreouer, hee was aduertised daily of diuers practises entertained on his behalfe in Italy, which notwithstanding that they were both dangerous and chargeable: yet was he of power suffici- ent to haue achieued them because his realme is populous, and plentifull of graine in

in Prouence and Languedoc, and hath also a number of other wealthie countries; where money might haue beeне leuied. But if any other Prince: besides the King of Fraunce should attend to these Italian practises, and aduenture to entermeddle in their enterprises, he should but vndoe himselfe, spend his treasure, and effect nothing. For the Italians neither doe nor can serue but for money, except it be a Duke of Milan, or one of the greatest Seniories: but a poore captaine be he never so well affectioned to the seruice of a King of Fraunce pretending title to the realme of Naples, or the Duchie of Milan, be he never so faithfull and trustie, yet shall he not be able to do him seruice any long time after his paiment faileth, because his men will forfake him, and the poore captaine shall be vterly vndone: for the greatest part of them liue onely vpon the credit they win by the seruice of their soldiers, who are paied by their captaine, and he of him whom he serueth, which is the caule why they desire in Italy nothing but factions and ciuile wars. But as touching the practises aboue mentioned, you shall understand that they began before the towne of Caietta was lost, to wit, immediately after the King perceiued that the Duke of Milan would not performe the conditions of the treatie of Vercell, and continued after the losse of the said towne, the whole space of two yeeres after the Kings returne home. As touching the said Duke of Milan, he brake not his promise altogether vpon malice and trecherie, but partly for feare: for he doubted that the King would destroy him if he obtained the realme of Naples: besides that, he accounted the King a Prince in whom was no constancie nor assurance. But to proceede, one of these enterprises aboue mentioned was to invade the Duchie of Milan after this sort. Order was giuen that the Duke of Orleans should go to Ast to enter with a good band of men on that side, whom I sawe once so neare his departure, that his traine was already gone. We were sure of the Duke of Ferraras friend-shipe, for he had promised to aide vs (notwithstanding that he were the Duke of Milans father in lawe) with fife hundred men of armes, and two thousand fooremen, which his promise vndoubtedly he would haue performed, to the end he might haue deliuered himselfe of the danger he was in, lying iust in the midis betweene the Venetians and the said Duke: for not long before (as I haue already made mention) the Venetians had taken from him the Polesan, & soughe wholy his destruction: wherefore he would haue preferred his owne safetie and his childrens, before his sonne in lawes friendshipe; yea, and peraduenture he thought that the Duke of Milan seeing himselfe in this extremitie would make some appointment with the King.¹ Moreover, by the said Duke of Ferraras meanes, the Marques of Maniua was become our friend, who lately had beeне and yet was generall of the Venetians, but held in great ielousie of them, and he likewise being discontented with them, soiourned with three hundred men of armes with his father in law the Duke of Ferrara: for you shall understand that he then had, and yet hath to wife the Duches of Milans sister, daughter to the said Duke of Ferrara. Master *John Bentivoule* who gouerneth Bolonia, and is as it were Lord thereof, promised to aide vs with a hundred and fiftie men of armes, and a good band of fooremen, and to send to the Kings seruice two of his sonnes, who were captaines of certaine companies of horsemen, and such was the fear of his countrey that he might haue done great seruice against the Duke of Milan. The Florentines who sawe themselues vterly vndone (vnlesse by large expences they recovered their losses) fearing to be diseased of Pisa and the other places aboue mentioned²; would haue furnished eight hundred men of armes, and fife thousand fooremen vpon their owne proper costes and charges, and had alreadie prouidid their paiments for sixe moneths. The *Vrsus* and the Prefect of Rome brother to the Cardinall

¹Understand against the Venetians, by the which meanes he might haue recovered the Polesan, and the rest that they withhold from him.

²For you must understand that these practises began before their places were sold.

dinall Saint Peter ad Vincula (so often before named,) being in pay with the King, would haue furnished a thousand men of armes: but you shall understand that their men of armes are not accompanied with archers as ours be, but their wages and ours are much alike: for a yeeres pay of one of their men of armes amounteth to a hundred ducats, and the wages of one of ours is double as much bicause of his archers. These mercenary soldiers the King should haue paid, but as touching the Florentines they should haue paid their forces themselues. The Duke of Ferrara also, the Marques of Mantua and Bentiuoille, offered this aide vpon their owne charge, for they hoped to conquer in the Duchie of Milan as much as should counteruaille their coste. And if the Duke of Milan had been suddenly invaded by the Duke of Orleans, and all these aboue rehearsed at one instant, his confederates (namely the Venetians) could not haue succoured him (though they would haue spent all their treasure in his defence) before he must haue beene forced to revolt to the King, who would haue kept these Italians in the field a long time. And the Duchie of Milan being once woon, the realme of Naples would haue yeeded of it selfe.

The stay of this goodly enterprise proceeded of the Duke of Orleans, who suddenly altered his minde the night before he should haue departed: for he had alreadie sent before him all things necessarie for his person, and none remained to depart but himselfe onely: for the army was in a readines, their wages paid them, and they all gone before to Ast, being to the number of eight hundred men of armes French, and sixe thousand footeemen: among the whic平 were fower hundred Swissers. But the said Duke of Orleans being thus suddenly altered, besought the King twice to propound this matter againe to his counsell, and so he did, my selfe being present at the debating of it both times, and the whole Counsell concluded that he should go, not one man speaking to the contrarie: notwithstanding that there were present at each time ten or twelue Counsellors at the least. And sure so had it beene most conuenient, considering that we had therof assured our friends in Italy aboue named: all the which had beene at great charges, and were in a readines. But the Duke of Orleans being present at the debating of this matter himselfe, made answere(either by the advise of some one, or for that he shunned this enterprise bicause he saw the King euill disposed of his body, whose heire he should be if he died) that he would neuer take vpon him this voyage for his owne particular quarell, but willingly by the Kings commandement as his lieutenant, with the which answere the counsell arose. The next day and many daies after, the ambassadors of Florence and diuers others, pressed the King earnestly to command the Duke to depart. Wherunto the King answered, that he would neuer force him to the wars against his will. Thus was this voyage dashed to the Kings great greefe, both bicause of the great charges he had susteined; and also bicause he was in good hope (if it had proceeded) to haue beene revenged of the Duke of Milan, considering what intelligences he had already, and what other intelligences he might haue had at that time, by meanes of Master John James of Treuoul, lieutenant generall for him and the Duke of Orleans in these Italian wars, who was a Milanois borne, and very well beloued and friended in his countrey, where he had good intelligence with many both of his kinsemen and others. This enterprise thus failing another succeeded, yea two or three at a clap against Genua: where the people are euer inclined to diuision; one of these enterprises was managed by Master Baptiste de Campesfourgouſe, who was chiefe of one of the factions in the towne, but banished, and his faction of no authoritie at that time, neither yet the house of Orie, who are gentlemen, and they of Fourgouſe none. The said D'Ories take part with the Fourgouſes, but none of them may be

Duke,

Duke, bicause they are gentlemen, for no gentleman may be Duke of Genua: but this Baptiste had been Duke not long before, and lost the gouernment by the trecherie of his vncle the Cardinall of Genua, who of late yeeres put the Seniorie of Genua into the Duke of Milans hands. So that at this present the Adornes gouerned Genua, who in like maner are no gentlemen, but haue often been Dukes by helpe of the Spinoles who are gentlemen; so that the gentlemen make the Duke of Genua, but cannot be Dukes theiſelues. This Baptista trusted that his faction would arise in his fauor, both in the towne and countrey, and that the towne being recovered, the soueraintie thereof should remaine to the King, but he and his faction gouerne, and banish their enimies. The other enterprise was this, diuers of Sauonne addressed themſelues to the Cardinall Saint Peter ad Vincula³, and promised to yeeld the towne to him, hoping thereby to recover their libertie; for they are vnder the Genuois gouernment, and pay tribute to them. If we had entred into this place, Genua should haue been greatly distressed, the countrey of Prouence being in subiection to the King, and Sauoy wholy at his deuotion. Wherfore the King being aduertised of all these enterprises, wrote to Master John James of Treuoul to aide Master Baptiste de Campesfourgouſe with force to conueigh him to the gates of Genua, to see whether his faction would arise in his fauor. And on the other side he was so earnestly pressed by the Cardinall S. Peter ad Vincula, that he ſent other letters at the ſelfe ſame time to the ſaid Master John James, commanding him to lend the ſaid Cardinall men to conueigh him to Sauonne: and the like commandement ſent he him alſo by mouth by the Lord of Sernon in Prouence, who was great friend to the ſaid Cardinall and a stout talker. Besides these two commandements, came yet a third, which was, that the ſaid Master John James ſhould retire into ſome place where he might conueniently aide both theſe parties aboue mentioned, and yet attempt nothing againſt the Duke of Milan, nor the treatie of peace made the ſummer before with him, which commandement was cleane contrary to the two former.

Thus you ſee how great Princes affaires are gouerned when they vnderſtand them not theiſelues, but command letters and diſpatch men vpon a ſudden before they heare matters well debated. For as touching the demaunds of Master Baptiste de Campesfourgouſe and the ſaid Cardinall, it was impoſſible to ſatisfie them both at once, for Baptiste durſt not go to the wals of Genua without great force, bicause the towne is very populous, and the people well arm'd, and hardy and valiant ſoldiers: wherfore if Master John James ſhould at the ſame time haue lent men alſo to the Cardinall, his armie had been diuided into three companies; for part of the force muſt haue remained with himſelfe. In the meane time diuers bands arriued at Genua and at Sauonne, ſent thither by the Duke of Milan and the Venetians, who both feared greatly the revolt of Genua, as did alſo Dom Frederick and the Pope.

Besides these two enterprises, the ſaid Master John James had yet a third in his head, of his owne deuice, which was this, hee would haue broken off both theſe other enterprises, and haue march'd with the whole force ſtraight againſt the Duke of Milan, and vndoubtedly if he had not beene countermaunded, he would haue done ſome great exploit. His enterprise he was already entred into, and had aduertised the King thereof, pretending that he could not otherwife aide them that ſhould go to Genua or Sauonne to the enterprises aboue mentioned. Wherfore vnder colour thereof, he led his armie into the high way betweene Alexandria and Genua (which was the onely way the Duke of Milan could ſend to invade our bands that ſhould go to Genua and Sauonne) and three or four ſmall townes he tooke, which voluntarily received him, aduertising the King that this notwithstanding, he made

This Cardinall was borne at Sauonne.

made no war vpon the Duke of Milan, seeing he was forced of necessarie (for the safetie of those that should go to the other enterprises) to do as he did: addyng, that the King could not be said to make war vpon the Duke of Milan, for seeking to conquer Genua or Sauonne, bicause they were held of him and forfeited to him; but this enterprise was dashed by the Kings commandement. Further, to satisfie the Cardinall, the said Master *John James* lenthim part of the armie to conueigh him to Sauonne, but he found the place manned, and thereupon gave ouer his enterprise & returned. He lent men also to Master *Baptiste* to conueigh him to Genua, who assured him that his enterprise should take effect: but when he was three or fower leagues vp. on the way, they that accompanied him began to be ielous of him, as well the Almaines as the French, wherein notwithstanding that they did him wrong, yet sure their company being but small, should haue put themselves in great danger, if they had gone to Genua, and his faction had not happened to arise. Thus all these enterprises sped euill, and the Duke of Milan, who had beene greatly distressed, if Master *John James* had beene suffered to inuade him with the whole force, was now strong; for the Venetians had sent diuers bands to his aide. Whereupon our armie retired, our footemen were dismissed, and these little townes that were taken abandoned: and thus ended these wars, smally to the Kings profit, who consumed infinite treasure therein.

Of certaine controversies betweene King Charles and Ferrande King of Castile, and of the ambassadors that were sent to and fro to pacifie them. Chap. 16.

¹ Guicciardine reporteth that the Cardinall indeede was an enimie to the voyage of Naples, and staled all dispatches and payments of money: whereby it was thought that he had intelligence with the Pope, though outwardly he seemed a friend to the enterprise.

² The Seneschall came by sea out of the realme of Naples into Fraunce to demand aide, but before he could returne the realme was lost.

³ As Virgill Aeneid.lib. 3.

⁴ This straignt was called in times past *Fretum Siculum*, in the which are the famous rocke of *Sylla* and gulf of *Charibdis*.

⁵ *Pharus* here named *Far*, is a towre vpon the promontorie *Pelorus*, ten miles from *Messine*, vpon the very straignt betweene Reges and Sicilie, to give light to those that passe in the night through the straignt: of this towre the straignt is now named *Far*.

yet


What happened from the Kings returne out of Italie (which was about 3. or 4. moneths before the end of the yeere 1495.) till the beginning of the yeere 1498. I haue alreadie rehearsed: for all that space I was resident in the Court, and present at the dispatch of most part of those affaires. The King rode about from Lyons to Moulins, and from Moulins to Tours, holding tourneys and iusts in all places, and minding nothing else. Those that were of the greatest authoritie about him, were so divided, that more they could not be; for some of them would that the conquest of Naples should still continue, because their profit and credit depended thereupon, namely, the Cardinall ¹, and the Seneschall ², who gouerned all the Kings affaires: on the other side the Admirall, who before this voyage had borne all the sway with the young King, would in any wise that these Italian enterprises should cease, and trauelled to overthrowe them, knowing that the quailing of them would turne greatly to his profit, and be a meanes whereby he might recouer his former credit and authoritie, and the others fall into disgrace.

Thus passed the Kings affaires about a yeere and a halfe, during the which space he sent ambassadors to the King and Queene of Castile, who were in war with him, and whose friendship he greatly desired, bicause they were mightie both by sea and land. And notwithstanding that they did no great exploit vpon the land, yet had they sent great aide by sea to King *Ferrande* and King *Frederick* of Naples: for the yle of Sicilie is distant from Reges in Calabria but a league and a halfe, so that some hold opinion it was once firme land with Italie ³, and that the sea breaking in, made this straignt ⁴ now named the *Far* ⁵ of *Messine*. The said yle of Sicilie was then and

yet is, in subiection to the King and Queene of Castile, who sent from thence great aide to Naples, as well of great ships called *Carauels* that came out of Spaine, as also of men. Moreover, in the yle of Sicilie it selfe a company of men of armes was levied, the which passed into Calabria with a certaine number of generaries ⁶, and made war vpon the Kings forces there. Besides, their ships were continually with the confederates nauie, by meanes whereof, when all their forces were together, the King was much too weake for his enimies vpon the sea, but otherwise the King of Castile endamaged him not much. True it is that once a great companie of horsemen entred into Languedock, and spoiled the countrey, and lodged in it three or fower daies; but other exploit did they none. Then the Lord of Saint Andre in Bourbonnois, who defended those frontiers for the Duke of Bourbon the Kings lieutenant in Languedock, attempted to take *Sausses* a little towne in the countrey of Roussillon, bicause on that side they had inuaded the Kings dominions about two yeeres before. For you shall vnderstand, that the King had restored vnto them the saide countrey of Roussillon ⁷, whereof the territorie of *Parpignan* is parcell, in the which this little towne of *Sausses* is situate. His enterprise was great and dangerous; for the towne was well manned though it were but small, and a great number of gentlemen of the King of Castiles house were within it; besides that, their armie being stronger than ours lay abroad in the fields encamped within a league of the place: yet notwithstanding the said Lord of Saint Andre so wisely and closely guided his enterprise that within ten howers he tooke the towne by assault, as my selfe can witness, and at the breach were slaine thirtie or fortie Spanish gentlemen of marke, among whom was the Archbisshop of Saint James his sonne, besides three or fower hundred common soldiers. They thought not that the towne could haue been taken so suddenly; for they vnderstood not the feate of our artillerie, which vndoubtedly is the best in the world.

This is all the exploit that was done betweene these two Princes, whereof though the effects were but small: yet great was the shame and dishonor the King of Castile received thereby, his armie being so strong as it was: but where God is disposed to punish, comonly such small scourges run before. For the said King and Queene of Castile were shortly after otherwise punished, and so were we also. But sure as touching them they much stained their honor in violating their othe giuen to the King, who had dealt so bountifullly with them, by restoring them the countrey of Roussillon, the fortification and defence whereof had heene so chargeable to his father, who had it in pawne for three hundred thousand crownes, which summe also the King forgaue them, all to the end they should not impeach nor hinder his voyage to Naples. Moreover, they renued the ancient league betweene Fraunce and Castile, which is betweene King and King, realme and realme, and man and man of their subjects, and promised not to hinder his said conquest, nor marie any of their daughters into Naples, England or Flanders, which straight offer of mariage proceeded of themselves: for a Frier Franciscan called Frier *John de Maulcon* made this buerature on the Queene of Castiles behalfe. Yet all this notwithstanding so soone as they saw the war begun, and heard that the King was at Rome, they sent ambassadors round about to enter into league against him, and namely to Venice, I being there present, where the league aboue mentioned was concluded betweene the Pope, the King of Romans, thern, the Seniorie of Venice, and the Duke of Milan: immediately whereupon they inuaded the Kings dominions, alleging that such a promise was not to be performed, meaning the mariage of their children (being fower daughters and one sonne) into the houses aboue mentioned, which ouverture notwithstanding

notwithstanding proceeded of themselves, as before you haue heard.

But to retorne to the matter. After these wars in Italie were ended, and all lost in the realme of Naples saue Caietta, which the King yet held when these treatises of peace began betweene him and the King and Queene of Castile: but soone after lost also, and the wars in the countrey of Roussillon being in like maner ended, so that none sought to endammage other, but each partie to defend their owne: they sent to King *Charles* a gentleman accompanied with certaine Monks of Montferrat, for all their affaires they gouerned by such men, either to saue charges thereby, or to dissemble by such instruments with the lesse suspition, as for example they did by *John de Maulon* the Frier Franciscane aboue named, who perswaded the King to restore vnto them the countrey of Rousillon. These ambassadors at their first audience, besought the King to forget the great wrong the King and Queene had done him. I name alwaies the Queene because the crowne of Castile moued by hir, and because hir authoritie was greater therethan hir husbands: and vndoubtedly this was a very honorable mariage betweene the King hir husband and hir. Then these ambassadors began to treat of truce, desiring to haue all their league comprehended therein. The ouuertures they made were these: that the King should keepe the possession of Caietta, and the other places he yet held in the realme of Naples, and that during the truce he might victuall them at his pleasure. Further, that there should be a place assigned whither all the Princes of the league should send their ambassadors (at the least, as many as would) to treat of peace, the which being concluded: the said King and Queene meant to continue their conquest or enterprise against the Moores, and to passe the sea out of Granado into Africk, there to inuade the King of Fessa who was their next neighbour on that side. Notwithstanding some were of opinion that they meant rather to hold theselues contented with that they had already conquered, I meane the realme of Granado, which vndoubtedly was the greatest and honorablest conquest that hath beene obtained in our time⁸; yea such as their predecessors were never able to atchieue. And I wish with all my hart for the honor I beare them, that they had never moued other war than this, but had faithfully performed their promise to the King. The King sent the Lord of Cle- rieux in Dauphine backe into Castile with their ambassadors, and sought to conclude a peace or truce wherein their confederates should not be comprehended: notwithstanding if he had accepted their offer made by these their ambaf- sadors, he had saued Caietta, which had beene sufficient for the recouerie of the whole realme of Naples, considering the great fauour he had there. The said de Clerieux at his returne brought a new ouuerture (for Caietta was lost before he entred into Castile) which was, that the King and they should renew their former ancient league, and attempt betweene them at equall charges the conquest of all Italie, whereat the two Kings should be together in person: but they said they would first conclude a generall truce, wherein all their league should be comprehended, and then assigne a diet at some place in Piemont, whither euery of their confederates should send their ambassadors, to the end they might honorably depart from their said league. All this ouuerture as we suspected then and vnderstood perfectly after- ward, was but meere dissimulation to win time, to the end King *Ferrand* while he liued, and afterward Dom *Frederic* newly crowned King might repose themselves: notwithstanding I thinke they wished with all their harts the said realme of Naples to be their owne, and sure they had better title to it, than they that possessed it⁹. But vndoubtedly the house of Anjou right which the King had was the best, although to say the truth considering both the seate of the countrey, and the disposition of

⁸They con-
quered Gra-
nado anno
1486, which
the Sarracons
had held 700
yeeres.

⁹How they
had better
title, and how
the house of
Anjou had the
best, the pede-
gree in the
end of the
booke will
declare.

of the people that inhabite it, me thinke he hath best right to it that can get it, for they desire nothing but alteration. The King afterward sent the aboue named *de Clerieux* backe againe into Castile and one *Michaell of Grammont* with him, with certaine other ouuertures. This *de Clerieux* bare some affection to these Princes of Arragon, and hoped to obtaine of them the Marquisat of Cotron in Calabria, which the King of Spaine conquered in the last voyage that his men made thither. The said *de Clerieux* pretended title to it, and he is a good plaine dealing man, and one that wil easily giue credit, especially to such personages as these were. At his second returne he brought with him an ambassador from the King and Queene, and made his report to the King, which was, that they would hold theselues contented with that part of the realme of Naples that lies next to Sicilie (to wit, Calabria) for the right that they pretended to the said realme, and that the King should hold the rest: and farther that the said King of Castile would be in person at this conquest, and beare equall charges in all things with the King, and indeed he held then and yet holdeth fower or fve strong places in Calabria, whereof Cotron is one, which is a good and a well fortified citie. I was present at this report, which seemed vnto most of vs but meere abuse and dissimulation. Wherfore it was determined that some wise man should be sent to them to sound the bottome of this ouuerture, and thereupon the Lord of Bouchage was ioined in commission with the former ambassadors: he was a man of deepe iudgement, and one that had beene in great credit with King *Lewis*, and so is he also at this present with King *Charles* his sonne. The Spanish ambaf- sador that came with *de Clerieux* would never auow his report, but answered that he thought the said *de Clerieux* would not make the report, if the King his Master and the Queene had not willed him so to do; which answere caused vs so much the more to suspect their dissimulation: besides that, no man would beleue that the King of Castile would go in person into Italy, or that he either would or could beare equall charges with the King.

After the said Lord of Bouchage, *Clerieux*, and *Michaell of Grammont* with the rest of their collegues were come to the King & Queene of Castiles court, they lod- ged them in a place where no man could come to commune with them, for the which purpose also certaine were appointed to watch their lodgings. But they theselues spake thrise with them: and when the said *du Bouchage* aduertised them of the report aboue mentioned made to the King by *de Clerieux* and *Michaell of Grammont*: they answered that they would willingly endeuor theselues to conclude a peace for the Kings honor and profit. And as touching the said report, they confessed that indeed such speech had passed them by way of communication but not otherwise, with the which answere *de Clerieux* being discontented and not without cause, aduowed his report to be true before them both, in the presence of the said Lord of Bonchage, who with the rest of his companions concluded a truce, (the King hauing two moneths respite to accept it or refuse it) wherein their confederates were not comprehended, but their sonnes in lawe, and the fathers of their sonnes in lawe, namely the Kings of Romaines and England¹⁰ (for the Prince of Wales was at that time verie yoong) were comprehended therein, they had fower daughters, the eldest of the which was a widow, and had beene married to the King of Portugales sonne that last died, who brake his necke before her as he passed a carrier vpon a ginner within three moneths after their marriage. The second and the third were married the one in Flaunders, and the other in England, and the fourth is yet to marrie. After the Lord of Bouchage was returned, and had made his report, the King perceiued that *de Clerieux* had beene too credulous, and that he had done wisely in sending *du Bouchage*

Bouchage thither, because he was now assured of that which before he stood in doubt of. The said *de Bouchage* aduertised him further, that he could effect nothing but the conclusion of the truce, the which he had liberty either to accept or refuse at his pleasure. The King accepted it, and sure it serued him to good purpose: for it was the breach of their league which so much had troubled his affaires, and which hitherto he could by no meanes dissolute, notwithstanding that he had attempted alwaies possible. Thirdly, the said *de Bouchage* informed the King, that the King and Queene of Castile had promised him at his departure to send ambassadours immediately after him, with ful authoritie to conclude peace. Lastly, he told him, that at his departure he left the Prince of Castile their onely sonne extreme sicke.

A discourse of the misfortunes that happened to the house of Castile, in the Lord of Argenton time.

Chap. 17.

 He said *du Bouchage* about ten or twelue daies after his returne, receiued newes from one of the Kings heralds, whom he left behinde him in Castile, to conuey the ambassage that shold come into Fraunce; that the sending of the saide ambassadours was deferred for a time, because the Prince of Castile was departed this life, whose death the King and Queene lamented aboue all measure, especially the Queene, who seemed liker to die than to live; and vndoubtedly neuer was such solemne mourning for any Princes death, as for his through all their dominions: for all men of occupation ceased from their labour fortie daies, as their ambassadours afterward aduertised me, and euerie man was clothed in thicke blacke cotton; so that the noble men and gentlemen couered their mules therewith downe to the knees, in such sort that onely their eies appeared. Morcouer, blacke banners were set vpon the gates of euerie towne. When these pitifull newes came to the eares of the Ladie *Margaret*, daughter to the King of Romanes, sister to the Archduke of Austrich, and wife to the saide Prince: she suddenly fell in trauell being gone sixe moneths with childe, and was deliuered of a daughter deadborne. Were not these greeuous tidings to these Princes? yes vndoubtedly, and so much the more greeuous, because they had hitherto raignid with such honor, and liued in such felicitie, that God seemed wholly bent to aduance them, and the world to honor them, more than any other Prince living. For they possessed larger and ampler dominions than any Prince in Christendome (I meane of inheritance¹) they had brought their subiects to due obedience, and were in perfect

' This he seemeth to adde, because the empire was greater, but it was not the Emperors inheritance.'
health as touching their persons. Moreouer, they had obtained this goodly conquest of Granado, and caused a King renowned through the whole world, to depart out of Italie, and faile of his enterprise, which they accounted a great matter, as did the Pope himselfe also, who vnder colour of the said conquest of Granado would haue gien them the title of *Most Christian*, and taken it from the King of Fraunce, so far foorth that diuers letters he sent them with that superscription. But perceiving many of his Cardinals to gainsaie it, he gaue them another, to wit, the title of *Most Catholicke*, which continueth yet, and is still like to continu at Roine. But in the middest of all these their good successes, happened this their sonnes death, which so much tormented them, that it seemed fully to counteruaile all their former honor and felicitie.

Yet

Yet was not this their last trouble, for their eldest daughter whom they loued aboue all their children next to their sonne the Prince of Castile lately deceased, was forced to depart from them, being affianced a little before the said Princes death, to *Emanuell* King of Portugale, a yoong Prince lately come to the crowne by succession, after the death of the bloodie King of Portugale last deceased, who cruelly caused to be beheaded his wifes father, and slew afterward her brother, being elder brother to this King of Portugale now raigning, whom also he held in great feare. He murthered likewise with his owne hand his owne brother as he sate at dinner with him, in the presence of his wife, to the ende he might make a bastard that he had his heire. But hauing committed these two cruell murthers², he began to liue in great feare and suspicion, and soone after lost his onely sonne, who brake his necke as before you haue heard, in passing a carrier vpon a gennet: which sonne was this Ladies first husband now mentioned, who married at this present the King of Portugale now raigning, so that she hath beene twice married into Portugale. She is a Ladie as the report goeth, woorthie to be compared in wisedome and vertue, with the woorst thief in the world. But to proceed in the rehearsall of the miseries that hapned to this house of Castile in short space, you shall vnderstand that this King and Queene of Castile (who had liued in such glorie and felicitie till this present, that is to say, he till the fiftieth, and she till the two and fiftieth yeere of their age) had giuen their daughter in marriage to the King of Portugale for diuers respects: first to the ende they might haue no enimie in Spaine, which is all vnder their subiection saue Navarre, whereof also they dispose at their pleasure, for they hold fower of the strongest places in it: secondarly, to pacifie by that meanes the contention that was about the said Ladies dowrie and her marriage money³: thirdly, to benefit thereby certaine noble men of Portugale their friends. For you shall vnderstand that diuers Lords and gentlemen were banished the realme, and had lost all their lands by attainture, at the same time that the King that last died⁴ put to death the two Lords aboue mentioned, the which attainture stood yet in full force: notwithstanding that the onely cause of their attainture was for that they had attempted to make him King of Portugale that now raigneth. These Lords therefore and gentlemen were by meanes of this marriage recompensed in Castile by the King and Queene, and their landes which they had forfeited in Portugale by attainture, assignd to the Queene of Portugale (now mentioned) daughter to the said King and Queene of Castile. But notwithstanding all these considerations, the said King and Queene repented them of this marriage: for you shall vnderstand that there is no nation in the world that the Spaniards hate more than the Portugales, so far foorth that they disdaine and scorne them: wherefore the said King and Queene lamented much that they had bestowed their daughter vpon a man that should not be beloued in the realme of Castile and their other dominions: and if the marriage had been then vnmade, they would neuer haue made it, which vndoubtedly was a great corrosiue to them, yet nothing so great as this, that she should depart from them. Notwithstanding, after all their sorrowes ended⁵, they led their said daughter and sonne in law through all the chiefe cities of their realme, and made the saide King of Portugale to be received for Prince, and their daughter for Princesse, and proclaimed them their successors after their death. Some comfort they received after all these sorrowes, for they were aduertised that the said Ladie Princesse of Castile and Queene of Portugale, was great with childe⁶, but this ioy prooued in the end double griefe, so that I thinke they wished themselues out of the world: for this Lady whom they so tenderly loued and so much esteemed, died in trauell of the saide childe, not past a moneth agone, and wee are nowe

G g 2

Understand the two first murthers, of his wifes father and brother: for his sonne was dead before he slew his owne brother.

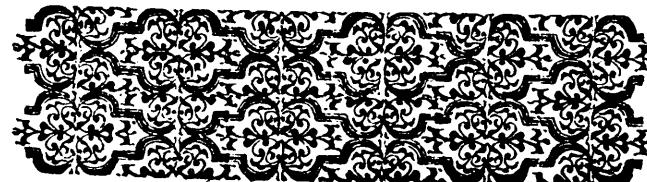
Understand her dowrie for her first mariage.

in

* But the child in October in the yecore 1498. but the childe liueth ⁴ and is called *Emannell* after his fathers name. All these great misfortunes hapned to them in the space of three moneths.

Now to returne to the estate of Fraunce. You shall vnderstand that about fower or fve moneths before the said Ladies death, a great misfortune happened also in this realme: I meane the death of King *Charles* the eight whereof heereafter you shall heare at large. It seemed therefore that God beheld both these houses with an angrie countenance, and would not that the one realme should scorne the other. For although the death of a Prince seeme but a trifle to many, yet it is sure far other-wise: for change of the Prince never happeneth in any realme, but it traineth with it great sorrowes and troubles; and notwithstanding that some gaine by it, yet an hundred fold more lose, because at an alteration men are forced to change their manner and forme of liuing: for that that pleaseth one Prince, displeaeth another. Wherefore (as before I haue said) if a man well consider the sharpe and sudden pu-nishments that God hath laide vpon great Princes within these thirtie yeeres, in Fraunce, Castile, Portugale, England, Naples, Flaunders, and Britaine, he shall finde that they haue beene heauier and greeuouer than happened in two hundred yeeres before: and whosoeuer would take in hand to discourse vpon all the particu-lar misfortunes that my selfe haue seene, and in a manner knownen all the persons as well men as women to whom they happened, should make thereof a huge vo-lume and that of great admiration, yea though it contained only such as have chanced within these ten yeeres. By these punishments, the power of God ought to be the better knownen, for the plagues he pouereth downe vpon great personages are sharper, grieuouer, and endure longer than those he sendeth to the poorer sort. To conclude therefore, me thinke all things well waighed, that Princes are in no better estate in this world than other men, if they consider by the miseries they see happen to their neighbours what may happen to themselues. For as touching them they challice their subiects at their pleasures, and God disposteth of them at his pleasure, because other than him they haue none ouer them: but happie is the realme that is gouerned by a Prince that is wise and feareth God and his com-mendements.

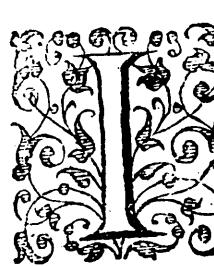
I haue brieflye rehearsed the misfortunes that happened in three moneths space to these two great and mightie realmes, which not long before were so inflamed the one against the other, so busied in enlarging their dominions, and so little contented with that they alreadie possessed. And notwithstanding that alwaies some (as before I saide) rejoice at changes, and gaine by them: yet at the first (euen to them) the death, especially the sudden death of their Prince is verie dreadfull and dangerous.



of

Of the sumptuous building King *Charles* began a little before his death, of the great desire he had to reforme the Church and himselfe, to diminish his reu-
nues, and to redresse the processes of the lawe: and
how he died suddenly in this good mind
in his castle of Amboise.

Chap. 13.



Will heere cease further to discourse of the affaires of Italie and Castile, and returne to our owne particular sorrowes and trou-bles in Fraunce, which notwithstanding were pleasant newes happily to those that gained by them. I will write of the sudden death of King *Charles* the eight, who being in his castel of Amboise, had begun the sumptuousest building, both in the castell and the towne, that any King tooke in hand these hundred yeeres, as appeereth by the towers, vp to the which men ride on

horsebacke, and by the foundation laid in the towne, the platformes whereof were drawnen of such exquisitenes, that they well declared it to be a worke of maruellous charge, and that could not haue been finished in long tyme. For you shal vnderstand, that the King had brought with him from Naples, many excellent workmen in all kind of arts, especially grauers and painters, and sure it seemed by the foundation, an enterprise of a yoong King that thought not to die, but hoped of long life: for he ioined, together all the goodly things that were commended to him, were they in Fraunce, Italy, or Flanders. Further, he continued still desirous to returne into Italie, and confessed that he had committed many errors in his voyage thither, and often-times rehearsed them, determining if his fortune were to returne againe and recouer his losses; to give better order for the defense of the countrie. The recouerie also whereof (because he had great intelligence in all places) he purposed to attempt, and to send thither fifteen hundred men of armes, Italians, vnder the leading of the Mar-quesse of Mantua, the *Vrsins*, the *Vitellies*, and the prefect of Rome brother to the Cardinall *Saint Peter ad Vincula*. Moreover, *Monseur d' Aubigny* who had done him so great service in Calabria, was readie to take his iourney towards Florence; for the Florentines offered to beare the halfe of these charges for sixe moneths, to the end the King with these forces aboue mentioned, might first take *Pisa*¹, at the least the ¹Understand, small places about it, and then all together enter into the realme of Naples, from whence messengers came daily to him. *Alexander* the Pope that now is, practised it to the Flo-^{to the end he might deliuer}^{rentines.} with him, and offered to become his perfect friend; for there was a breach betweene him and the Venetians, so far forth that he sent a secret messenger into Fraunce, whom my selfe conueied into the Kings chamber a little before his death. The Vene-tians were ready to practise against Milan: as touching Spaine, you haue heard how it was affected to him. The King of Romane desired nothing so much as his friend-ship, and that they two might ioine their forces together, to recouer that which ap-pertained to them in Italy: for the saide *Maximilian* was great enimie to the Vene-tians, because they withhold diuers things both from the house of Austrich (whereof he is heire) and also from the empire².

Moreover, the King was wel disposed a litle before his death to lead his life accord-ing to the commandements of God, to reforme al abuses in the law & the Church, and to diminish his receits & reuuenues, purposing to leuy of his people only twelve hundred thousand franks ouer and aboue his demaines, which sum the three estates

G g 3

¹ They with-hold from the house of Austrich a part of Istria & Furla, and from the empire of Padua and Ve-roane.

² granted

granted him by way of subsidie at Towers at his first comming to the crowne, and this money he meant to emploie vpon the defence of the realme. But as touching himselfe he would haue liued vpon his demeanes, according to the manner of the ancient Kings of Fraunce, and so might he well haue done: for the demeanes are great, yea so great, if they were well ordered, that they furniount a million offranks, certaine customes and subsidies being annexed to them. If this his determination had taken effect, he should thereby much haue eased his people, who paie at this present aboue two millions and a halfe of frankes by way of subsidie. Moreover, he tooke great paines in reforming the abuses of the order of Saint Benet, and other orders of religion: he called neare about him holy religious men, and often heard them preach: he would willingly haue brought to passe if he could, that a Bishop should haue had but one Bishopricke, and a Cardinall but two, and that the cleric should haue beene resident vpon their benefices: but it had beene a hard matter to reforme the Church men. He gaue great almes to poore people a little before his death, as his confessor the Bishop of Angers (who was a woorthie prelate) enformed me. Lastly, he had built a publike audience where himselfe heard the suites of all men, especially of the poore, and dispatched many matters: my selfe saw him in this place two houres together but eight daies before his death, which was the last time that euer I saw him: no matters of great importance were dispatched there, but by this meanes he held men in feare, especially his officers, some also of the which he displaced for extortiōn and briberie.

But the eighth day of Aprill, the yeere 1498. vpon Palme sunday euen, the King being in this glorie as touching the world, and in this good minde towards God: departed out of the chamber of *Queene Anne* Duches of Britaine his wife, leading her with him to see the tennice plaiers in the trenches of the castle, whither he had never led her before, and they two entred together into a gallerie, called *Haguelebac* gallerie, because the said *Haguelebac* had in times past held watch and ward in it. It was the vncleanest place about the castle, for euerie man made water there, and the entrie into it was broken downe: moreover, the King as he entred, knocked his browe against the doore; notwithstanding that he were of verie small stature. Afterward he beheld a great while the tennice playing, talking familiarly with all men. My selfe was not present there, but his saide confessor the Bishop of Angers, and those of his chamber that were neerest about him, haue enformed me of this I write: for as touching my selfe, I was gone home eight daies before to my house. The last word he spake being in health was, that he hoped never after to commit deadly sin, nor veniall if he could: in uttering the which words he fell backward and lost his speech, about two of the clocke at after noone, and abode in this gallerie till eleuen of the clocke at night. Thrice he recovered his speech, but it continued not with him, as the said confessor told me, who had shriuen him twice that weeke, once of ordinarie, and once for those that came to be cured of the Kings euill. Every man that listed entred into the gallerie, where he lay vpon an olde mattresse of strawe, from the which he never arose till he gaue vp the ghost, so that nine houers he continued vpon it. The saide confessor who was continually by him told me, that all the three times he recovered his speech he cried; My God, and the glorious virgin Marie, Saint Claude, and Saint Blasē helpe me. Thus departed out of this world this mightie puissant Prince in this miserable place, not being able to recover one poore chamber to die in: notwithstanding that he had so many goodly houses, and built one so sumptuous at that present. These two examples aboue rehearsed declare the greatness of Gods power, and the shortnes and miserie of mans life, which traineth

with

with it great care, for the purchasing of worldly goods and honors, and shew with all that death is common to all men, the which a Prince can no more auoid than a poore plowman.

How the holy man Frier Hierom was burned at Florence by the procurement of the Pope, and of divers Florentines and Venetians his enimies.

Chap. 19.



Hauie told you before in this discourse of our voiage to Naples that there was at Florence a Frier Jacobin called Hierome, who had been resident there the space of fifteen yeeres, being a man famous for his holy life, and whom my selfe saw and communed with in the yeere of our Lord 1495. The said Frier as aboue is mentioned foretold diuers things, and affirmed alwaies that the King should passe ouer the mountaines into Italy, and preached so openly, saying, that he vnderstood both this and all the other things whereof he spake by revelation. He said further, that the King was chosen of God to reforme the estate of the Church with the sword, and to chaste Tyrants. But because he affirmed that he vnderstood these things by revelation, many murinured against him, and he procured himselfe the displeasure of the Pope and of diuers others in the towne of Florence. He led the holiest life that any man could leade, as appeered both by his conuersation, and also by his sermons, wherein he preached against all kinde of vice, so that he reformed the loose liues of many in the said citie. But in this yeere 1498. about the selfe same tyme that King *Charles* ended his life, died also this Frier *Hierom*, within fower or fift daies the one of the other. The cause why I write this vnto you, is for that he preached alwaies openly that the King should returne againe into Italy, to execute the commission that God had giuen him, which was to reforme the Church by the sword, and to chaste tyrants out of the countrey; and that in case he did it not, God would punish him cruelly; and all his former sermons, and all that he made at this present he put foorth in print, and they are to be sold. This threatening that he vsed against the King, saying that God would punish him cruelly vntesse he returned: the said Frier wrot also diuers times to him before his death, and the like told he me with his owne mouth, when I spake with him at our returne out of Italy, saying that God had pronounced sentence against the King in heauen, vntesse he executed that which he had commanded him, and restrained his men from spoile. Now you shall vnderstand, that about the tyme of the Kings death, the *Florentines* were at great variance within the citie: some desired the Kings returne, and waited daily for it, because of the great hope Frier *Hierom* gaue them thereof: but in the meane tyme they consumed themselues and waxed maruellous poore, by reason of the great charges they sustained in hope to recover Pisa, and the other places that they had put into the Kings hands, whereof the Venetians held Pisa. But other some gaue aduise to take part with the league, and vtterly to abandon the King, saying that they were abused, that it was folly to looke for his returne, and that Frier *Hierom* was an heretike, and a whooremaster, and that it were almes to put him into a sacke, and throwe him into the riuere; but he was so friended in the towne, that they durst not attempt it. The Pope also and the Duke of Milan wrot often against this Frier, offering the Florentines to cause Pisa and their other places to be restored them, if they would depart from

from their league with the King, and take Frier *Hierom* and punish him. And by chance at that present a new Seniorie was chosen in Florence, whereof many were enimies to this Frier. For you shall vnderstand that the said Seniorie changeþ at euery two moneths end. Wherfore the said *Hierom*s enimies suborned a Frier Franciscan to picke a quarrell to him and call him heretike, affirming that he abused the people, in saying he vnderstood any thing by revelation: for prooþ whereof he offered himselfe to the fire, and these words he spake before the Seniorie. Frier *Hierom* would not present himselfe to the fire, but a companion of his said, that he would enter into the fire for him: and then another companion of the Frier Franciscans presented himselfe on the other side: whereupon a day was assigned when they shoulde enter into the fire. Vpon the which they both came accordingly, accompanied each of them with his couent; but the Iacobine brought the sacrament in his hand, which the Friers Franciscans and the Seniorie also commanded him to lay downe, which he refused to do: wherefore they returned againe to their couents. Then the people moued by the said Frier *Hierom*s enimies, went with the Seniories commission and tooke him, with two others of his companions in his couent, and at the very first racked him cruelly; they slue also the chiefeſt citizens in the towne called *Francis Vallorie*, because he was the said Friers great friend. Moreouer, the Pope ſent his commission, whereby he authorized them to make their proceſſe; and in the end they burned them all three. They charged him with these two points onely; firſt, that he raised discord in the towne: and ſecondarily, that he vnderſtood by his friends of the councell, all that he vaunted to know by revelation. For my pare I will neither accufe them, nor excuse them for this deede; neither know I whether they did well or euill, in putting him to death: but ſure he told many things that prooued true, which he could not receive from the council of Florence. And as touching the King, and the euils he ſaid ſhould happen to him, they came to paſſe as he prophesied: for firſt he tolde him, of the Daulphin his ſonnes death, and after of his owne, as my ſelfe can witneſſe, for I haue ſene the letters he writ thereof to the King.

Of the obsequies and funerals of King Charles the eight, and of the coronation of King Lewis the 12. his ſuccellor, with the genealogies of the Kings of Fraunce continuing to the ſaid Lewis.

Chap. 20.


He Kings disease was a Catarre or an Apoplexie: his Phisitions hoped it would haue fallen down into one of his armes, the losſe whereof they ſomewhat doubted, but feared no whit any danger of death: notwithstanding the contrarie to their expectation hapned. He had ſower Phisitions, but gaue credit onely to the woorſt of them, and that ſo great, that the others durſt not viter their minds: for they would gladly haue purged him foure daies before he died, because they ſaw in his bodie the occasions of his death. Euery man ran to the Duke of Orleans, who was to ſucceſſe him as next heire to the crowne. But King Charles his chamberlaines caused him to be richly buried, and immeadiately after his death began ſolemne ſeruice for him, which continued both day and night: for when the canons ended, the Friers Franciscans began; and when they ended the *Bons-hommes*¹, which was an order founded by himſelfe: his body remained at Amboise

¹ This was an order of religion deuided by the King

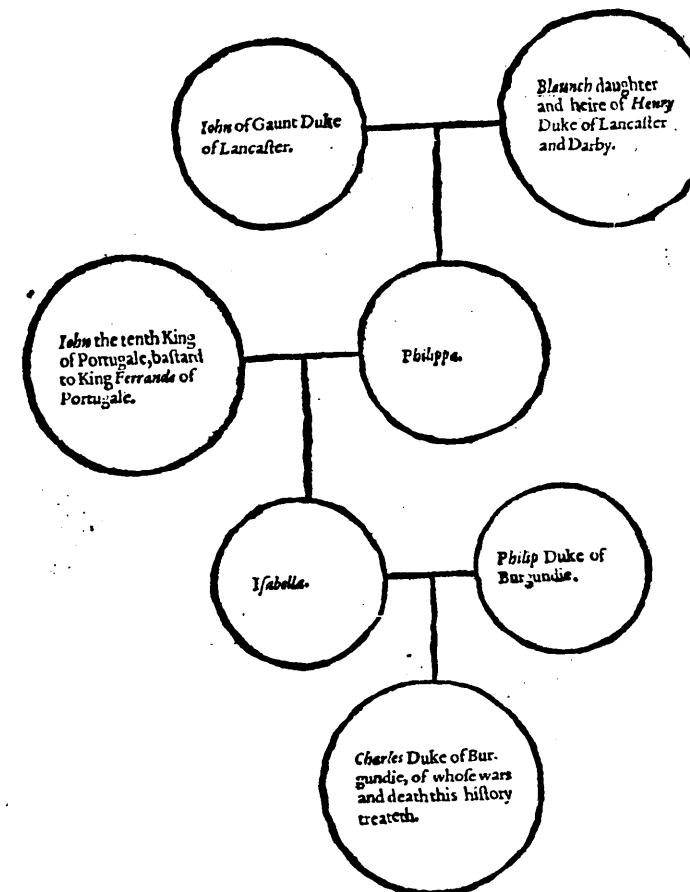
boife eight daies, partly in his chamber, which was richly hanged, and partly in the Church. All ſolemnities belonging to his funerals, were more ſumptuous than euer were any King of Fraunce: for his chamberlaines, officers, and thofe that were neere about him, neuer departed from his bodie till it was laid in the ground, which was about a moneth after his death, all the which ſpace this ſolemne ſeruice continued; ſo that the charges of his funerals amounted to ſiue and fortie thousands franks, as diuers of the receit haue informed me. I arriued at Amboise two daies after his death, and went to ſay my praiers ouer his body, where I abode ſiue or ſiue houers. And to ſay the truth, I neuer ſaw ſo great mourning, and lamentation, nor that continued ſo long for any Prince as for him: and no manuel, for he had beſtowed vpon thofe that were neere about him, namely his chamberlaines, and ten or twelve gentlemen of his priuie chamber, greater offices and gifts than euer did King of Fraunce, yea, too great to ſay the truth. Besides that, he was the mildeſt and courteoust Prince that euer liued; for I thinke he neuer gaue foule word to any man: wherefore in better hower could he not die, both to leaue his fame behinde him in histories, and to be bewailed of thofe that ſerued him. And I thinke verily, that my ſelfe am the man whom of all other he vſed rougliest, but bicaufe I knew it to be the fault of his youth and not to proceede of himſelfe, I could neuer loue him the worse for it.

After I had ſtaied one night at Amboise, I went to the newe King, with whom I had beene more familiar than any man: and further, for his ſake had fulſteined all my troubles and loſſes, which now he ſeemed little to remember: notwithstanding with great wifedome he tooke poſleſſion of the crowne, for he changed no penſions that yeere, though halfe the yeere were yet to come, neither diſplaced many officers, but ſaid that he would maintaine euery man in his eſtate; whereby he wan great honor. Moreouer, with all ſpeeđe poſſible he went to his coronation, whereat my ſelfe was preſent. And thofe that follow repreſented the peeres of Fraunce. The firſt was the Duke of Alençon, who repreſented the Duke of Burgundie; the ſecond the Duke of Bourbon, who repreſented the Duke of Normandie; the third the Duke of Lorraine, who repreſented the Duke of Guienne. The firſt Earle was Philip Lord of Rauſtaine, who repreſented the Earle of Flaunderſ; the ſecond Engilbert of Cleues, who repreſented the Earle of Champaine; the third the Earle of Foix, who repreſented the Earle of Tholouze. And the ſaid King Lewis the twelfth now raigning, was crowned at Reims the 27. of Maie, the yeere 1498. and is the fourth that hath come to the crowne by collaterall line. The two firſt were Charles Martell, or Pepin his ſonne, and Hugh Capet, who were both of them Masters of the pallace or gouernors of thofe Kings, whom they deposed from the crowne, which afterward themſelues vſurped; the third was King Philip of Valois; and the fourth the King that now raigneth: but thofe two latter came to the crowne by iuft and lawfull title. The firſt genealogie of the Kings of Fraunce beginneth at Meronee: two Kings had raignid in Fraunce before the ſaid Meronee, namely Pharamond, who was firſt choſen King of Fraunce (for his predeceſſors were called Dukes or Kings of Gaule) and his ſonne Claudio. The ſaid Pharamond was choſen King the yeere of grace 420. and raignid ten yeeres, and his ſonne Claudio eighteene, ſo that thofe two Kings raignid eight and twentie yeeres: and Meronee who ſucceeded next after, was not ſonne, but coſen to the ſaid Claudio. Wherefore it ſeemeth that the right line of the Kings of Fraunce hath failed ſiue times: notwithstanding (as before I ſaid) men begin the firſt line at Meronee, who was crowned King in the yeere of our Lord 448. from the which time to the coronation of King Lewis the twelfth are numbred 1050. yeeres. But if you reckon from Pharamond, you muſt adde eight and twentie more, which make

make 1078. yeeres since there was first King of Fraunce. From *Meronee* to the raigne of *Pepin* when the line of the said *Meronee* failed) are numbered 333. yeeres. From *Pepin* to *Hugh Capet* raigned the true line of the said *Pepin*, and *Charlemaine* his sonne, the space of 237. yeeres. The right line of *Hugh Capet* raigned 339. yeeres, and ended in King *Philip* of Valois: and the right line of the said King *Philip* of Valois continued till the death of King *Charles* the eighth, which hapned in the yeere of our Lord 1498. The said King *Charles* was the last of this line, the which had continued 169. yeeres, during the which space, these seuen Kings raigned in Fraunce, *Philip* of Valois, King *John*, *Charles* the fifth, *Charles* the sixt, *Charles* the seuenth, *Lewis* the eleuenth, and *Charles* the eighth, in whom the right line of *Philip* of Valois ended.

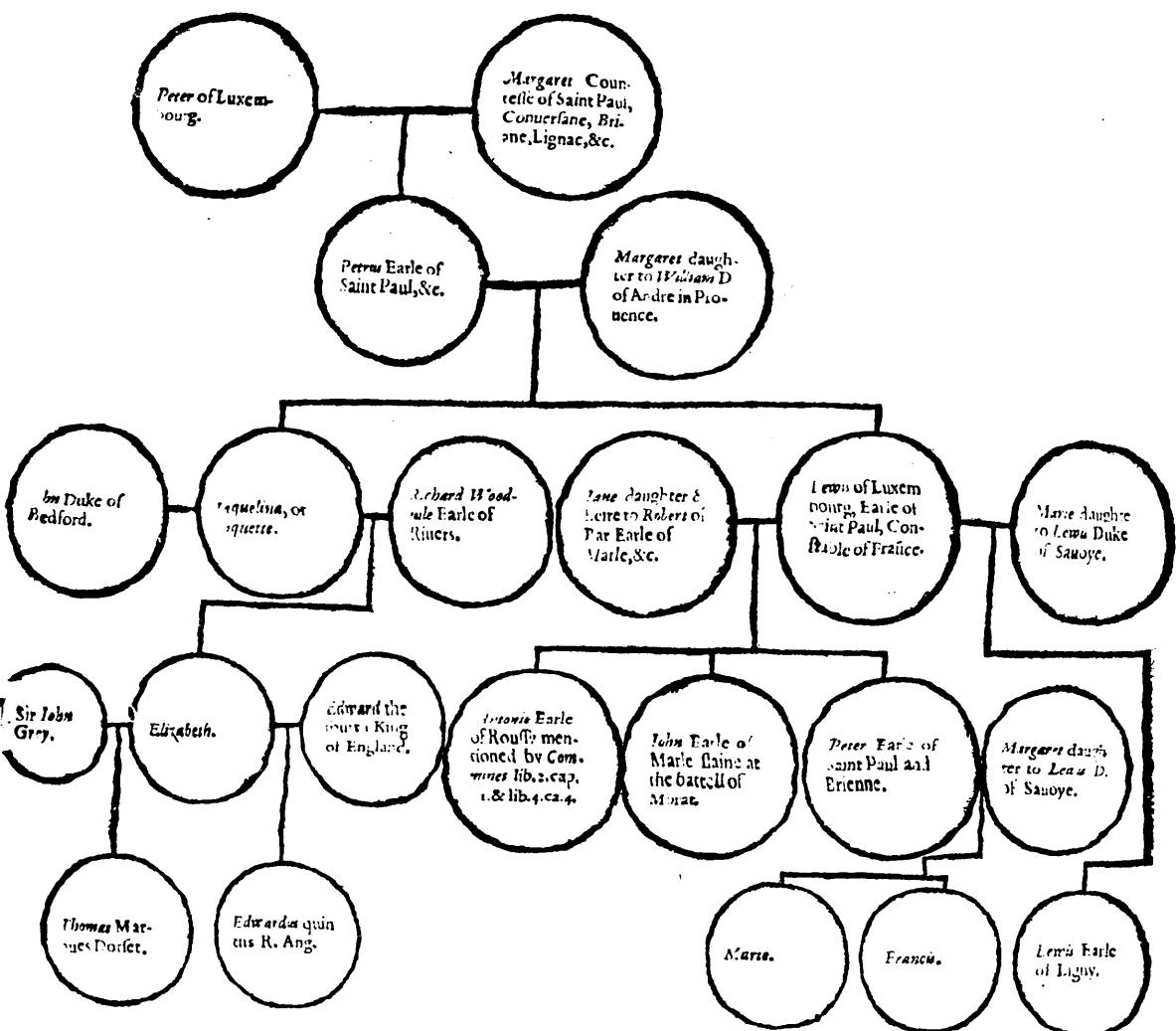


How *Charles* Duke of Burgundie was of the house of Lancaster as *Commines* mentioneth lib. 1. cap. 5. and in other places.



How

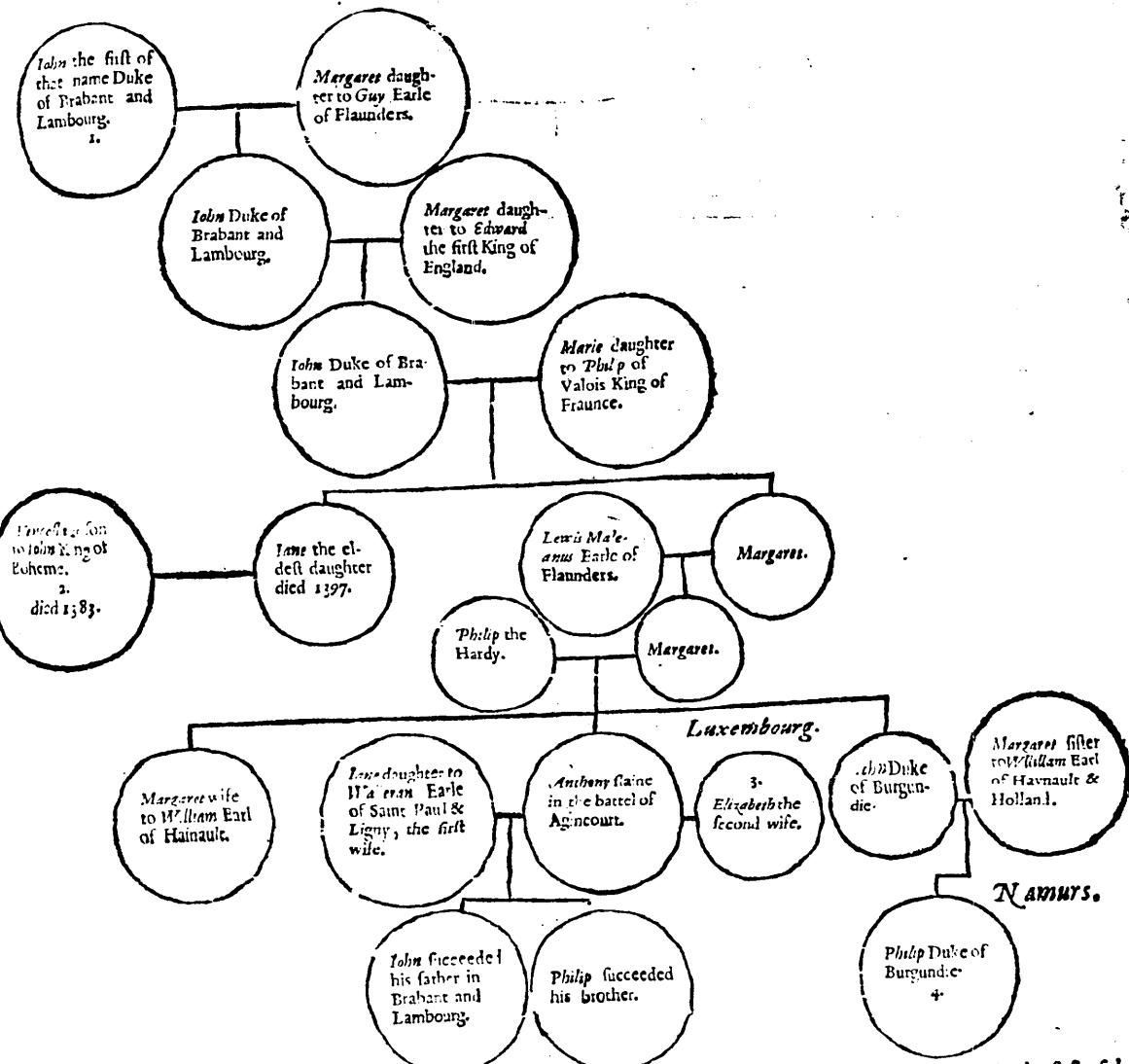
How Elizabeth wife to King Edward the fourth, was
neece to the Constable of Fraunce, as mentioneth
Comines lib. 4. cap. 5.



HOW

How Brabant, Lamburg, Luxemburg and Namur
came to Philip Duke of Burgundie, as mentioneth Comines lib. 4. cap. 13.

Brabant. Lambourg.



1. Lambourg was erected into a Duchie 1172, and Henrie the last Duke thereof (who died without issue 1293.) sold it to John the first of that name Duke of Brabant. But Henrie Earle of Luxemburg father to Henrie the Emperor, the Bishop of Colyn, and one called the Earle Ghericke the Duke of Luxemburg with them Duke John fought neare to the castle of Vorone, and tooke the Earle Ghericke (who pretended to be the Duke of Luxemburg) and the Bishop of Colyn prisoners: the Earle of Luxemburg with two of his brethren was slaine, the castell of Vorone razed, since the which time, Luxemburg hath remained quiet under the Dukes of Brabant.

2. Wenceslaus succeeded John Duke of Brabant, but he died 1383, without issue, and after his wife dying anno 1397, left Brabant and Luxemburg to his sonne to Philip the Hardie, the said Jane grand nephew by Margarete his younger sister, after whose death and his two sons

3. Anthonie second sonne to Philip the Hardie, the said Jane's grand nephew by Margarete his younger sister, after whose death and his two sons being

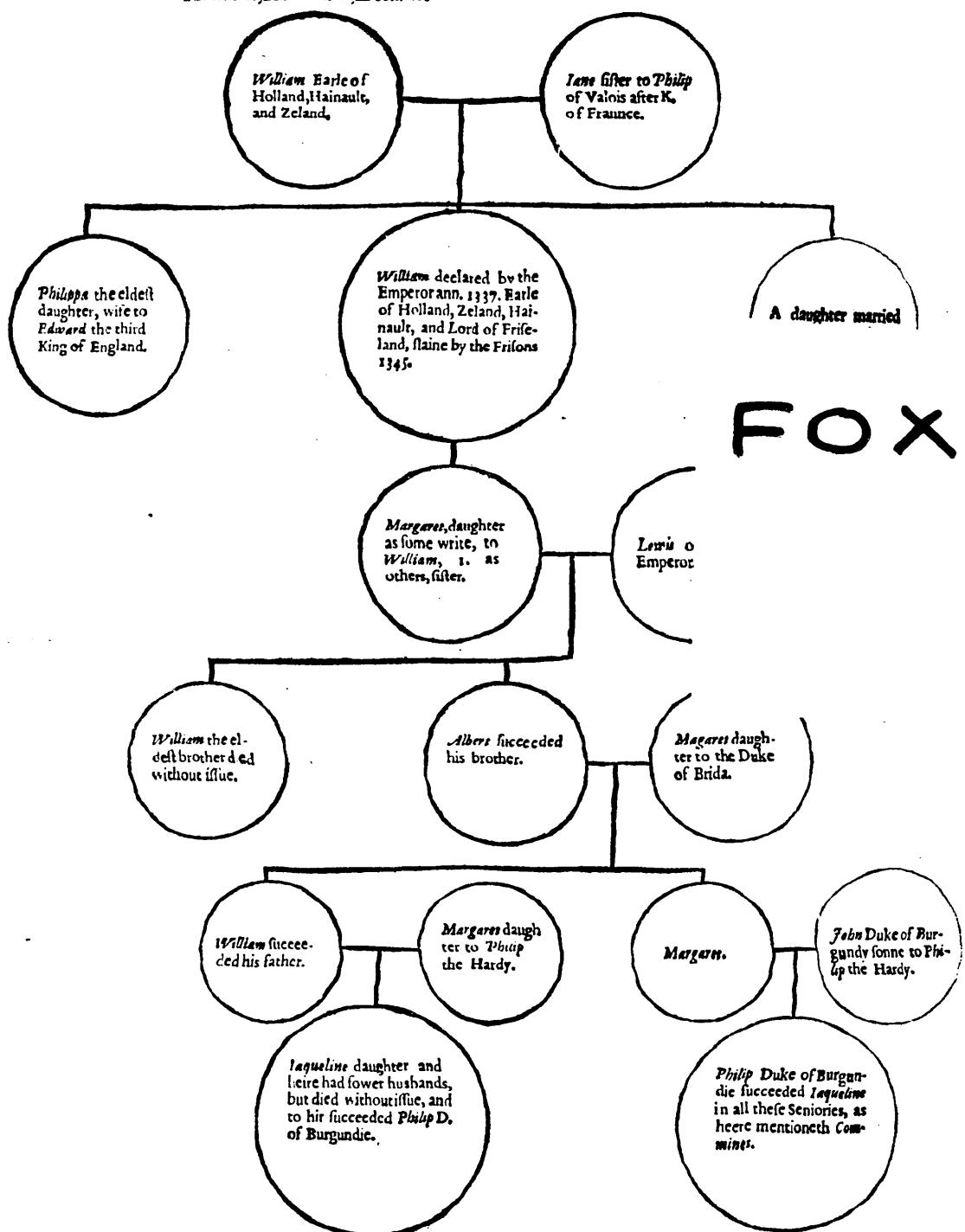
4. Philip Duke of Burgundie bought it for his money of divers that pretended title to it, especially of John Earle of Namur, who sold it to Duke Philip under condition to hold it during his life, which happened anno 1428.

Hh 1

How

How Holland, Hainault, and Zeland came to Duke Philip, as mentioneth Commines lib. 4. cap. 13. where also the Queenes Maiesties title to the said countries is somewhat touched.

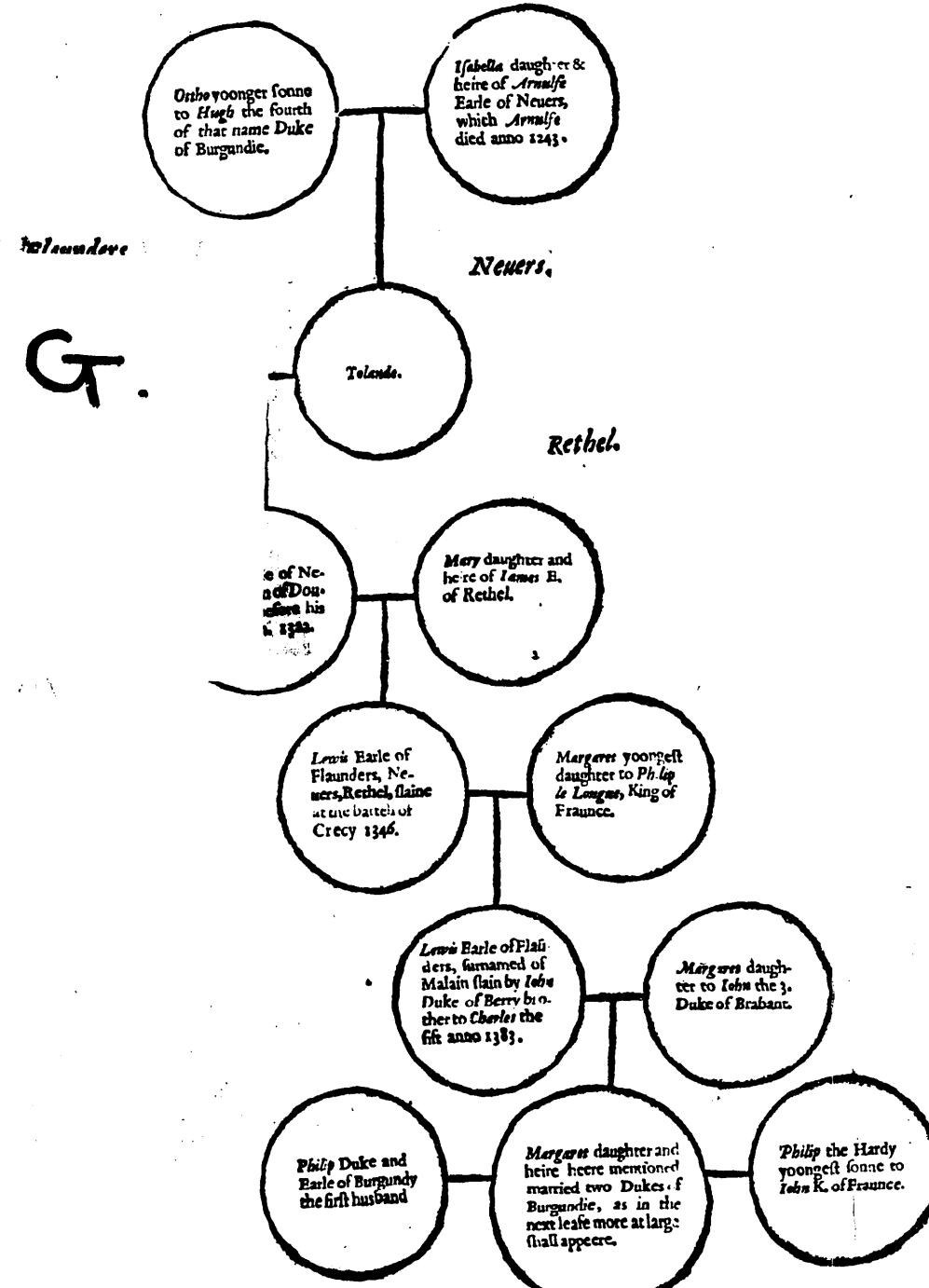
Holland, Hainault, Zeland.



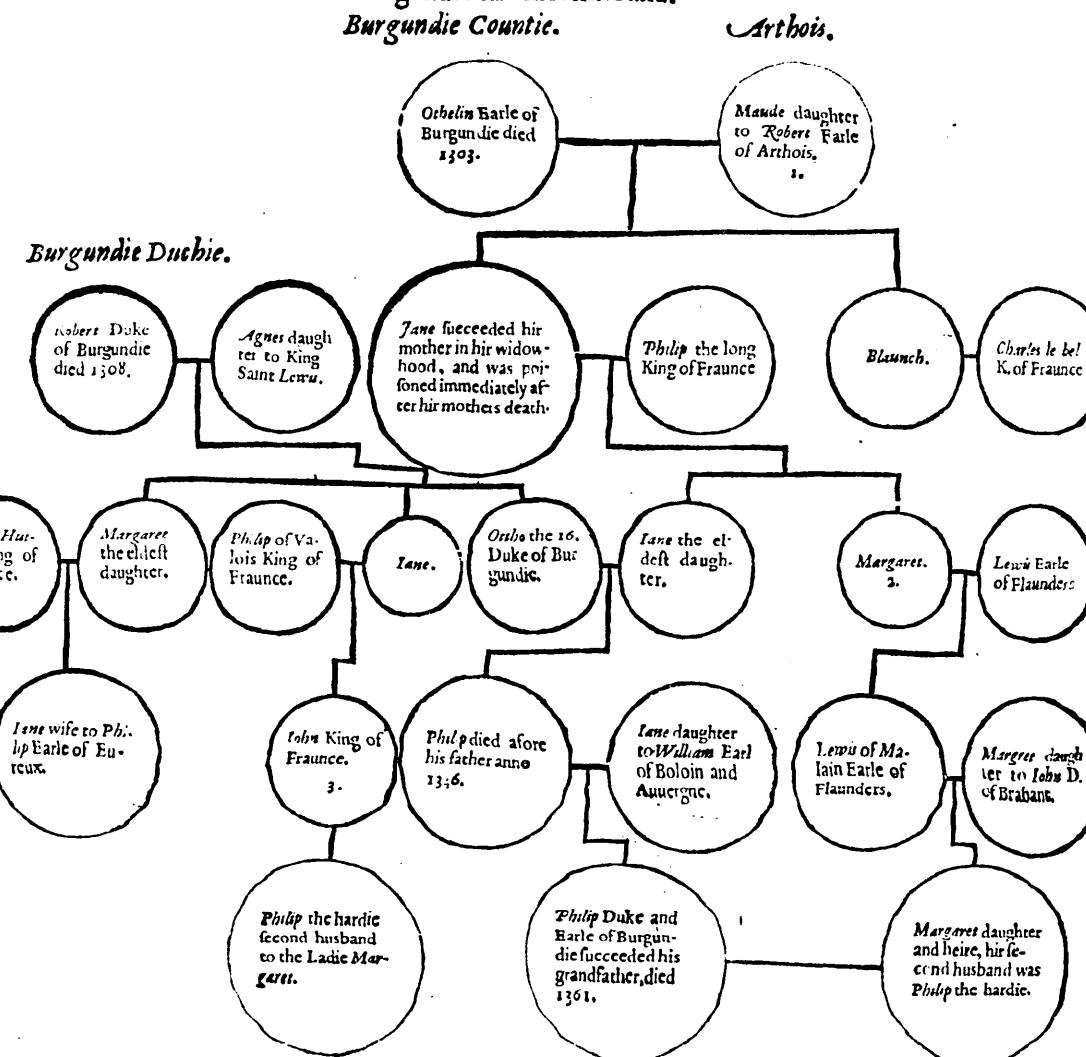
1. This Margaret Guicciardin writeth to haue beeene daughter to *William* the yoonger Earle of Hainault, Holland and Zeland, but *Anna* Genealogiques Francie say that she was sister not daughter to *William*, as do also other most approoued Authors. And if she were but sister, then the Queenes Maestic being descended of *Philipp* the said *Williams* eldest sister, is right heire of all these countries. Meyerus lib. 12. fol. 140. pag. 2. and fol. 147. pag. 1. saith, that *Margaret* was sister not daughter to Duke *William*, which also is the more manifly pronounced, because the wife of this *William* was *Jane* the eldest daughter to *John* Duke of Brabant, who ouerliued her husband, and after married *Wenceslaus* brother to the Emperor *Charles* the fourth: Which woman never had issue, yet finde we no mention of any other wife that *William* the yoonger Earle of Hainault had.

How

How Margaret of Flaunders was heire of Flaunders, Neuers and
Rethel, as mentioneth Commynes lib. 4. cap. 13. & lib. 5. cap. 11.
the which Margaret married with Philip the Hardy, yoongest
sonne to Iohn King of Fraunce.



How Arthois and the County of Burgundy descended to the said
Lady Margaret above mentioned, and how she maried two Dukes of
Burgundy, and how Philip the Hardy her second husband obtained the Duchy
of Burgundie after the death of Philip Duke of Bur-
gundie her first husband.



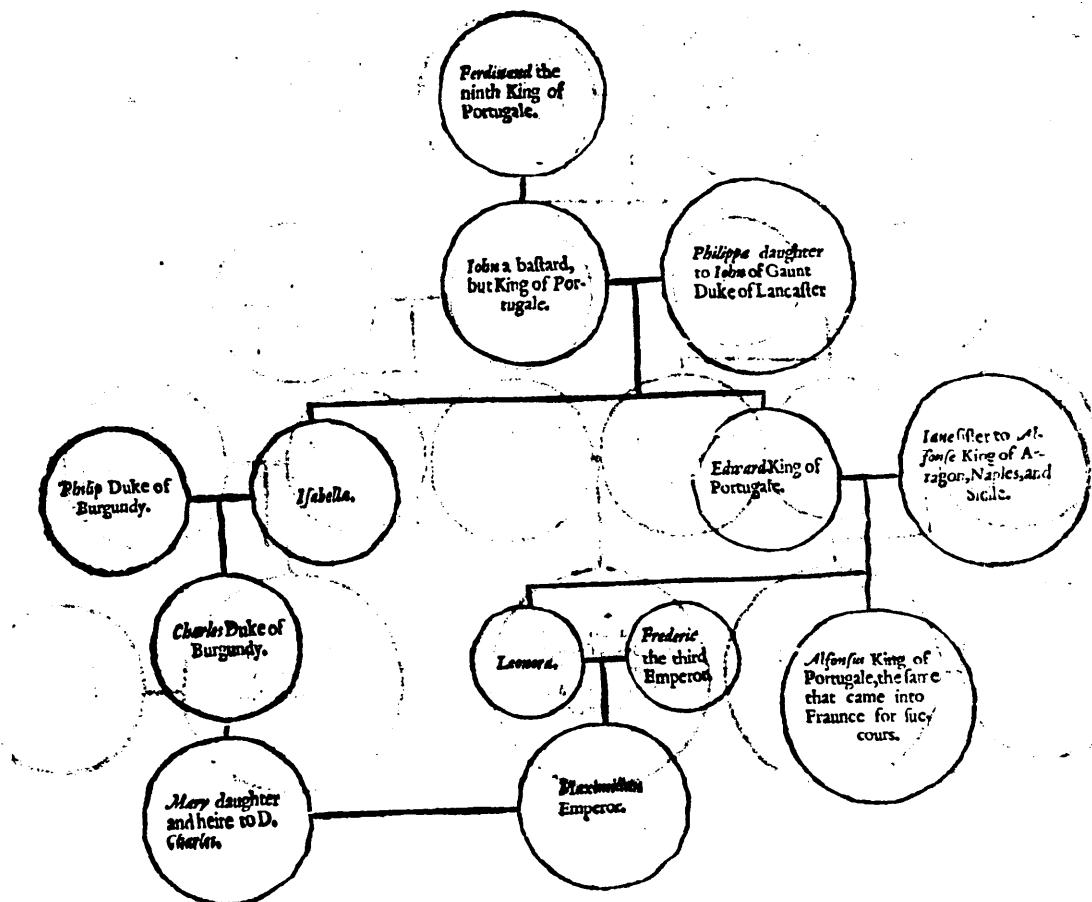
1. Touching the title of Arthois this is to be obserued, that Robert Earle of Arthois father to Maude, had a sonne named Philip, who died before his father, and left behinde him a sonne named Robert Earle of Beumont, who after his grandfathers death demanded the countrey of Arthois: but this Maude by fauor of the French King obtained it, because she was adiuged neerer heire to the Earle Robert being his daughter, than the Earle of Beumont being his sonnes sonne: for spite whereof, the Earle of Beumont revolted to the King of England, of himare descended the Earles of Eu.

2. This Margaret being in her widdowhood, succeeded in Arthois and the Countie of Burgundie to Philip her sister Janes sonnes sonne, and husband to Margaret her sonnes daughter, to whom after his death the said Seignories descended.

3. Touching the Duchie of Burgundie, note that after the death of Philip Duke of Burgundie, nephew to Otto the 16. Duke of Burgundie, King John of Fraunce being sonne to Jane the said Ottos yoonger sister, seized the Duchie of Burgundie into his hands, excluding Jane daughter to Margaret the elder sister as suspected of bastardie, and after gaue the said Duchie to his yoongest sonne Philip the hardie for his aduancement in marriage with the Ladie Margaret of Flanders.

How

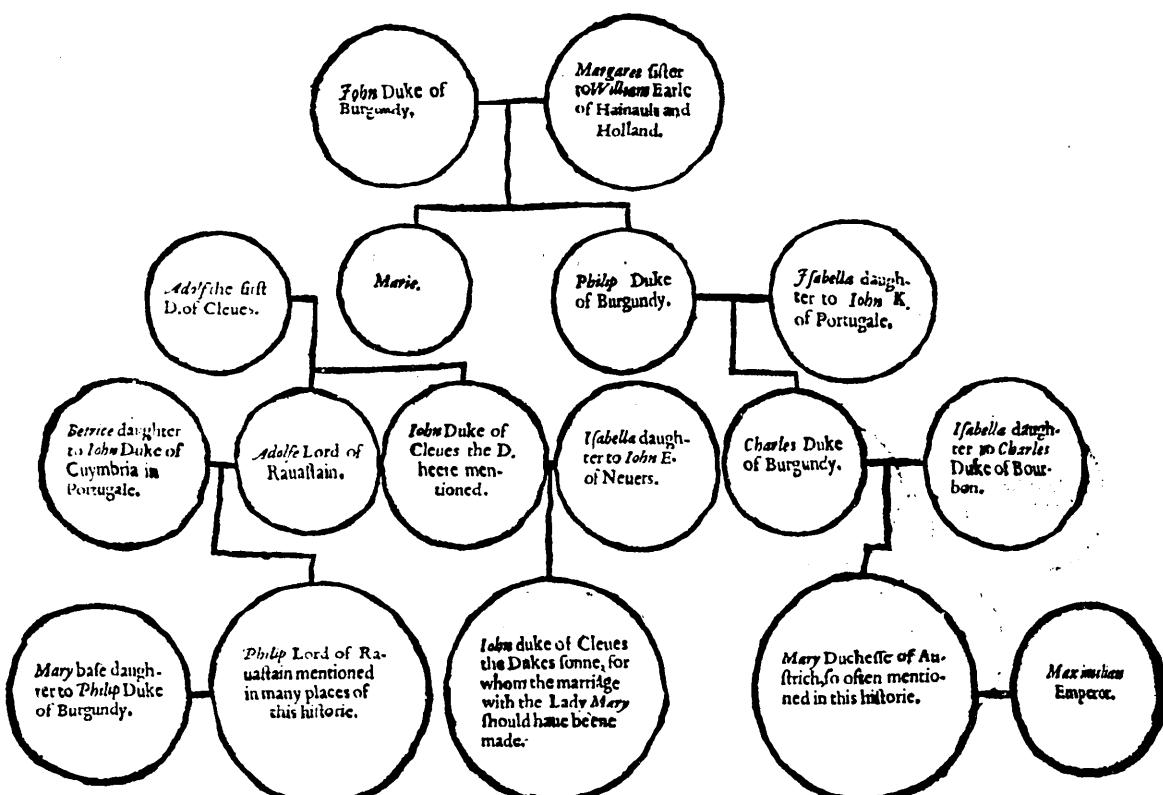
How the King of Portugale was cosin germane to the Duke
of Burgundie as is mentioned Lib. 5. cap. 7.



Hh 3

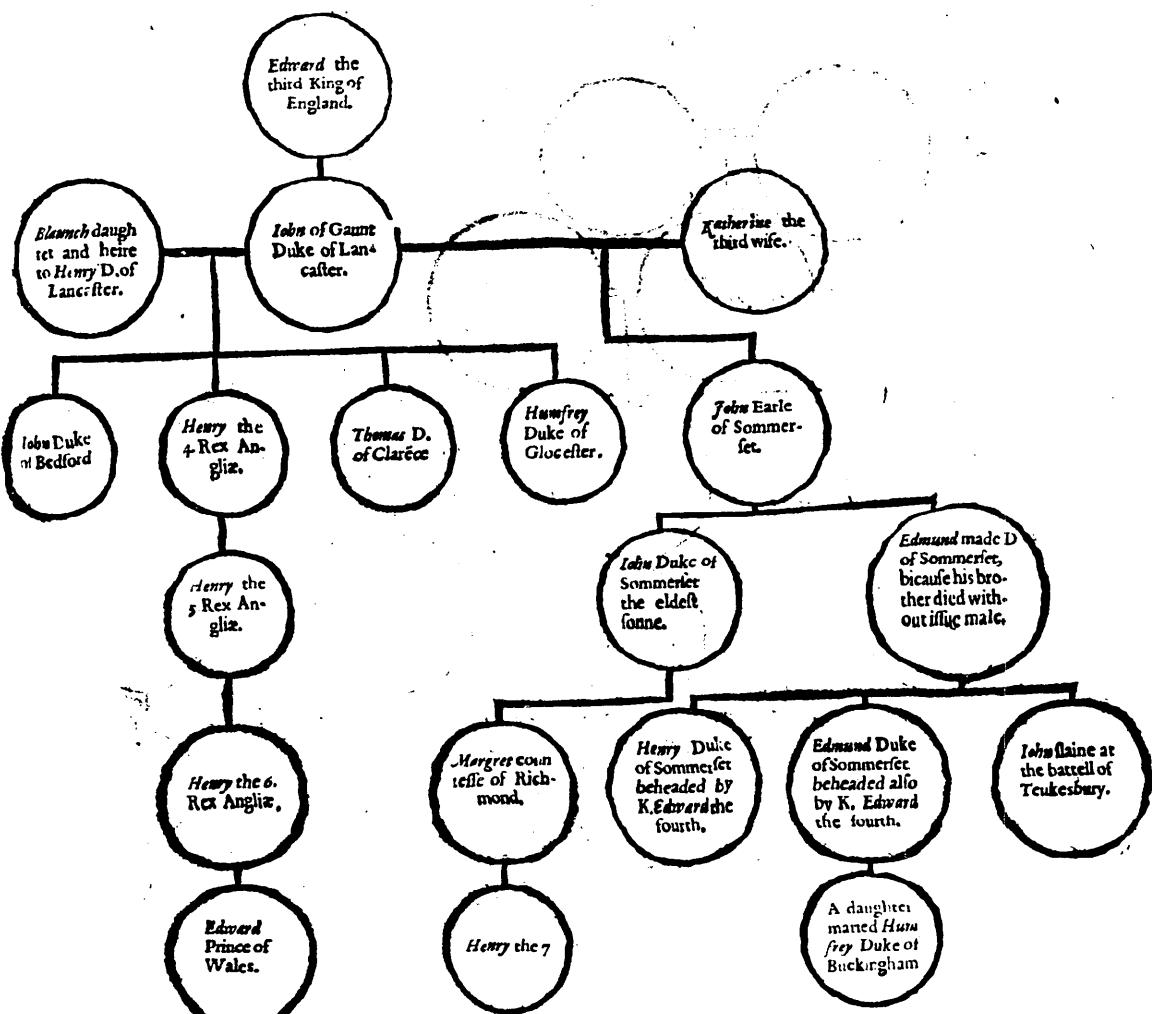
How

354
How the Duke of Cleues was the Lady of Burgundies neerest
kinsman by his mother, as is mentioned Lib. 5. cap. 16.



How

How King Henry the 7. was right heire of the house of Lancaster,
contrary to Commines who affirmeth the contrary Lib. 5.
cap. 18. together with the excuse of Commines error.

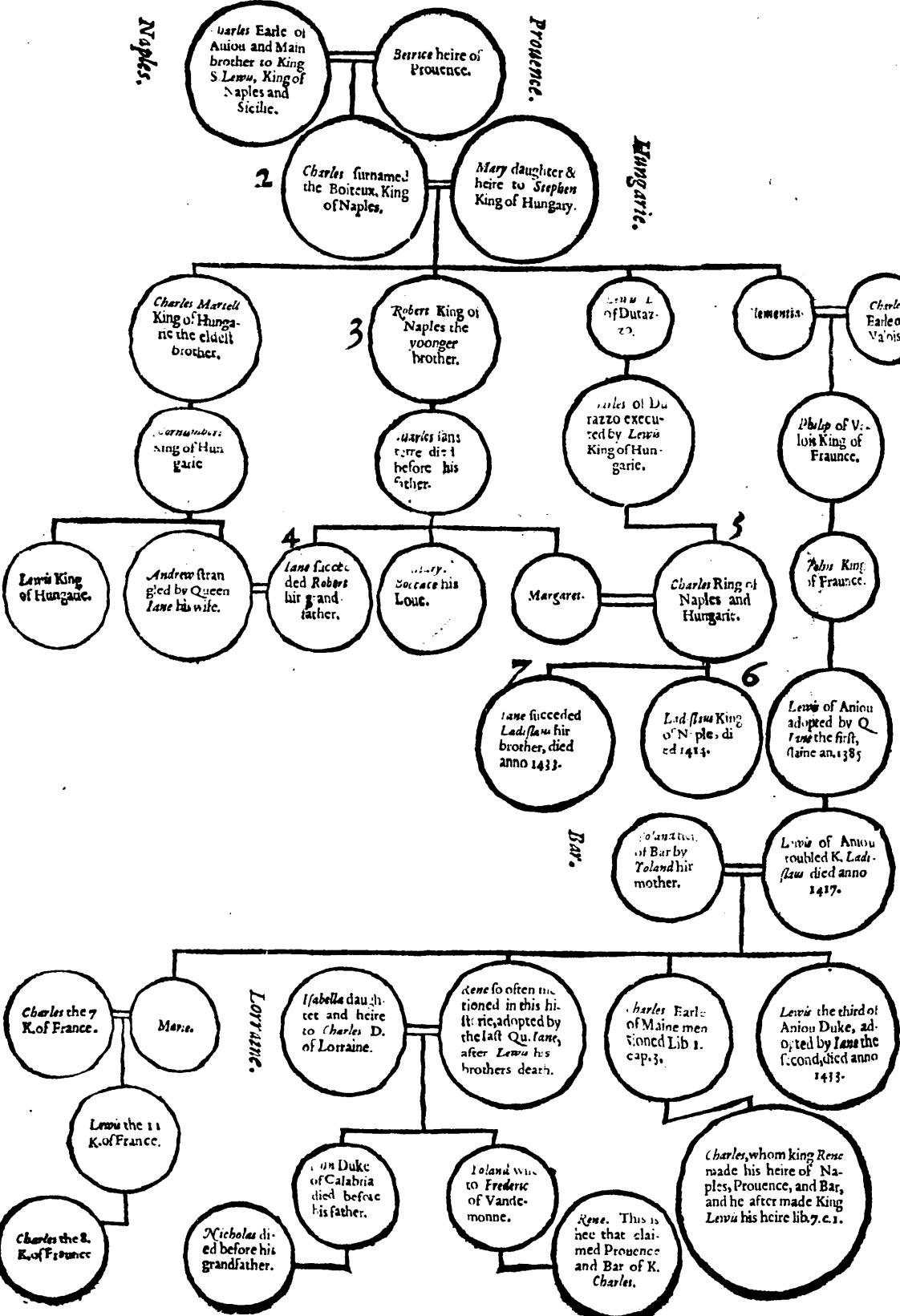


The excuse of Commines error.

The line of *Henrie the fourth* being failed in Prince *Edward*, the right of the house of Lancaster came to the house of Sommerset, as heire is set foorth: but after the death of *John Duke of Somerset*, who died without heire male, *Edmund* his brother was made Duke of Somerset. Wherefore *Commines* knowing *Henry the 7.* to claime the right of the house of Lancaster as heire of the house of Sommerset, and seeing others to be Dukes of Sommerset and not him: supposed them to be of the elder house to him; yet notwithstanding was *Henry the 7.* neerer heire than they, being by his mother descended of the elder brother, though they being of the male line obtained the title of Somerset before him. But this in my fancies breed *Commines* error, and thus much in his excuse.

The title the Duke of Lorraine had to the realme of Sicilie, countie of Prouence, and Duchy of Bar, mentioned by Commines Lib. 7.

cap. I. and the Kings title thereto: together with the whole quarrell betweene the house of Arragon and Aniou: and why the house of Aniou had the best title, as mentioneth Commines Lib. 8. Cap. 16.



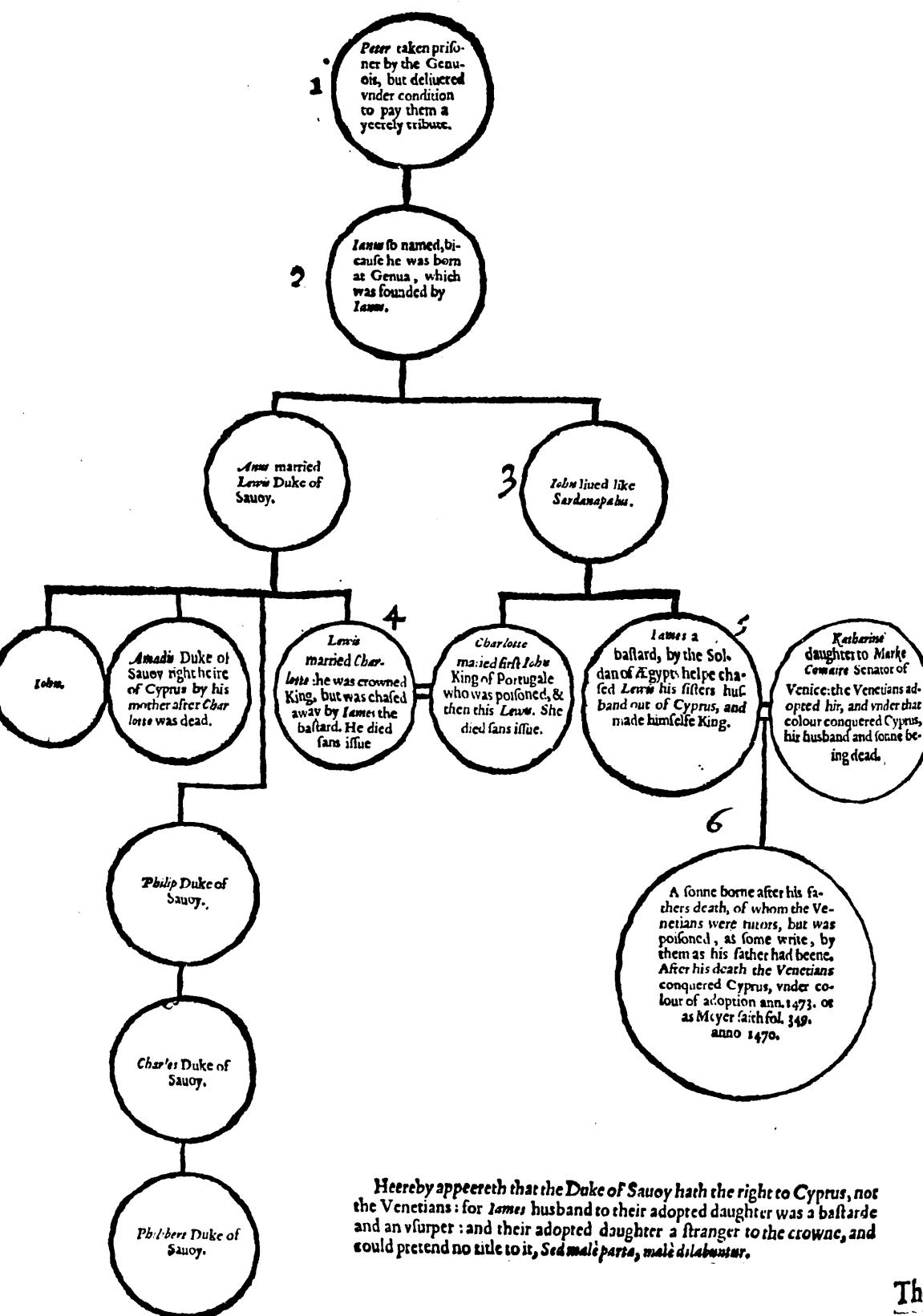
Hereby appeereth that the Duke of Lorraine had the best title to Prouence, as heire to Lewis the first of that name Duke of Aniou, to whom Queen Jane gave it to Naples likewise to heire to the house of Aniou, by being daughters soone to René, to whom Queen Jane the second left it by her last will and testament, of Bar he was heire as heire to Yolande his great grandmother: and as touching the testaments of the two first Charles Kings of Naples, who, as it is alleged, sovined Prouence, that it could not be seuered from the realme of Naples, nor descend to the heire female as long as a male was living. First, the example of Queen Jane who succeeded Robert her grandfather dux males living, prooueth there was never any such testament: besides that, King Charles was no more heire male to those Kings than the Duke of Lorraine, for they both descended of them by a woman, namely Commines, wife to Charles of Valois. So that the King had no colour to Naples or Prouence, but at this day the whole title of the house of Aniou thereto, resteth in the now Duke of Lorraine, who is lineally descended of King René. Lastly, the reason whereupon Commines groundeth the house of Anions title to the realme of Naples to be best: is only because Lewis of Aniou was made heire thereto by Queen Jane's last testament, which reuoketh all former testaments.

The storie of this pedigree of Naples and Sicilie.

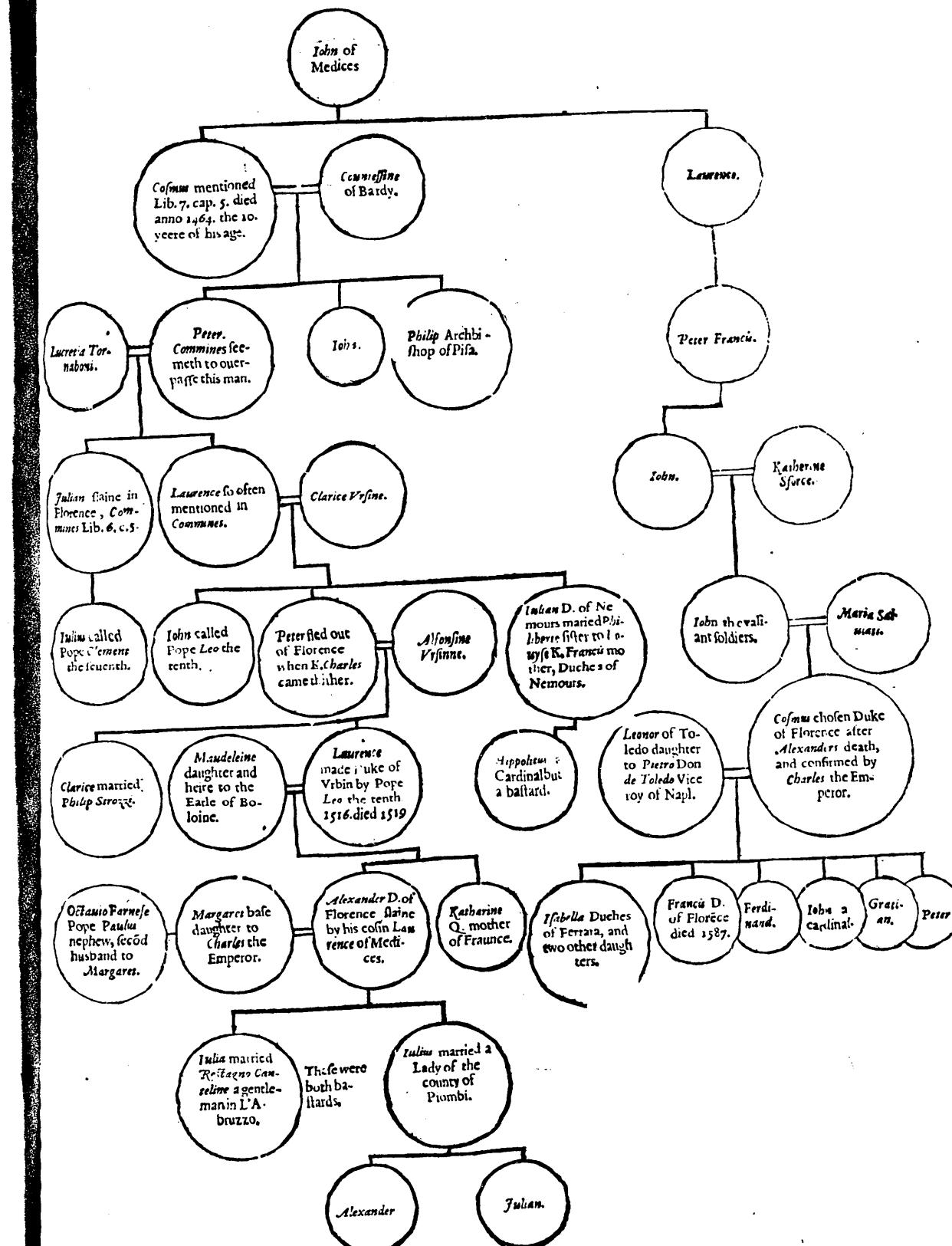
1. Charles brother to Saint Lewis King of Fraunce obtained Prouence by mariage of Bertrice daughter to Raymond, or Robert, or Berengarius Earle of Prouence, who made him his heire, though she were his younger daughter, after Vrbane the fourth Pope of Rome called him into Italy against Manfredus King of Naples and Sicilie, whom Charles slew in battell, and after beheaded Conradus also, who quarelled the realmes of Naples and Sicilie: but soone after Peter King of Arragon, who had married King Manfredus daughter, reuolted Sicilie from him, slew all the French men in an euening, and possessed Sicilie, as his posterie namely King Philip doth yet at this day. Charles was crowned King of Naples by Vrbane the fourth, anno 1255. and after confirmed by Clement the fourth, and died anno 1274.
2. Charles his sonne in his fathers time seeking to recouer Sicilie, was taken prisoner by King Peters forces, and caried into Arragon, where he should have beene executed in reuenge of Conradus death (as 200. gentlemen and nobles taken with him were) had not Constance King Peters wife sauved his life: after he was restored to Naples, paying for his straunson 3000. marks, and married the daughter and heire of Stephen King of Hungarie, by whom he had nine sonnes and five daughters, whose offspring looke in Onufius pag. 309. he died anno 1319. These two Kings are they that our author mentioneth lib. 7. cap. 1. that were said to haue made testaments that Prouence could not be seuered from the realme of Naples, nor descend to the female as long as there was an heire male living, which appeereth to be false in the example of Queen Jane.
3. Robert King of Naples crowned by Clement the first, died without issue male anno 1342. and left his realme to Jane his sonnes daughter, vnder condition that she should marrie Andrew younger sonne to Cernumber King of Hungarie his cousin german remoued: here is to be observed that this Robert was younger sonne to King Charles, but the said king gaue to Charles his eldest sonne his realme of Hungarie, and Naples to this Robert. In his time liued Petrarcha and Boccace.
4. Jane Daughter to Charles sans terre succeeded his grandfather Robert, and married Andrew sonne to the king of Hungarie as his said grandfather had appointed, whom within three yeeres he strangled: whereupon Lewis king of Hungarie his brother came into Italy, chased Q. Jane out of Naples, executed Charles of Durazzo as consenting to his brothers death, and carried Charles his sonne with him into Hungarie; after whose departure, Jane by helpe of Pope Clement returned and recovered Naples, but after she fell out with Pope Vrbane the first, who chased him into Prouence, where she adopted Lewis of Aniou sonne to King John of Fraunce, and so returned to Naples, against whom the Pope called out of Hungarie Charles sonne to Charles of Durazzo, who recovered Naples, but Prouence Lewis enjoyed: she was hanged anno 1381.
5. Charles (sonne to Charles of Durazzo beheaded) has led prisoner into Hungarie by king Lewis, as before is mentioned, after whose death, he succeeded him in Hungarie as his next heire male: he was inuested King of Naples by Vrbane the sixt against Queen Jane, whom he tooke prisoner anno 1381. and hung at the same window she had hung her husband, and beheaded also Marie Queen Jane's sister (whom Boccace was enamored of) as consenting to her sisters husbands death: he slew in battell anno 1385. Lewis of Aniou, adopted by Queen Jane, after he fell at variance with Pope Vrbane. He was slaine in Hungarie by the treason of the old Queen King Lewis his wife and his daughter at a feast, anno 1386. his wife was Margaret Queen Jane's sister.
6. Ladislaus lost Hungarie by his fathers mortier, but was at length received and crowned king of Naples by Pope Boniface the ninth, anno 1390. and then he chased Lewis the second out of Italy, who after his fathers death was come thither and had got some part of the realme. After Ladislaus fell out with Alexander the sixt, and tooke Rome, whereupon the Pope gaue the realme of Naples to Lewis of Aniou, who returned and vanquished Ladislaus and recovered Rome, but not knowing how to vse the victorie, Ladislaus recovered himselfe, forced Lewis to retire into Fraunce, and then against tooke Rome, and died anno 1414.
7. Jane the second succeeded her brother Ladislaus, after she fell out with the Pope, who called Lewis of Aniou the third of that name against her, then she adopted Alfonse of Arragon, who chased Lewis out of Italie, but Alfonse and she falling at variance, she adopted Lewis of Aniou his enemie, who recovered Naples, anno 1424. and reigned with her till anno 1432. or 1433. When they both died: and then she made Ren brother to Lewis his heire: but he being then prisoner with Philip Duke of Burgundie, could not come to Naples, and then Alfonse being dismissed out of prison by Philip Maria Duke of Milan, where he was also prisoner at the same time, preuailed and conquered Naples, and was inuested by Pope Eugenius. Since the which time the Aniouins haue but quarrelled Naples, and as for the succession of this Alfonse you shall see it in the last pedigree in the end of this worke.

Why

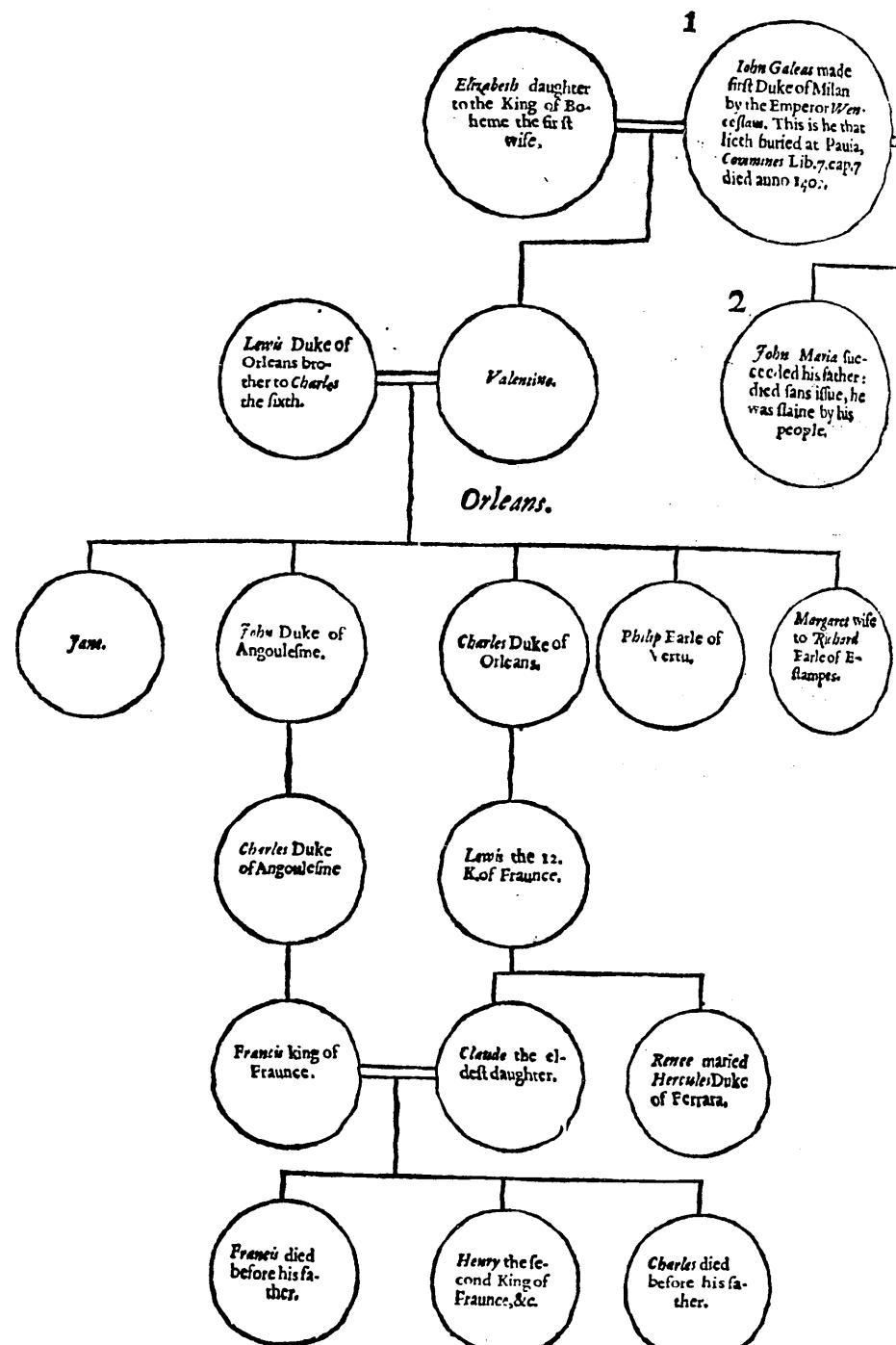
Why the Venetians had no right to the realme of Cyprus,
as Commines writeth Lib. 7. cap. 4.



The house of Medices, whereof so ample mention
is made Lib. 7. Cap. 5.



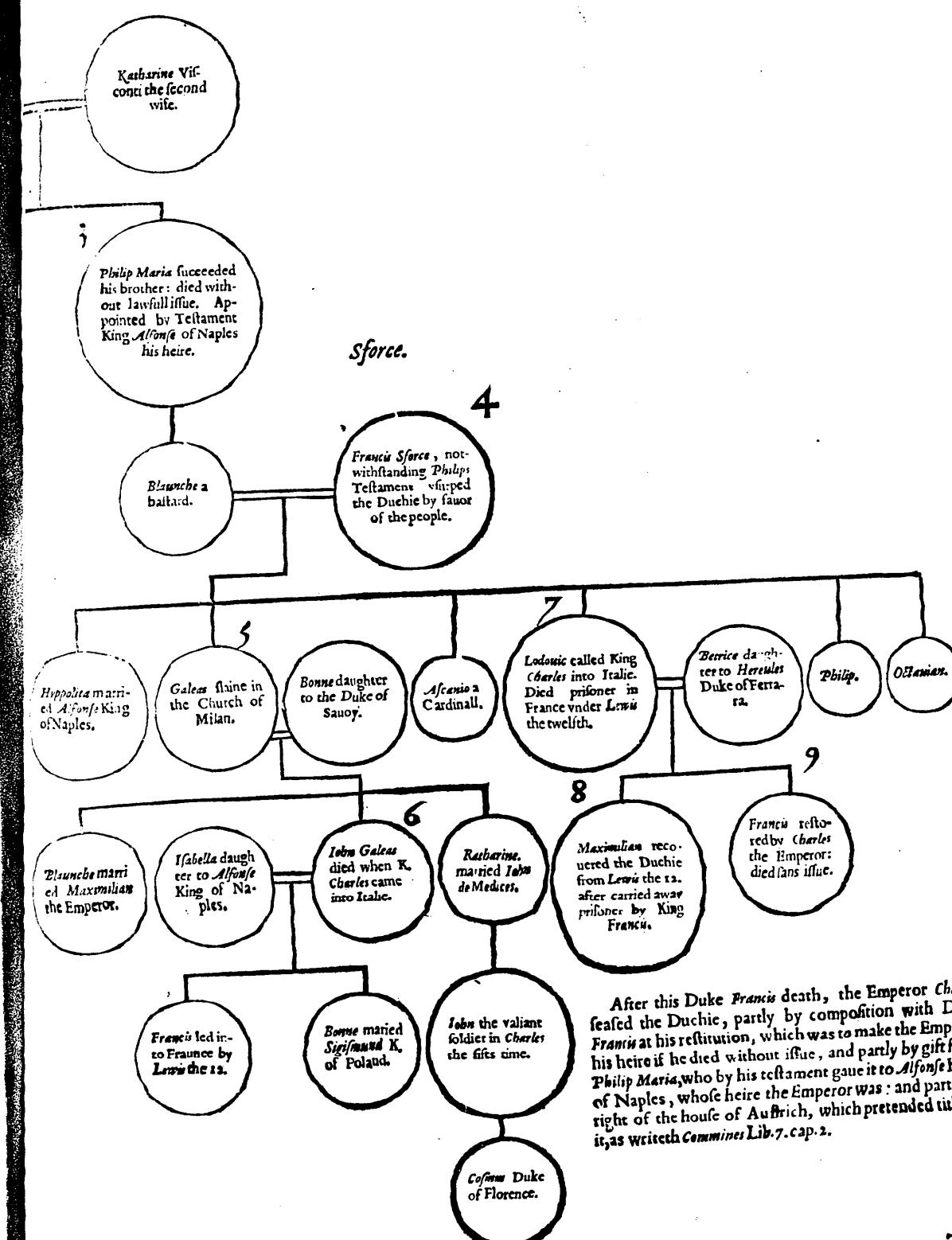
How Lewis Duke of Orleans, called after
of Milan, as Commines mentioneth



The French King claimeth from Valentine, who ought to have succeeded her brother Philip Maria, before Blanche being his base daughter.

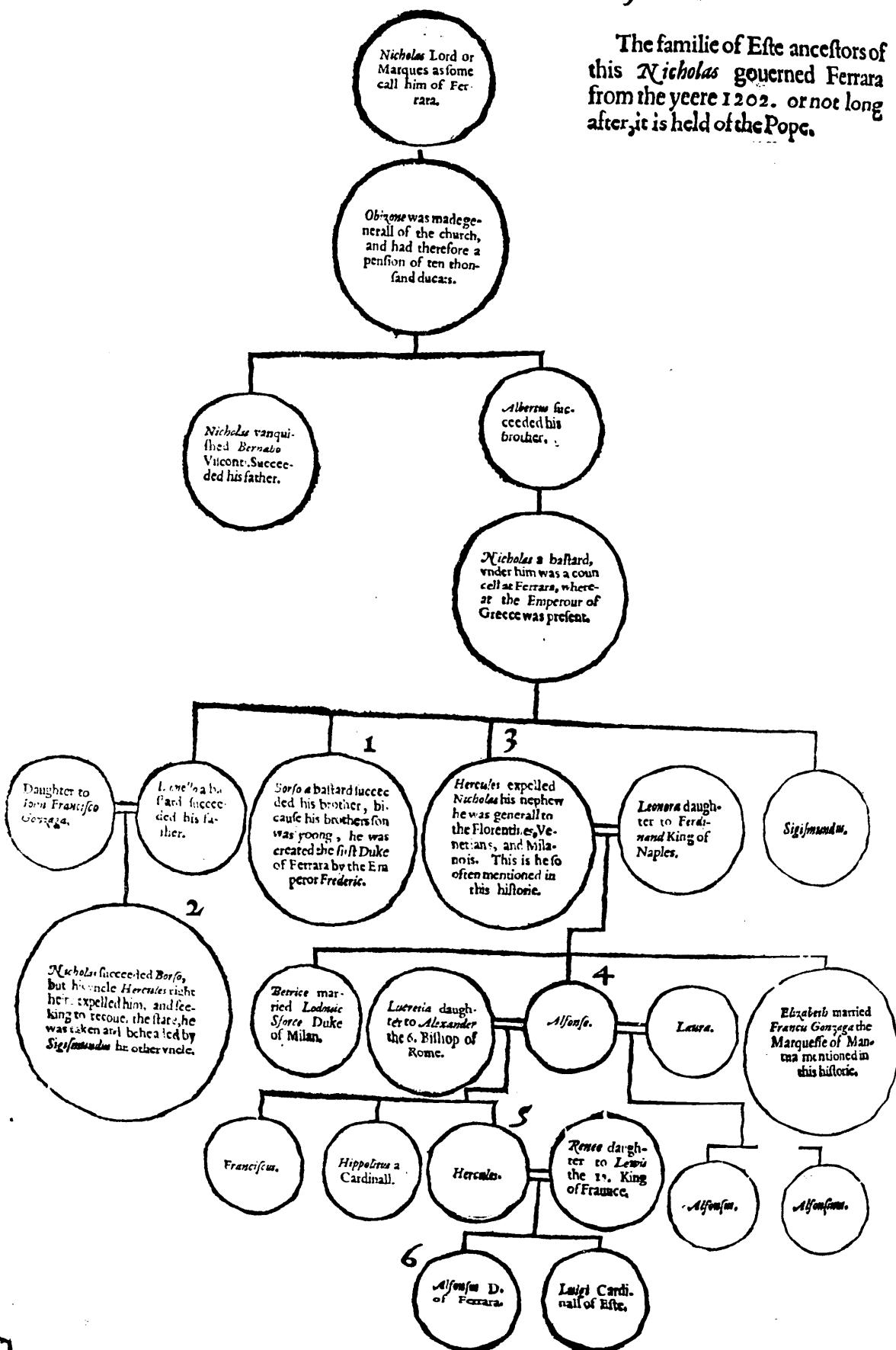
Katherine

King Lewis the 12. pretended title to the Duchie
Lib.7.cap.6.and in diuers other places.



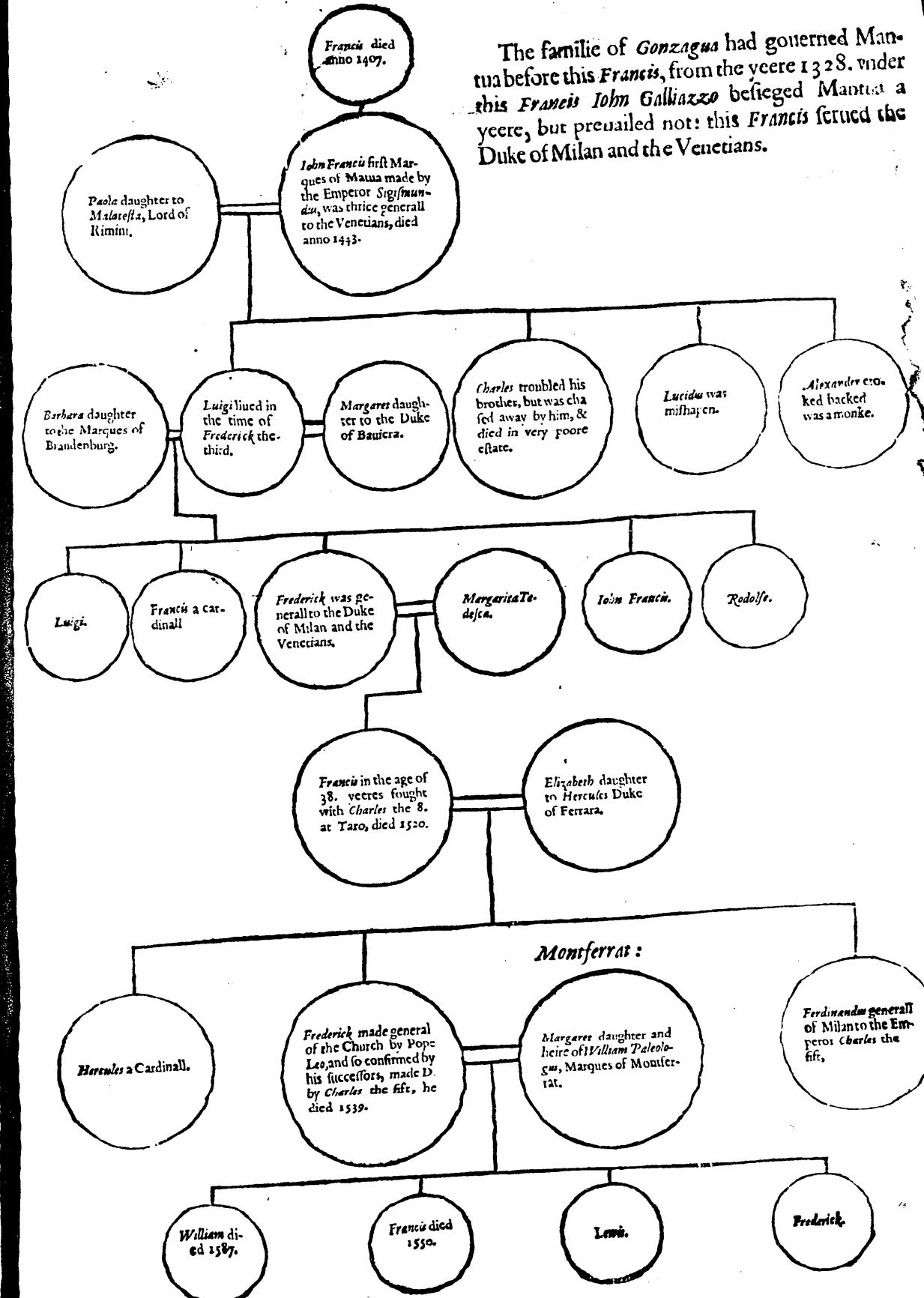
The

The pedigree of *Hercules Duke of Ferrara*, of whom
so often mention is made in this historie.



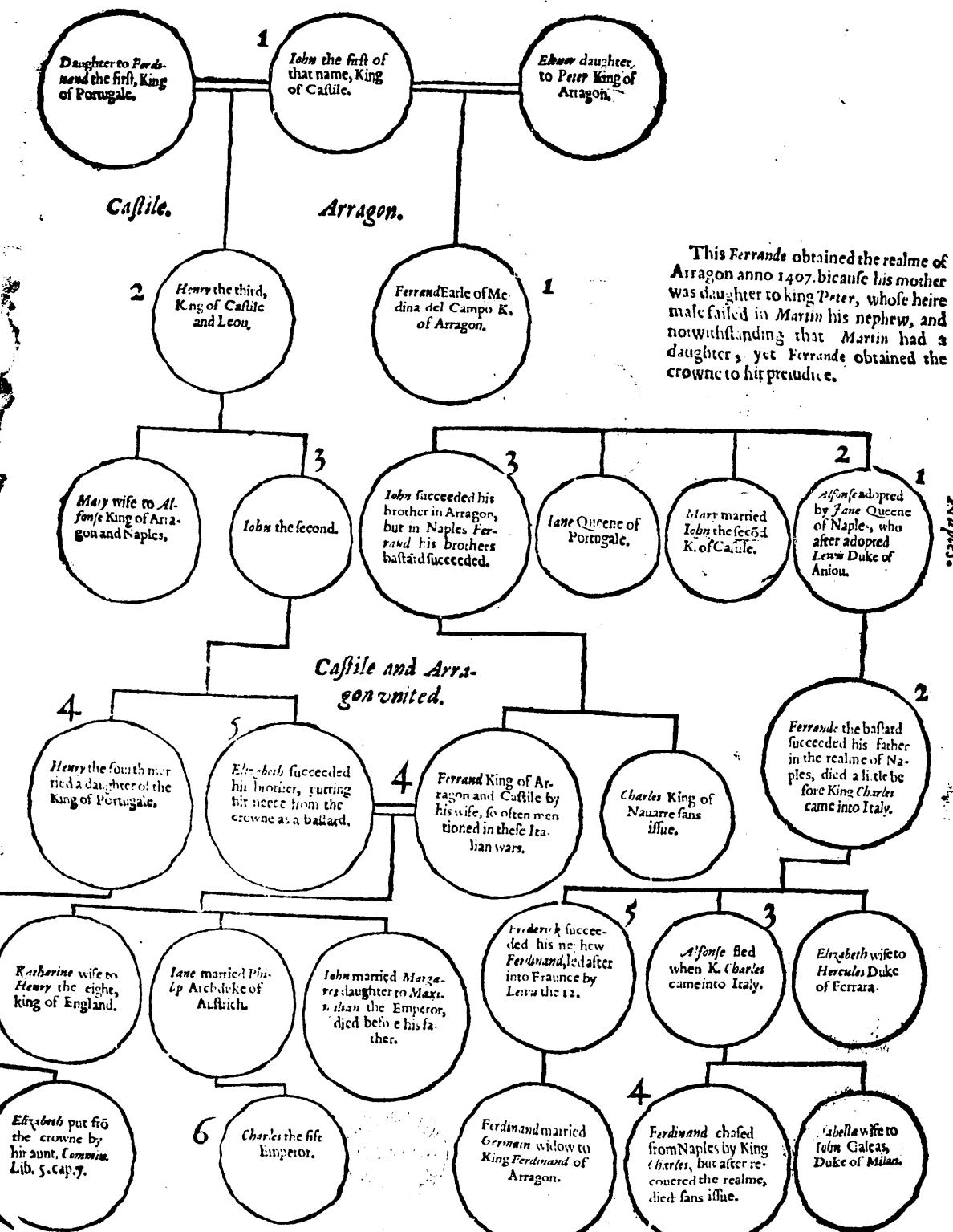
The familie of Este ancestors of this Nicholas governed Ferrara from the yeere 1202. or not long after, it is held of the Pope.

The pedigree of *Francis Marques of Mantua*, so often mentioned in this historie.



The familie of Gonzaga had governed Mantua before this Francis, from the yeere 1328. under this Francis John Galliazzo besieged Mantua a yeere, but prevailed not: this Francis serued the Duke of Milan and the Venetians.

How Ferdinand King of Arragon had more right to the realme
of Naples than the Kings of the house of Arragon that
possessed it, as writeth Commines Lib. 8. cap. 17.



The King of Spaine had better right to Naples, than Alfonse that possessed it when King Charles came into Italie, bicause Alfonses father bastard, and king Ferrand, that being the fist Alfonses brother, ought to haue succeeded him before his bast sonne. Further, you shall stand, that after Frederick was led into Fraunce by Lewis the 12. the said K. Lewis enioied Naples, but within fower yeeres Ferrande king Arragon by the great captaine Consalvo chased King Lewis out of the realme, and left it to his nephew Charles the Emperor, from whom French K. could never recover it; but as this day it is in the possession of the King of Spaine sonne to the said Emperor Charles.